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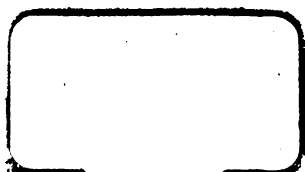
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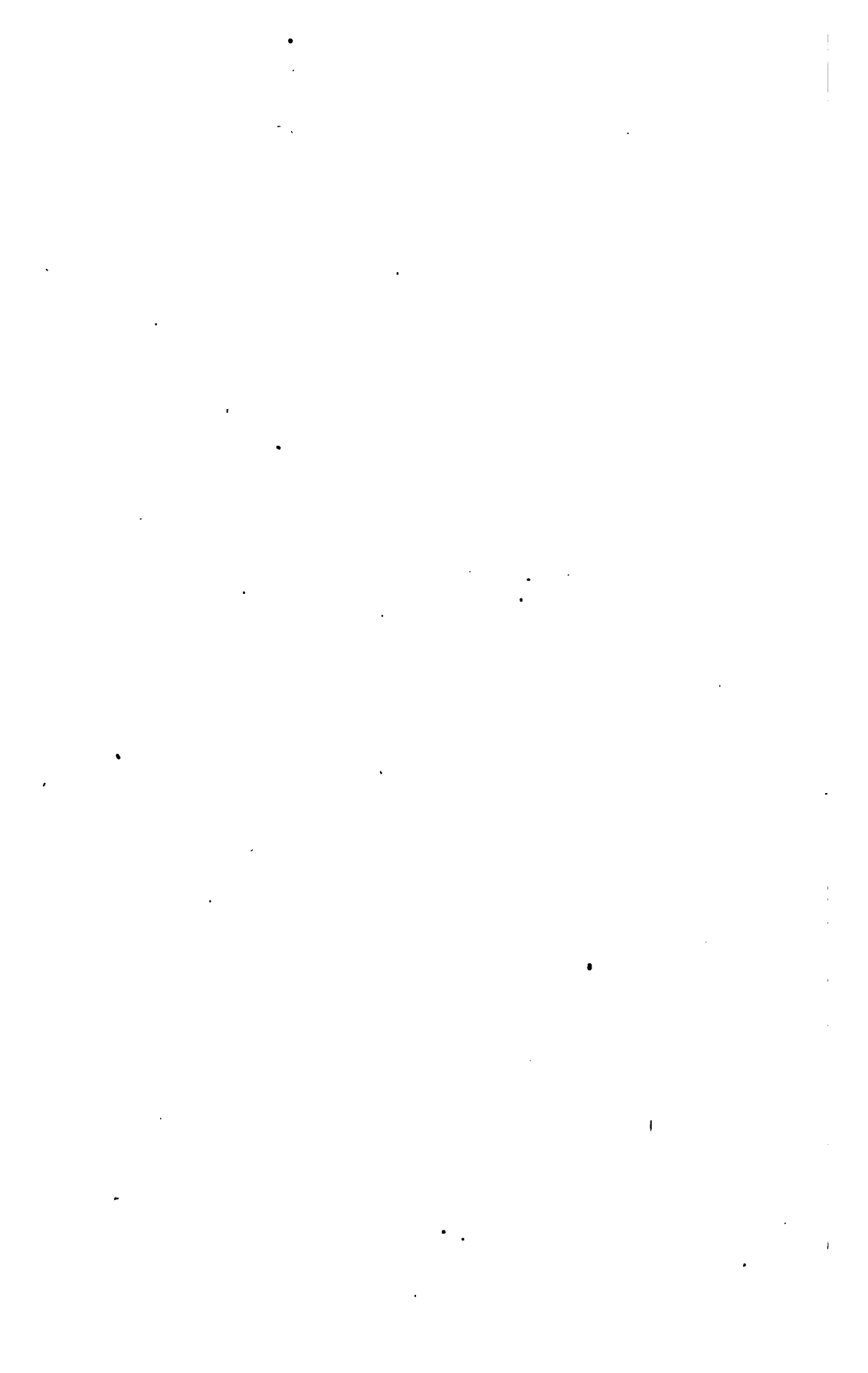
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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

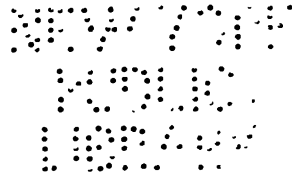
IN MDCCCLII

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

*Author of the "History of Europe from the Commencement of the French
Revolution, in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo," &c. &c.*

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TO THE AFGHANISTAN DISASTER IN 1842.

Consequences of these Triumphs in causing an undue Reduction of national Forces.—Embarrassed State of the Indian Finances.—No one thought of relaxing the commercial Code of India.—Character of Lord W. Bentinck, the new Governor-general.—His first Measures of Economy.—Further economical Reforms.—Immense Reduction of the Army.—Abstraction of Officers of the Army to fill diplomatic Situations.—Abolition of the Suttee.—Destruction of the Thugs.—Removal of the civil Forfeitures consequent on Conversion to Christianity.—Political Transactions of Lord W. Bentinck's Administration.—Restoration of the Passage to India by the Red Sea.—Sir Charles Metcalfe's interim Government, and Liberation of the Press in India.—Reflections on this Change.—Character of Lord Auckland.—Deposition of the Rajah of Sattara.—The North is the quarter from which India is threatened.—Persia is the chief Barrier against the North.—Afghanistan is the next Barrier: Description of it.—Character of the Afghans.—General Character of Afghan History.—Extent of the Douranee Empire in 1810.—Threatened Invasion of Zemaun Shah, and Coalition with the French.—Treaty with Persia in February, 1801.—Rupture with Persia, and Alliance with Afghanistan.—Renewed Alliance with Persia.—Jealousy of Russia comes in place of that of France in the East.—Progression and rapid Advance of Russia in the East.—Great Effect of the Turkish War and Revolutions in France and England in augmenting the Danger from Russia.—Reflections on the Chances of a Russian Invasion of India.—Afghanistan remained as the only Barrier against Russia.—Means by which it might have been retained in the Interest of England.—State of Afghanistan at this time.—Subsequent Adventures of Shah Soojah, and his vain Efforts to regain his Throne.—Policy which should have been pursued was to support Dost Mohammed.—Russian Designs on Herat.—Kingdom of the Sikhs.—Jealousy and Wars between the Sikhs and the Afghans.—Russian Intrigues at Cabul.—Miserable Policy pursued toward Dost Mohammed by Lord Auckland.—Liberal Promises of the Russian Agent.—Siege of Herat: Description of it.—Commencement of the Siege.—The Siege.—Progress of the Siege.—Final Assault.—Extreme Distress of the besieged.—Interference of the English, and Raising of the Siege.—Great Effects of the Raising of the Siege in Asia.—Great Effects of this Defeat of Russia.—Great Mistake committed on this occasion by the English Government.—Treaty for the Restoration of Shah Soojah.—Reflections on this Treaty.—Preparations for the Afghanistan Expedition.—The Forces.—Magnificent Displays in the Punjab.—Commencement of the March.—Early Difficulties of the March through Scinde.—Passage of the Indus, and March through the Bolan Pass.—Passage of the Bolan Pass.—Increased Sufferings of the Troops.—Reception of Shah Soojah in Candahar.—Passage of the Kyber by Colonel Wade's Force.—Great Sensation in India from these Events.—Movement of the Army toward Cabul.—Description of Ghuznee, and Plans of Dost Mo-

ammed.—Melancholy Tragedy before Ghuznee, and Plan of the Attack.—The Assault.—Capture of the Fortress.—Results of the Victory.—Vain Efforts of Dost Mohammed to make a Stand, and his Flight.—Entry of the British into Cabul.—Honors bestowed on those engaged in the Expedition.—Flattering Appearance of the Country.—Real Causes of Embarrassment to the Indian Government.—Plans of Lord Auckland for the future in Afghanistan.—Attack on Khelat.—Pleasant Quarters of the Troops in Cabul in Autumn and Winter.—Growing Difficulties of the British Position.—Russian Expedition against Khiva.—Fresh Difficulties in Afghanistan.—Disquieting Intelligence from Herat and the Punjab.—Threatening Aspect of things in the Punjab.—Progress and varied Success of the Insurgents.—Checks in the Bamian Pass.—Further Disasters in the Bamian.—Dost Mohammed's Defeat at the Bamian Pass.—Fresh Efforts of Dost Mohammed.—Threatening Advance of Dost Mohammed.—His Victory.—His Surrender.—Increased Tranquillity of the Country.—Renewed Insurrection, and Victory of Nott.—Victory of Colonel Wymer near Khelat-i-Ghilzeye.—Progress of the Insurrection of the Douranees in Eastern Afghanistan.—Last Insurrection.—State of Affairs at Cabul.—Forces at and near Cabul in October, 1840.—Infatuation of the defensive Arrangements at Cabul.—Conduct of the British.—Breaking out of the Insurrection, and Death of Burnes.—Inactivity and Supineness of those in command of the Troops.—Loss of the Commissariat Fort.—Further Loss of Stores.—Fatal Effect of these Losses.—Storm of Mohammed Sherceef's Fort.—Jealousy between Elphinstone and Shelton.—Storming of the Ricksa-bashee Fort.—Results of this Success.—Actions on the Heights.—Macnaghten calls up Troops from Jellalabad and Candahar, which are not sent.—Destruction of the Ghoorka Regiment in the Kohistan.—Arguments for a Removal into the Bala-Hissar.—Fruitless Attempt at Negotiation.—Action on the 28d November.—Total Defeat of the British.—Negotiations with the Enemy.—Arrival of Akbar Khan, and Renewal of the Negotiation.—Capitulation with the Afghans.—Faithlessness of the Afghans, and increased Misery of the Troops.—Secret Negotiation of Sir W. Macnaghten with Akbar Khan.—His Murder by Akbar Khan.—Reflections on this Event.—Fresh Treaty, which is opposed by Pottinger.—Conclusion of the Treaty.—Commencement of the March.—Increasing Horrors of the March.—Passage of the Coord Cabul Defile.—Ascent of the Coord Cabul Plateau, and Surrender of the Ladies.—Almost entire Destruction of the Column.—Continuance of the Retreat to Jugdulluck.—Termination of the Retreat, and Arrival of one Survivor at Jellalabad.—Conduct of Sale and Nott.—Termination of Lord Auckland's Administration, and Lord Ellenborough's Appointment.—Reflections on the Injustice of the Afghanistan Expedition.—Errors in the Conception of the Expedition.—Disproportion of the Force to the Object in view, and its Effects.—Injudicious conferring of civil Offices on military Officers.—Extreme Error in the military Arrangements at last.—Causes of this.—Causes to which the Disaster was owing.—Real Causes of the Disasters in a military point of view.—True Way of combating the Evil.—Two Dangers, and their Remedy.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF GERMANY, FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN 1814 TO THE GREAT CONVULSIONS OF 1848.

So great had been the efforts, so decisive the success of the German nations in the last years of the war with Napoleon, that a long period of tranquillity and repose had been in a manner forced upon them. It was physically impossible that the herculean efforts of 1813, 1814, and 1815, when the whole male inhabitants capable of bearing arms had, either in the regular armies, the landwehr, or the land-sturm, been found in the ranks of war, could much longer continue; and the spirit which had animated them was not, like that of the French or Scythians, the mere passion for conquest, which grows with every gratification it receives, but the sober determination of a peaceful race to defend their temples, their hearths, their families. War is the natural passion of the Gauls, the Poles, the Russians, but it is far from being so either with the Germans or the English. The two latter nations are essentially *inhabitative*; their ruling passion is comfort, their prevailing desires are centred in home. Even when the passion for emigration seizes them, as it did so strongly in the days of the Romans, and is doing again in these times, it is by the influence of the same desires that their conduct, apparently contradictory, is influenced. They leave their own country, not because they are indifferent to the comforts of home, but because they desire them; they seek in foreign lands or Transatlantic climes that secure resting-place which they can no longer find in their own. "When the Roman conquers," says Pliny, "*he inhabits*;" and that is the characteristic of the Teutonic race in every part of the world. They fight desperately in defense of their homes, and are often impelled in stupendous multitudes to gain settlements abroad; but it is to gain or secure such *settlements* that their efforts in both cases are made. They do not aspire, like the Arabs, the Tartars, or the Scythians, to sweep over the world with the fierce tempest of savage conquest; hence all the great and lasting transpositions of mankind have been made by the Teutonic race. Their descendants are to be found in France, Italy, Spain, and the British Isles; and of half a million of Europeans who now annually settle on the shores of America,

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at least nine-tenths have, directly or indirectly, come from the woods of Germany.*

From this peculiarity in the German character it was that, after the transcendent and decisive successes which attended the close of the war, the whole empire so immediately relapsed into pacific habits and pursuits. Moderation, unparalleled

after so many triumphs, regulated their demands in the hour of victory. They neither imitated the example of Louis XIV., who in many successful campaigns despoiled them of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine; nor of the Russians, who have never made peace for a century and a half without an accession of territory; nor of Napoleon, who, by the treaty of Tilsit, robbed Prussia of half its dominions after a single campaign. Scarcely a village was taken from France after the double capture of its capital by the arms of the German nations. "France as in 1789" was the basis of the treaties of Paris alike in 1814 and 1815. To this singular moderation in the hour of victory the solid foundation and long continuance of the peace concluded within the French capital is mainly to be ascribed. Had provinces been reft from old France after the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo, as they had been from Prussia and Austria after those of Jena and Wagram, the same heart-burnings and animosities would have been excited, national jealousies would have been perpetuated, and five-and-thirty years of subsequent peace would not have blessed the inhabitants and developed the resources of the Fatherland.

Much of this long-continued and felicitous pacification is to be ascribed to the strong and wise organization of the German Confederation, which took place at and after the Congress of Vienna. The weakness of the old Empire had

* EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA FROM GERMANY AND THE BRITISH ISLES, FROM 1853 TO 1854.

Years.	From Germany.	From British Isles.	Total.
1853	103,000	368,764	471,764
1853	148,000	329,937	477,937
1854	226,000	323,420	549,420

—*Results of Census*, p. 56; and *Emigration Report*, July 16, 1855.

been sufficiently proved by the wars of the Revolution; the crown of the Kaisars had crumbled at the stroke of Napoleon's sword. A separate empire had been created and acknowledged in Austria; separate kingdoms in Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony; duchies and electorates in the lesser states; but the ancient and venerable bond of the Empire, coeval with the days of Charlemagne, had been dissolved. The danger was great that out of this circumstance a fresh peril, of a more serious and lasting kind than any which had been escaped by the war of liberation, might be incurred. Placed midway between France and Russia, each of which was under a single head, and actuated by the strongest spirit of conquest, there was the greatest risk that Germany, broken into separate principalities, and actuated by separate interests, might be unable to resist either taken singly, and beyond all question would be crushed by the two acting in concert. The fate of Poland, with its democratic passions and discordant government, might yet await the centre of European civilization, and out of the very triumphs of the arms of freedom might arise more serious peril to the cause of European independence than any it had yet incurred.

Impressed with these dangers, it was the first care of the wise statesmen to whom, on the conclusion of the war, the interests of Europe were committed, to frame a *federal constitution* for all the States of German origin, which should secure them against the danger of foreign attack, and the risk of internal discord. By the Act of Confederacy, which was signed at Vienna on June 8th, 1815, it was provided, by the consent of all parties concerned—including the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, the King of Denmark for Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand-duchy of Luxembourg—that the affairs of the Confederacy should be managed by a general Assembly or Diet, in which all the members were to be represented by their plenipotentiaries, either singly possessing a vote, or concurring with others to form one. The presidency was given to Austria; the whole number of votes was seventeen, arranged after such a manner as gave a preponderating influence to the great military powers; and Frankfort-on-the-Maine was fixed on as the place of meeting, probably to impress the Confederation at all times with the peril of French invasion, the great danger which was then apprehended.* Each

* The votes in the Diet were as follows:

	Votes.
Austria	1
Prussia	1
Bavaria	1
Saxony	1
Hanover	1
Württemberg	1
Baden	1
Hesse, Electoral	1
Hesse, Grand Duchy	1
Denmark, for Holstein	1
Netherlands, for Luxembourg	1
Duchies of Saxony	1
Brunswick and Nassau	1
Mecklenburg Schwerin and Strelitz	1
Holstein, Oldenburg, etc.	1
Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, etc.	1
Lubeck, Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg	1
Total	17

member of the Confederacy bound himself to assist in defending not only all Germany, but every separate state of the League, against any attack, and reciprocally to guarantee to each other the whole of their possessions included within the Confederation. They also bound themselves to enter into no treaties hostile to the Confederacy; not to make war upon one another under any pretext, and to submit all differences that might arise between them to the decision of the Diet. It was further agreed that in all the States of the Confederacy a *constitutional Assembly or States-General shall be established*;^{*} and that diversity of Christian faith shall occasion no difference in respect of civil or political rights. The Diet was to take into its consideration how the condition of the professors of the Jewish religion might be ameliorated. It was provided that the subjects of each state might inherit or acquire landed property in any other state, without being subject to heavier burdens than the natives in them; that free emigration was to be permitted from any one state to any other which might be willing to receive the emigrants; and that the subjects of each might enlist in the service of any other, if not already subject to military service in their own country. Finally, the Diet was at its first meeting to occupy itself with framing uniform regulations to secure the freedom of the press, and the security of authors and publishers from oppression.¹

The preparations alike for protection from ex-

But if matters came to a deliberation and vote "in matters relating to the Act of Confederacy, the organic institutions, or other arrangements of common interest," then the Diet was to form itself into a general assembly, and its members shall have votes according to the following scale, viz.:

	Votes.
Austria	4
Prussia	4
Saxony	4
Bavaria	4
Hanover	4
Württemberg	4
Baden	3
Hesse, Electoral	3
Holstein	3
Luxembourg	3
Brunswick	2
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2
Nassau	2
Saxe Weimar	1
Saxe Gotha	1
Saxe Coburg	1
Saxe Meiningen	1
Saxe Hildburghausen	1
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1
Holstein, Oldenburg	1
Anhalt, Dessau	1
Anhalt, Bernburg	1
Anhalt, Köthen	1
Schwartz Sondershausen	1
Schwartz Rudolstadt	1
Hohenzollern	1
Lichtenstein	1
Hohenzollern-Hechingen	1
Waldeck	1
Reuss, Ainée	1
Reuss, Cadette	1
Schaumburg-Lippe	1
Lippe	1
Lubeck	1
Frankfort	1
Bremen	1
Hamburg	1
Total	66

—Archives Diplomatiques, iv. 10, 12.

* "Il y aura des Assemblées des Etats dans tous les pays de la Confédération."—*Loi Fondamentale*, Art. 13. Archives Diplomatiques, iv. 17.

ternal enemies, and for the crushing of internal discord in this great Confederacy, Military were of proportional magnitude. The forces of the troops which the different states were Confederacy. bound to furnish for the common defense, were minutely specified, arranged according to the population and revenue of each state; and they constituted, upon the whole, an immense military force. The quota was taken at a hundredth part of the entire population of each state; and as the population of the different states composing the Confederacy was 30,163,488, the whole force was 301,635 men. Of this body 222,000 were infantry of the line, 11,700 light infantry, 43,000 cavalry, 22,000 artillery, and 3000 pioneers. It was all organized, and the arrangements made for its command, its rallying points, etc., with the utmost precision and minuteness. Great as this force was, it constituted not more than two-thirds of what the German powers could bring into the field if acting in concert, for the principal states were put down at a small part only of their whole inhabitants, being those in Germany proper. Thus Austria was set down only at 9,482,000 souls, and 94,822 soldiers, as Hungary, Galicia, and the Italian States were excluded; whereas in reality she had 32,000,000 souls, and 320,000 men in arms. Prussia was taken at 7,923,000 inhabitants, 79,230 men; whereas, including the Polish provinces, she had even then above 10,000,000, and 150,000 soldiers. If the whole resources of the states which formed part of the Confederacy were taken into consideration, including the Netherlands and Denmark, they

presented a mass of 60,000,000 souls, who could bring 600,000 combatants into the field; of whom one-half belonged to Germany proper, and entered into the Confederacy.* It was stipulated that considerable sums (60,000,000 francs, or £2,400,000) should be given from the common stock of the allied powers to Prussia and the lesser powers, to put Mayence, Landau, and Luxembourg, and the fortresses on the Rhine, in a respectable state of defense, and that the great stronghold of Mayence should be garrisoned by 13,000 men, of whom one-half should be Prussians and one-half Austrians, and Landau exclusively by Austrians. One-sixth of the infantry, and two-thirds of the subaltern officers, and two-thirds of the cavalry of each state, were to be always under arms, and the whole ready to turn out on four week's notice. No provision was made for erecting or strengthening any fortresses on the Vistula or toward Russia, as no danger was apprehended from that quarter: a striking instance of the manner in which men, how able soever, are in their collective capacity governed by the memory of the past, rather than the anticipation of the future.†

Experience has proved that this constitution of the German Confederation was wisely formed with a view to external defense and internal peace. Forty years have now elapsed (1855) since it was established, and during that long period, with the single exception of one year, when the French revolution of 1848 had violently shaken all the

* The following valuable Table was compiled at this time by the different governments, and formed the basis of the military constitution:

STATES.	Population, 1815.	Contingents.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Population, 1848.
Austria	9,482,287	94,822	73,501	13,546	11,893,198
Prussia	7,923,439	79,234	61,418	11,310	12,240,196
Bavaria	3,560,000	35,600	27,595	5,036	4,504,874
Württemberg	1,395,462	13,955	10,816	1,994	1,742,827
Baden	1,900,000	19,000	7,751	1,420	1,362,774
Hesse, Grand Duchy	619,500	6,195	4,802	855	732,073
Hohenzollern	145,000	1,450	113	21	165,574
Lichtenstein	5,546	55	42	8	6,351
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	35,560	356	275	51	65,578
Hesse-Homburg	20,000	200	155	20	24,203
Frankfurt	47,850	478	372	63	66,240
Saxony	1,900,000	19,000	9,302	1,714	1,536,483
Hesse, Electoral	567,868	5,679	4,402	811	732,073
Luxembourg	255,628	2,556	1,981	365	389,319
Nassau	302,760	3,028	2,347	433	418,626
Weimar	201,000	2,010	1,538	287	261,094
Gotha	185,632	1,856	1,439	265	147,195
Coburg	80,013	800	620	114	103,323
Meiningen	54,400	544	422	76	103,323
Hildburghausen	29,706	297	231	42	48,844
Dessau	52,947	529	410	76	106,820
Bernburg	37,046	370	286	53	48,844
Köthen	33,454	335	253	46	37,213
Sondershausen	45,117	451	350	64	60,002
Rudolstadt	53,937	539	418	77	69,630
Reuss, Altdorf	22,255	222	173	32	33,603
Reuss, Cadette	52,295	522	404	75	77,016
Hanover	1,305,351	13,054	10,118	1,665	1,758,656
Holstein	360,000	3,600	2,791	514	526,850
Brunswick	309,800	3,098	1,925	299	266,943
Mecklenburg	358,000	3,580	2,778	511	534,394
Strelitz	71,769	718	556	103	96,292
Oldenburg	217,769	2,178	1,688	311	278,909
Waldeck	51,877	519	403	74	58,753
Schamberg	24,000	240	187	36	69,650
Lippe	69,062	691	535	99	106,236
Lubeck	40,650	407	316	58	47,197
Bremen	48,500	485	376	69	72,880
Hamburg	129,800	1,298	1,007	185	188,054
Totals	30,163,488	301,635	233,813	43,090	41,212,729

—Archives Diplomatiques, iv. 370; and Almanach de Gotha, 1855, p. 435.

European states, Germany has enjoyed, both externally and internally, uninterrupted peace. No foreign power has ventured to assail a Confederacy which had 800,000 men ready to repel insult, and could double the number from the resources of the principal states of the union. No domestic dissension was possible in one so strongly cemented, and in which so overwhelming a force was at all times ready to enforce obedience to the fundamental law, that no one state was on any account to make war on any other state, and that all differences were to be submitted to the decision of the Diet. By this auspicious union Germany has, for the first time in history, become a great power, possessing vast military forces, capable of exercising a preponderating influence in central Europe, and enjoying within itself the inestimable blessing of domestic peace and tranquillity. Immense have been the effects of this blessed change. From being the battle-field of Europe, in which rival states or hostile religions sought a theatre for mutual slaughter, it has become the abode of peace, tranquillity, and industry. Nearly a whole generation know war only from the traditions of their fathers, or the moving annals of former times. The melancholy traces of the Thirty Years' War, which for nearly two centuries had been visible on the Fatherland, have been nearly obliterated by the *forty years'* peace; and, strange to say, the first long period of unbroken rest which its inhabitants have ever enjoyed, has arisen from the desolating wars of the French Revolution.

The effects of this long period of repose, and of the entire cessation of domestic war, upon the development of industry and the increase of social prosperity, have been immense. The termination not only of war, but of the dread of war, for so considerable a time, has been sufficient to stimulate activity and rouse effort, and spread happiness to an extraordinary degree. The vigor and energy called forth in the war of liberation has not been lost by its termination; it has only been turned into a different channel. The Germans have realized the vision of the prophet: they have turned their swords into pruning-hooks. In Prussia, in particular, where the excitement was the greatest, and the most extraordinary efforts were made, this effect has been most conspicuous. Its population has advanced since the peace more rapidly than that of any other state in Europe: it is doubling in every fifty-two years.* Its inhabitants, which were ten millions at the battle of Waterloo, are now above sixteen millions; and its wealth and industry have advanced in a similar proportion. The entire inhabitants of the Confederacy have increased twelve millions during the last forty years—from thirty they have advanced to forty-two millions. The industry of the inhabitants has kept pace with this great increase. Not only have the labors of agriculture raised food sufficient to feed the huge and increasing multitude, but large quantities of grain and cattle

are annually exported; and England, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, is indebted to Northern Germany for a considerable part of its immense imports of corn. Manufactures have sprung up in various quarters where they were formerly unknown—the printed cotton goods of Silesia have come to rival the British; the colored glass of Bohemia, the china of Dresden, are admired throughout the world. The chief commercial cities of the Confederacy, Hamburg, Frankfort, Lübeck, Bremen, have doubled in inhabitants; their bankers number all the kings of Europe among their debtors; and the burgher class in these great emporiums of industry has acquired such wealth and consideration as to come materially to influence the political doctrines and social changes of the country.¹

Nor has the wealth and prosperity of the country been less signally evinced in those more refined and imaginative branches of industry which bespeak the elevation of the general mind, and the spread of easy circumstances and improved taste among the more affluent classes. The pleasing duty will fall to the historian, in a succeeding part of this work, of recording the great men who have given to modern Germany immortal celebrity in philosophy, literature, and the fine arts; but, considered as an indication of general prosperity and the efflorescence of an advancing and happy civilization, they are not less worthy of consideration. The change on the capitals and cities of Germany during the last forty years has been such as to exceed belief, and speaks volumes as to the beneficial effect of the institutions which have shielded it during so long a period alike from foreign invasion and domestic warfare. This progress is in an especial manner conspicuous in northern and central Germany. The Brandenburg Gate and palace of Berlin, the cathedral of Cologne, the glorious museum and sumptuous palaces of Dresden, the Glyptothek and Valhalla, and magnificent galleries of Munich, attest at once how strongly the national mind of Germany has been turned to the fine arts during the long peace, and how large have been the resources which the increasing wealth of the people has put at the disposal of its governments for their encouragement.²

It must be added, to their honor, that the rulers of the Fatherland have been not less assiduous or successful in their endeavors to promote general education, and inculcate universal instruction, not only as a parental duty of individuals, but as a public concern of the state, which is to be enforced by positive law. The persevering efforts of the German governments in this respect have been attended with results hitherto unexampled in the history of mankind. By establishing schools and seminaries of education at the public expense in every quarter, making it part of the duty of subjects to send their children to them, and detaching their direction from the fatal ingredient of sectarian jealousy, while the great element of religious instruction is sedulously preserved, the governments of Austria and Prussia have succeeded in diffusing elementary education among their

* Population of Prussia in 1815..... 9,923,000
 " " 1825..... 12,072,000
 " " 1854..... 16,265,000

—MALTE BRUN, v. 276; and *Atlasnach de Gotha*, 1855, p. 434.

subjects to an extent heretofore unknown among mankind.* The proportion of the entire inhabitants at school in Prussia has for the last quarter of a century been 1 in 7, and in Austria 1 in 14; while in England, in 1816, it was only 1 in 16, in Scotland 1 in 11, and in France 1 in 23. There are no less than 21,000 primary schools in Prussia, and above 1000 academies, where the learned languages, mathematics, and philosophy are taught—a proportion to the population more than double that which obtains in Great Britain, notwithstanding the immense efforts to extend public instruction which have been made of late years. It may safely be affirmed that Germany exhibits a mass of general instruction and educated poverty unparalleled in any other age or country.¹

Philanthropists anticipated, from this immense spread of elementary education, a vast diminution of crime, proceeding on the adage, so flattering to the pride of intellect, that ignorance is the parent of vice. Judging from the results which have taken place in Prussia, where instruction has been pushed to so great a length, this is very far indeed from being the case. On the contrary, though one of the most highly educated countries in Europe, it is at the same time one of the most criminal. On an average of three years, from 1st January, 1824, to 1st January, 1827, the number of convictions in serious cases was 862 against the person, and 20,691 against property annually, which, as compared with the population at that period, was 1 convicted to 587 inhabitants; whereas in France the proportion in the same years was 1 convicted to 7285, of which 1 to 82,411 were crimes against the person, and 1 to 9392 against property. That is, in Prussia, where the proportion of persons at school to the entire population was 1 in 7, the proportion of crime to the inhabitants was *twelve times* greater than in France, where it was 1 in 23.† This startling

fact coincides closely with what has been experienced in France itself, where the proportion of conviction to the inhabitants is 1 to 7285; and it has been found that, without one single exception in the whole eighty-four departments, the amount of crime is in the *inverse ratio* of the number of persons receiving instruction.^{1a} note.

In Austria, where primary instruction is in some provinces nearly as generally diffused as in Prussia, the results are not by any means so disheartening.† The proportion of convicted crime to the entire population is there much less considerable: it is not a fourth part of what is found in Prussia. The difference of this result from that which obtains in Prussia, where general instruction is more universally diffused, appears at first sight startling, but in reality it can easily be explained, and is in fact just what experience tells us might be expected under the different circumstances of these different states. Austria is an educated, but not an *enlightened* nation; Prussia is both the one and the other. In Austria there is little commerce or manufactures; the capital even only contains 411,000 inhabitants; there are few great towns. The industry of the country is mainly agricultural. Secluded on their little domains, of which they for the most part enjoy the property, the peasants read nothing but the little books prepared for their use by the clergy or government authorities. This is not eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. For good or for evil, its effects will not appear there. In Prussia and Northern Germany, where the great bulk of the inhabitants are Lutheran, the innumerable works which issue annually from the press of the Fatherland are devoured. It is when general instruction co-exists with a free press, and not till then, that its effects appear. In Northern Germany the press is far from being generally free in relation to present events, but it is completely so in regard to past or general literature; and hence its powerful influence, both in unfolding genius,

* "Aucun individu en Autriche ne peut se marier s'il ne sait lire, écrire, et compter; nul maître ne peut sous peine d'amende employer un ouvrier qui ne sait ni lire ni écrire; et pour répandre les principes de morale, de petites livres rédigés avec beaucoup de soin sont distribués à très-bas prix parmi le peuple des villes et des campagnes." MALTE BRUN, v. 646.

† D'après les renseignements qui ont été publiés à ce sujet dans ces dernières années, il y a eu dans toutes les provinces Prussiennes depuis 1824 jusqu'au 1^{er} Janvier 1827, 63,150 condamnations pour crimes et délits, dont 1067 contre les personnes, et 20,673 contre les propriétés. La moyenne de ces trois années est de 362 crimes ou délits contre les personnes, et de 30,691 contre les propriétés. Si l'on compare ces nombres au chiffre de la population en 1826, on a 1 crime ou délit en général sur 587 habitants: contre les personnes, 1 sur 34,123 habitants; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 597 habitants.

Comparée avec les résultats qu'offre la Justice criminelle en France, cette proportion n'est pas tout-à-fait en faveur de la Prusse, puisqu'en France on compte en général 1 crime sur 7285 habitants: contre les personnes, 1 crime contre 32,411 habitants; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 9392 habitants; c'est-à-dire, qu'en Prusse sur une population égale, on commet contre les personnes et les propriétés plus de 12 fois autant de crimes et de délits qu'en France: que contre la personne on compte à la vérité en Prusse un peu plus de crimes qu'en France à peu près dans la proportion d'un dix-neuvième. Mais que sur les propriétés seules la Prusse est le Théâtre de plus de 15 fois autant de crimes et de délits que la France."—MALTE BRUN; *Géographie Universelle*, v. 277, 278. The Author referred to this singular and startling fact in his first volume of this work, chap. I., § 47, and it was violently assailed in several periodical journals as being in-

correct. The authority for the statement is therefore now given from a statistical writer of the first authority. Several other facts of a similar description, and directly adverse to common opinion, are given in the introductory chapter, the proof of which is reserved for those parts of the work which come abreast of them, in order not to overload an introductory sketch with a mass of distracting proofs and illustrations.

* Population en France, 1827.....	31,847,000
Moyenne des crimes contre la Personne, 1825-6-7, 1 sur	32,411
Moyenne des crimes contre la Propriété, 1 sur	9,392
Moyenne de tous, 1 sur	7,285

—MALTE BRUN, iii. 768.

† INSTRUCTION.

	Inhabitants	At all Schools
Bohemia in 1824.....	3,895,117	420,788, or 1 in 9 nearly.
Moravia and Silesia.....	2,078,584	154,000, or 1 in 16 nearly.
Upper and Lower Austria.....	2,118,481	160,000, or 1 in 15 nearly.

CRIMES.

	1821	1822	1823
Bohemia	2074	2256	1617
Moravia and Silesia.....	861	867	637
Upper and Lower Austria ..	922	2063	2016

—MALTE BRUN, v. 726, 737.

stimulating thought, enhancing desires, and multiplying crime.

One might naturally have been led to imagine that the complete protection, unbroken peace, and general prosperity which Germany has enjoyed from 1815 to 1848, would have had the effect of inducing universal contentment, and that the Fatherland would have exhibited the pleasing spectacle of unanimity and concord springing out of social happiness. It was just the reverse. Peace cast not the olive branch, but a fire-brand into its bosom; and the universal protection which was enjoyed, and stillness which prevailed, proved but the harbinger of future strife and desolation. None but the inexperienced can be surprised at this result; for such is the constitution of human nature, and such the provision made by the Almighty for mingling suffering with joy in this scene of probation, that it is hard to say whether sorrow springs more commonly from prosperity, or felicity from care; and in the attainment of the very objects for which men contend most strenuously at one time, is found the secret spring of adversity at another. Germany was no exception to this universal law; on the contrary, her social situation was such, after the war of liberation terminated, as too surely foreshadowed a war of distractions in future times.

That terrible strife was brought to a successful issue by an unparalleled warlike effort—by the universal arming of the people; by exciting in all ranks, to the very uttermost, the ardent and enthusiastic feelings of the heart. In the poems of Körner, as in a mirror, we may see reflected the feelings which then shook to the centre every heart in the Fatherland. Such was the strength of France and the power of Napoleon, that deliverance could be effected in no other way. The effort proved successful; the victory was gained; but it was gained at a cost which cast the seeds of interminable future discord into the bosom of the community. For as much as the power of the great military monarchies forming part of the Confederation was enhanced by the prodigious development of the military spirit in their inhabitants, and augmentation of the military strength in their governments, was the thirst for liberal institutions, and the desire of exercising a sway in the administration of affairs, spread among their people. This effect was universal and inevitable; it was felt even among the distant nobles of Russia, and induced the terrible military revolt of 1825. How much more must it have been felt, therefore, among the educated youth of Northern Germany—among those whose hearts had warmed at the songs of Körner, whose souls had been inspired by the poetry of Schiller, and who had struck for the Fatherland in the belief that they were cementing with their blood not only its external independence, but its internal freedom!

It can not be said that any *express* promise was made by their sovereigns to the German people when the war of liberation broke out, or during its continuance, that they should enjoy representative institutions as the reward of their exertions; but it is undoubtedly true that

this was universally understood, and constituted the mainspring of the astonishing efforts made by the people of Germany at that eventful period. It breathes in every page of the soul-inspiring strains of Körner—the expression, as the finest poetry always is, of the general mind when it was written. It was so universally understood that it did not require to be expressly promised: what is firmly relied on between trusting hearts never does. But the Emperor Alexander spoke the language then generally felt alike by sovereigns and the people, when, in the first moment of triumph on the taking of Paris, he said, that the allied powers wished France to be great, and powerful, and free, and that they would respect *any constitution* which it might adopt.¹⁴

But abundant evidence remains in the public announcements and diplomatic acts of the period immediately following the termination of hostilities, that the general establishment of constitutional governments formed part of the understood compact between the sovereigns and people of Germany. Prussia took the lead in the great announcement looked for with breathless anxiety by so many millions of people. By a royal decree, published on May 25, 1815, just three weeks before the battle of Waterloo, and when sovereigns and people in Germany were alike quaking before the spectre of Napoleon's resurrection, their intention was announced in regard to Prussia in the most unequivocal terms. By it it was declared that a "*representation of the people shall be formed*. For this end the provincial assemblies then existing are to be re-established, and remodeled according to the exigencies of the time; and where at present there are no representative assemblies, they were to be introduced. From these the national representation is to be formed, which is to sit at Berlin, and the functions of which were to extend its deliberations upon all those objects of legislation which concern the personal right of citizens and their property, including taxation. A committee is to be formed at Berlin of officers of state and inhabitants of the provinces, nominated and presided over by the chancellor, for the purpose of organizing the provincial assemblies and the national representation, and framing a constitution according to the principles then laid down, which was to meet on the 1st September next." And this promise was in a fortnight after extended to all the states of the Confederation by the thirteenth article of the Fundamental Act, signed by all the powers on June 8, 1815, *still before the battle of Waterloo*; which provided, as already mentioned, "That there shall be assemblies of the states in *all the countries of the Confederation*."¹⁵

In nations, as individuals, it too often happens that promises made during a period of danger, or under the influence of extraordinary feelings of terror or gratitude, are forgotten when the peril is over, or the period of excitement is past. The self-

14. Universal expectation of liberal institutions which prevailed in Germany after the peace.

1 Proclamation of Alexander, 31st March, 1814. See History of Europe, c. 89, § 8, note.

15. Evidence from public acts of the promise to give Germany constitutional government. May 25, 1815.

1 Arch. Dip. iv. 17; Ann. Reg. 1815, 108, 109, 398; State Papers.

16. Delay in performing these promises on the part of the German governments.

ishness of libertines has invented the infamous maxim that lovers' vows are made only to be broken, although many a noble heart and heroic deed has proved the falsehood of the assertion; but there are unfortunately fewer instances of unswerving faith in governments, whether monarchical or democratic. The monarchs of Germany broke faith as completely with the people, who had won for them the victory, after it was gained, as the Tiers Etat of France did with the clergy, whose accession had given them the majority over the privileged orders at the commencement of the Revolution. Ten days after the signature of this solemn act of the Confederation, which guaranteed parliaments to all the states of Germany, the battle of Waterloo was fought, the independence of the country was secured, and with the danger all memory of the promises passed away. The 1st September came, but no committee met to arrange and settle the organization of the provincial and the national representation in Prussia; years elapsed, but nothing was done generally toward the formation of estates of the realm in any countries of the Confederation. The utmost dissatisfaction was felt in all the

¹ Ann. Reg. 1816, 137; Stein's Lebens-Geschichte, v. 124.

states of Northern Germany, especially in Prussia, at this breach of public faith, and many even came to regret the active part they had taken in supporting their ungrateful rulers against the French domination.¹

The public voice on the subject was so strong

^{17.} States established in Hanover, Würtemberg, and Baden, but not in Prussia.

that it could not be withstood in the lesser states, and accordingly "estates," or representative assemblies, were established in this year and the next in Hanover, Würtemberg, and Baden, which met and deliberated on the public concerns. Though far from possessing the power or consideration of the English parliament, they yet enjoyed the right of voting taxes and subsidies to government, and their establishment gave general satisfaction. But it was otherwise in Prussia, which, as the most powerful state in Northern Germany, and the one in which a free constitution was most loudly demanded by the people, fixed universal attention. Great difficulties no doubt existed in that country, chiefly in regard to the constitution of the upper house, in consequence of the impoverished condition of the nobility from the long-continued exactions of the French, and the unparalleled efforts made by all classes during the war of liberation. But these difficulties might have been overcome, had the government really been sincere in their desire to establish representative assemblies. But they were not so, and their whole efforts, after the din of cannon had ceased, were directed to gain time to elude performance of their promises. Still, however, they professed their determination to abide by them; but evidence was soon afforded that they did not intend the public to take part in their deliberations concerning the constitution, for on January 8, 1816, Jan. 2, 1816.

a cabinet order was issued from Berlin for the suppression of a journal entitled *The Rhenish Mercury*, which had strongly advocated liberal opinions. At the same time a letter was published from Counselor Sack, president of the Rhenish provinces of the monarchy, to the su-

perior officers of those provinces, in which it was stated that government was occupied with framing a law concerning the freedom of the press which should reconcile all interests; and in the mean time it called on the censors in all the provinces to redouble their vigilance "in examining all gazettes and political journals, so that no passages might appear in which injurious attacks were made on any foreign government, or incompetent criticisms on the transactions of their own."¹

The public press was in a great degree shackled in Northern Germany by these measures, but the public discontent was only thereby increased, and, deprived of its natural vent in the columns of the press, it sought an issue in the addresses of public bodies, which could not so easily be stifled. The Rhenish provinces, in which local assemblies, by their old constitution, existed, urged the fulfillment, in 1817, of the promises contained in the royal proclamation of 25th May, 1815; but the government received the address coldly, observing, "Those who admonish the king are guilty of doubting the inviolability of his word." To appease, however, the public mind, which in the course of this year became extremely agitated on the subject, an official Berlin paper announced on 20th August that during the last sittings of the Council of State, the committee charged with framing a constitution had had several meetings, presided over by the Prince Chancellor of State. It was declared by that important functionary, "that the constitution ought to unfold itself, as it were, in an historic manner out of the state of society; that therefore a correct knowledge of existing institutions was necessary, and what was now in existence should first be taken into consideration." On these grounds he proposed that commissioners should be sent to the provinces to obtain information on the spot regarding their existing customs, which was accordingly done, and they were to report the result of their inquiries to the next Council of State, which was to meet in autumn.²

Before the report of the commissioners, however, could be received, a step had been taken by the Diet which rendered it of comparatively little importance, and has tended more than any other to extinguish all advances toward freedom in Germany. On the 12th June, 1817, the Diet agreed to a protocol which defined its exterior and interior powers in relation to the affairs of the Confederacy. By the second article of this protocol it was provided: "In like manner as the territories of individual states are under the general guarantee of the Confederacy, so it is also called on to charge itself with the guarantee of the particular constitutions of the German states, under the modifications adopted generally in accordance with the imperial Austrian vote on occasion of the motion of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; that is to say, with the unanimous consent of the prince and estates, that the Confederacy is charged with the guarantee of the constitution." And by the fifth article: "If the government of any confederated state should take

¹ Ann. Reg. 1816, 137.

^{18.} Tardy promises of the Prussian government.

² Ann. Reg. 1817, 155.

^{19.} Important resolution of the Diet regarding the internal affairs of the Confederation.

June 12, 1817.

measures in regard to persons or corporations inconsistent with the fundamental laws and decisions of the Confederation, or which may prove dangerous to the external or internal security of the latter, the Diet is called upon to intervene to procure the abrogation of that measure. Should the case arise of a difference between the reigning sovereign and his subjects, as has been justly remarked on the part of Bavaria in the fifth sitting of last year, so that the interior tranquillity of the country is menaced while the general tranquillity is compromised, the Confederation as a body, after having used all the constitutional ways and means, and legal means of conciliation of the countries in question, is to consider itself bound to intervene in order to prevent such an explosion, or to re-establish

tranquillity, if it is already compromised. In such a case the confederate state thus agitated is equally entitled to reclaim the succor of the Confederation, as the latter is bound to accord it.¹

These clauses in the fundamental statutes of the Confederation rendered it a matter of impossibility to establish in any of the lesser states constitutions not in accordance with the views of the great military powers, whose tendencies toward absolute government were fixed and unalterable; for, the Diet being declared competent to intervene in any internal disputes between a sovereign prince and his subjects, and the former as being entitled to reclaim it, the smallest state in the Confederacy was liable on any internal convulsion to be overwhelmed by the entire forces of the gigantic "band" invoked by the ruling government. This state of things effectually prevented the growth of liberal institutions to any considerable extent in any of the free cities or lesser states of the Confederacy, where they were most likely to arise. If Middlesex, Manchester, Glasgow, and Ireland, had formed part of a huge confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men into the field, and in which the decided majority was in the hands of the military and monarchical powers, the efforts of the Catholic Association, Reform Clubs, and Anti-Corn-Law League, would probably have met with a very different result from that which, in the sea-girt and commercial realm of Britain, actually attended them.

The anti-democratic and despotic tendencies of the Diet became every day more conspicuous with the increase of the opposite principles in the Spanish peninsula, France, and England, in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, of which a full account has already been given. The overthrow of the established government in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, in those eventful years, the open attempts to subvert it in Great Britain, and the narrow escape from revolution made by France, excited the utmost alarm in the courts of the northern powers, and it became the chief object of their solicitude to prevent the spread of similar principles in the states of the German Confederacy. To accomplish this object, the congress at Carlsbad agreed on an official letter of the Emperor of Austria to the Diet on 20th September, 1819, which set forth in strong terms

the apprehensions felt by his Majesty at the alarming spread of democratic principles in the adjoining states, and earnestly counseled the adoption of such measures as might prevent the evil from spreading in the states of the Confederacy.* In this letter the false interpretation put upon article 13th of the Act of Federal Union,† the incorrect ideas which prevailed regarding the functions of the Federal Assembly, and the means of obviating them, the defective régime of schools and universities, and the abuses of the press, especially such part of it as is composed of journal and periodical writings, were in an especial manner recommended to their attention.¹

In pursuance of this recommendation, the Diet took the different points brought under their notice into consideration, and framed a resolution on the subject which bore strong evidence to the influence of Austria in the Confederacy, and the disastrous effect which the

¹ Lettre de l'Empereur d'Autriche, 30 Sep. 1819; Arch. Dip. 117, 120.

22. Resolution of the Diet on the propositions of Austria.

* "Jamais les fondateurs de la Fédération Allemande n'ont pu supposer que l'on doit donner à l'article 13 des interprétations qui seraient en contradiction avec la teneur littérale et claire de cette disposition, ou que l'on dût en tirer des conséquences qui annuleraient non seulement l'article 13, mais le texte entier de l'acte entier de la confédération dans toutes ses dispositions principales, et qui rendraient l'existence ultérieure de l'union elle-même très problématique. Jamais il n'ont pu supposer que l'on confondrait le principe non équivoque des Etats organisés d'un pays, principe à l'affermissement duquel ils mettaient un grand prix, avec des principes et des formes purement démocratiques, et que l'on fonderait sur ce mal-entendu des prétentions, dont on devait apercevoir d'abord ou du moins reconnaître dans très peu de temps l'incompatibilité avec l'existence d'Etats monarchiques, qui, à l'exception peu considérable de villes libres comme dans cette alliance, doivent être les seuls éléments de la confédération. . . . Les décisions de la Diète Fédérale, en tant qu'elles ont pour but la sûreté extérieure et intérieure du corps entier, l'indépendance et l'inviolabilité individuelle des membres de la confédération, et le maintien de l'ordre légalement existant, qui est inséparable de l'une et de l'autre, doivent avoir une fois obligation pour tous, et aucune législation particulière et aucune mesure séparée ne peut s'opposer à l'exécution de telles décisions. . . . Une grande partie des Professeurs académiques, entraînés par le torrent d'un siècle de bouleversement général, ont méconnu les vraies dispositions des universités, et y ont substitué une éducation arbitraire et souvent pernicieuse. Au lieu de remplir le premier de leurs devoirs, qui est de former les jeunes gens confiés à leurs soins pour le service de l'Etat auquel ils étaient appelés, et de leur inspirer les principes dont la patrie à laquelle ils appartiennent puisse se promettre d'heureux fruits, ils ont poursuivi le fantôme d'une éducation soi-disant cosmopolite, ils ont répandu un chaos de vaines rêveries dans des âmes également accessibles à la vérité et à l'erreur, et leur ont suggéré, au lieu de l'antiméisme, du moins des idées désavantageuses et de la répugnance pour l'ordre légal existant. . . . Les maux sans nombre que la liberté de la Presse a répandue sur l'Allemagne sont encore beaucoup accrues depuis que la publicité des délibérations des états et l'extension de cette publicité à des objets, qui ne devraient jamais sortir du sanctuaire des sénats pour être livrés à la publicité, que dans les formes régulières et solennelles, mais jamais pour servir de jeu à une vaine curiosité et à une critique superficielle, a donné à l'audace des écrivains un nouvel aliment, et a fourni à chaque gazetter un prétexte pour élever sa voix sur des affaires qui présentent encore des doutes et des difficultés aux plus grands hommes d'état. Il serait inutile de rappeler à quel point les abus pernicieux sont enfin montés, quel bouleversement dans les idées, quelles fermentations dans les esprits, quel tumulte des passions, quels égarements fantastiques, quels crimes enfin elle a fait naître; et l'on ne peut supposer que la partie bien-pensante et vraiment éclairée de la Nation Allemande, puisse être d'une opinion différente, ou être partagée dans son jugement sur un mal aussi notoire."—Lettre de l'Empereur d'Autriche à la Diète d'Allemagne, 20 Sept., 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 117, 137.

† That guaranteeing Estates in all the states of the Union.

¹ Protocol de June 12, 1817, art. 4 and 5 (6); Arch. Dip. iv. 73, 75.

20. Great effect of these provisions.

21. Effect of the Spanish and Italian revolutions of 1819 and 1820 on Germany.

revolution in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas had had on the progress of real freedom. It was agreed that all the federal states should each at their sittings next year present to the Diet a note containing their ideas on the interpretation to be put on the 18th article of the Fundamental Act; and in the mean time, until a definitive regulation on the subject could be formed, it was agreed *unanimously* that an interim one should be adopted, and for that purpose that provisional regulations should be agreed to, calculated to check the abuses in universities and of the press. For that purpose a central authority was instituted, empowered to take cognizance of the matters, and in particular of the revolutionary attempts which had been brought to light in many states of the Confederacy. A commission was at the same time appointed to carry this resolution into full effect, which was to sit permanently, notwithstanding the adjournment of the central Diet.¹

¹ Arch. Dip. iv. 164, 165.

To carry these views more fully into effect, a supreme tribunal entitled "Austregal," was appointed, which was empowered to pronounce judgment without appeal in any questions which might arise between members of the Confederation, and to carry into instant execution the decisions of the Diet by military force, the expense of which was to form a charge against and be levied on the state which rendered such extreme measures necessary. The powers of this court were not long of being exercised. On 30th May, 1823, the journal entitled *Der Deutsche Beobachter* was suppressed at Mayence by orders of the Federal Diet, and several other journals in the lesser states were stopped in like manner by the same authority. The constitutions of the lesser states, which contained several of the elements of freedom, were sanctioned by the Diet; but as they were all subject to this overruling authority, and without the means of resisting it, they could have no results in establishing the liberties of Germany. Prussia, in particular, took the lead in resisting the demand for the convocation of a general diet or parliament for the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom. On 5th June 5, 1823, the definitive regulations respecting the *provincial* estates of that kingdom were published, but the convocation of a general diet was passed over in silence, and the promise of the government in that respect was never carried into execution till it was forced upon it by the revolution of 1848.²

A deplorable event occurred at this period, which demonstrated the strength of the feeling in favor of political freedom which had got possession of the German mind, and the lengths which its impassioned youth were prepared to go to carry out their principles. KOTZEBUE, the dramatist, was suspected of being in correspondence with the Emperor of Russia, by whom he had been made a counselor of state, as to the state of public opinion in the cities of Germany; and from the manner in which the Czars seek out talent, and allure it into their service wherever it is to be found, it is probable that the suspicion was well founded. On this account he was, despite his great talents and the popularity of his writings,

regarded with undisguised aversion by the liberal youth of Germany; and one of them, Charles Fredrick Sand, who had distinguished himself by his courage in the war of liberation, undertook to deliver his country from the traitor. With this view he repaired to Mannheim, where Kotzebue was residing with his family, and there his murderous intent was too fatally carried into execution. Having obtained entrance into his house under the pretext of business, he delivered to him a paper, on which were written the words, "Sentence of death executed against Augustus Kotzebue, 23d March, 1819." He then drew a poniard from his bosom, with which he pierced him to the heart. Alarmed by his cries, Kotzebue's wife arrived in the room only in time to see him expire. The assassin quietly rose, left the room, and descended the stair of the house, exclaiming, "The traitor is dead, the Fatherland is saved! *Vivat Teutonia!*" Then, as a crowd, attracted by the cries of Kotzebue's wife, followed him, he turned calmly round, and, drawing the bloody dagger from his bosom, he said, "Yes! I am the murderer! It is thus that all traitors to their country should perish." Then, kneeling down, and raising his eyes beaming with fervor to heaven, he exclaimed, "I thank thee, O God! for permitting me to do this deed;" and, opening his vest, he plunged the dagger in his bosom, and fell to all appearance lifeless on the pavement.¹

March 23, 1819.

¹ Ann. Hist. ii. 383, 384; Ann. Reg. 1819, Chron. 211.

This tragic event, which excited a prodigious sensation in Germany, was sufficiently alarming in itself, the more especially as it occurred only a few weeks after the murder of the Duke de Berri by Louvel, in Paris, the Cato Street conspiracy in London, and the revolution of Riego in Madrid. But it became doubly alarming from what afterward occurred. Though severely, and to all appearance, mortally wounded, Sand did not die, and by the care of the surgeons sent to attend him, he was recovered. He was brought to trial and convicted, but his execution did not take place for fourteen months, in consequence of the German custom not to execute a criminal till he has confessed his guilt. It took place at length on the 20th May, 1820, at six in the morning, on the road between Mannheim and Heidelberg. Notwithstanding the earliness of the hour and the distance from Mannheim, an immense crowd, deeply moved, assembled to witness the execution. Though attenuated by his long confinement and illness, Sand gazed calmly on the scaffold, and ascended it with a firm step. He declined the assistance of a Protestant minister which was offered him, and wished to address the people; but being reminded he had promised not to do so, he contented himself with exclaiming with a loud voice, that he died for his country. Seated in the fatal chair, he received the stroke without shrinking. His head was severed from his body with one blow, and numbers of students who had come up from Heidelberg dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood.² Such was the interest excited in Germany by his fate, that, within a few weeks after, his mother had received above four thousand letters

² His execution, and immense sensation it created.

³ Ann. Hist. iii. 369; Ann. Reg. 1820, Chron. 211.

of condolence from all parts of the country. The chair in which he sat at his execution was purchased by a society for six Louis.

No good cause was ever yet advanced by crime; on the contrary, many have been retarded, some ruined by it. The assassination of Kotzebue was as detrimental to the cause of freedom as that of Marat had been; the dagger of Sand was not more an instrument of good than that of Charlotte Corday. The open sympathy evinced for the assassin, and the multitudes who gave proof of having embraced his principles, justly awakened the alarm of all the sovereigns of Europe. It was known that Kotzebue's death had been the work of the secret societies, and their number was very great in Northern and Central Germany. Along the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Maine, for hundreds of miles, nearly all the young men appeared in the ancient German costume, the chosen symbol of the confederates, and which at once revealed their numbers, and suggested "an ancient ideal system of Teutonic freedom." Meetings of enthusiastic students were held in various parts of Switzerland, particularly the field Rutli and the chapel of Tell, with long beards, and in the old costume, where secret signs were adopted, and the most fervent spirit awakened. In the streets of Jena and Heidelberg, and under the walls of the palace of Darmstadt, the celebrated song was nightly heard, "Princes, arise! ye people, rise!" the author of which, though universally sought after, was never discovered. These symptoms, coexisting with the overthrow of the Spanish and Italian peninsulas at the same time, excited the utmost alarm in all the courts of the Confederacy; and to this cause, more than any other, is to be ascribed the decisive measures soon after adopted, which checked for a long period the progress of German freedom.¹

The views entertained at this period on the constitutional question by the German governments, are well expressed in a circular addressed by the cabinet of Berlin to the allied powers, on October 19, 1819. "For long the fermentation of ideas that prevails in Germany has awakened the most serious alarm in all who are attached to social order or public tranquillity. How sound soever the feelings of the great body of the people may be, and howsoever attached to their sovereigns, it is in vain to disguise that there exists in society a *sourde* fermentation, which is sedulously kept alive by the unbridled license of writings and speeches. That mental fermentation is in part natural, and may be explained by the extraordinary events which, during the war of liberation, drew all classes from their natural sphere, by the sacrifices which the deliverance of Germany cost all its inhabitants, and which they felt the more keenly in the calm which succeeded the storm; by the exaggerated hopes, which expected to see an age of gold arise out of that age of iron; and by the violent monetary and commercial crises which arose out of the great efforts of the preceding period, and could not be at once restored to their natural level. But in addition to these natural sources of discontent, there has of late years acted upon society an artificial dis-

content, springing from the erroneous principles, chimerical and ambitious theories, bage and interested passions, engendered and set afloat by the revolutionary spirit, and by the writings and speeches of the democratic party. No one can have for long surveyed the state of Germany, especially in the north and west, without recognizing the existence of a party extending its ramifications over all that vast country, drawing its origin from secret societies, and fortified by extensive associations, the object of which is to overturn Germany, and substitute for its actual divisions and governments a republic, one and indivisible.

"An atrocious crime, recently committed, gives the measure of the frenzy and the audacity of the revolutionary party. That assassination, committed by a single individual, who possibly had no accomplices, was not the less the fruit of a general train of thought, the unmistakable symptom of a diseased state of mind, extended, general, which thus revealed itself to terrified Germany. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to collect the opinions of the most enlightened classes, of professors and students in universities, and of nearly all the writers subjected to their influence, who have all striven to justify or extenuate a deed which has shocked the moral feelings of all the unsophisticated part of mankind: while it inspired horror in some, it awakened only admiration in others. The inquiries which this event has occasioned in Prussia, have led to similar ones in other parts of Germany, and the result has been every where the same; universally have been discovered the existence and activity of a party, which sowed in the shade, for a future more or less remote, the seeds of a revolution. The leaders communicate by letter, but more frequently by personal intercourse or missionaries; linked together by identity of sentiments, they understand each other without being introduced, or having even met. Their object is to remould society, to efface all the political divisions of Germany, to substitute a real unity of that vast country for the union of its members, and to arrive, over the ruins of the existing order, at a new order of things.

"Their mode of action is to apply themselves sedulously to the rising generation, by giving them in all the establishments of education, from the schools to the universities, the same spirit, the same sentiments, the same habits. That spirit is one of independence and pride, of subversive principles, based on an abstruse system of metaphysics, and on a mystical theology, in order to strengthen political by religious fanaticism. Those sentiments are, the contempt for all that exists, a hatred against kings and governments, an enthusiasm for the phantom which they call liberty, and a love for all extraordinary things. Those habits are such as increase physical strength, and, above all, a taste for secret and mysterious associations, to be used as so many arms against society. The "Zornwesen" and "Burschenschaft," tending to make of the whole youth of Germany a *state within the state*, have no other object. It is intended that in a few years hence these young men, formed in this manner, entirely docile to the precepts of their masters, placed in the government, should make use of

26.
Consequences
of this event
highly injuri-
ous to free-
dom.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1820, 211;
Life of Follen,
i. 52, 58;
Mart. i. 290.

27.
Circular of
the cabinet
of Berlin.
October 19,
1819.

28.
Continued.

29.
Concluded.

their power to overturn it. The doctrine of these sectarians, as the crime committed at Manheim, and the numerous apologies made for it, have revealed, is based upon two measures, equally perverse. The first is, that the end justifies the means; the second, that the merit of actions depends entirely on the ideas which have suggested them, and that those ideas are always praiseworthy when they have the independence of Germany for their object. Such is the nature of the evil which the inquiries that have been set on foot have revealed. It is evident

¹ *Circularaire du Roi de Prusse, Oct. 19, 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 300, 301.*

that they do not point to conspiracies, but to revolution, and that not in Prussia alone, but in entire Germany; not at the present, but some future time.²¹

Such was the chief part of this celebrated manifesto, which subsequent events have

^{30.} Reflections on this picture of Germany.

rendered prophetic. Amidst some exaggerations usual in such state papers, it is evident that the able memoir of M. Bernstorff faithfully depicted the condition of the youth of Germany at the period when it was written; and if any one doubts the fidelity of the portrait, he has only to turn to the annals of 1848, for there he will find its realization. In one particular only it exhibited a fallacious, or rather a one-sided view. It told truly and without exaggeration the existing principles and views of the combined youth of Germany, and the dangers to be apprehended from them; but it did not tell what was equally true, the strength of the conservative feelings in the great bulk of the rural population, and the power of government in every state, arising from the knowledge that it would be supported, if matters came to a crisis, by the whole military strength of the Confederacy. This circumstance rendered any general convulsion at that period impossible, or rather hopeless of success; but it postponed the danger rather than removed it, and it was easy to foresee that if a crisis was to arise, so agitating the minds of men as to shake the great military monarchies of Austria and Prussia, Germany would become the theatre of a convulsion more wide-spread and violent than any which had yet devastated the world.

But these were remote and future effects; in the mean time the reaction against the revolutionary spirit evoked by the Spanish and Italian revolutions was attended with decisive effects, which for nearly twenty years arrested the progress of constitutional freedom in Germany. The measures of repression recommended by the cabinet of Vienna, and adopted by the Diet, as already mentioned, on 28th September in this year, were immediately and vigorously carried into execution. Repressive measures, especially against the schools, the universities, and the press, were universally adopted, and their effect was thus set forth by Prince Metternich, in a circular to foreign courts, on

^{31.} Dec. 18, 1819. Circular of Metternich detailing the effect of the repressive measures.

Dec. 18, 1819. "The resolutions of the Diet of Frankfort of 20th September are in course of execution in every part of Germany, and already their beneficial effects have been experienced. The agitation has sensibly diminished, the revolutionists are coerced, several of them have sought an asylum in foreign lands; the good men and true are daily increas-

ing, and strengthened by the accession of the weak and timid, who always take part with the gaining cause. This first reactionary movement against the revolutionary principle has been powerfully supported by the energetic measures of the British parliament; and if the French ministry has the wisdom to profit by this fortunate conjunction to adopt a more monarchical policy, nothing can hereafter oppose the complete triumph of the friends of order, especially in an epoch when the intimate union which subsists between the great powers renders, so to speak, all political complications impossible."²²

The outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution in 1820 excited the utmost alarm in the German governments, from its close proximity to the discontented states of central and northern Italy. It drew forth a confidential circular from Prince Metternich to the different courts of the Confederacy, in which he stated:

"The recent events in Naples have proved, with stronger evidence than any anterior event of the kind, that even in a state wisely and temperately governed, and among a quiet people, content with their rulers, the venom of the revolutionary sects may produce the most violent convulsions, and induce a sudden catastrophe. It is completely proved that it was the intrigues of the Carbonari which alone, without any external shock, without any cause even pretended, have produced the seditious movements which have determined, in a moment of distress, his majesty the King of Naples to abdicate the government, to dissolve the existing authorities, and to proclaim a constitution strange to his country, which has not even stood the test of experience among the people where it originated; in other words, to erect anarchy into law. The Emperor is convinced that that unexpected event will make the deepest impression on all the courts of Germany. It teaches, by a memorable example, how dangerous it is to behold with the eye of indifference the movements of the secret societies which work in the dark, and how wisely the princes of Germany have acted in watching with vigilance, and repressing with severity, the first symptoms of similar culpable conspiracies."²³

When such was the terror excited in the courts of Austria and Prussia, who commanded a decided majority of votes in the Diet and wielded three-fourths of the military force of the Confederacy, by the revolutions of Spain and Naples, and the spread of secret societies in Germany, it was not to be expected that the principles of constitutional freedom could make any progress. Accordingly, after years of prolonged discussion, in the form of notes, resolutions, and protocols, in which, with the progress of change in the south of Europe, the influence of the great military powers became daily more conspicuous, the final and fundamental act of the Confederacy was unanimously agreed to. It contained various and minute provisions for securing the Confederacy from external attack and internal disorder, which rendered it impossi-

¹ *Circularaire d'Autriche, Dec. 18, 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 307, 300.*

^{22.} Circular of Metternich on the Neapolitan revolution.

²³ Note confidentielle du Prince Metternich, Vienna, July 26, 1820; Arch. Dip. iv. 310, 311.

^{33.} Final Act of Confederation. May 17, 1820.

va- 23, 24.

ble for any single state, especially of the lesser order, to resist the general will, as expressed by the great military powers who possessed a preponderance of votes.* On the delicate and much-canvassed matter of the formation of constitutions, provided for by the celebrated 18th article of the Federal Act, it was declared: "Seeing that, according to the 18th article of the Federal Act, and the declarations subsequently emitted on that subject, there should be state constitutions in all the countries of the Confederation, the Federal Assembly is charged to take care that that resolution should not remain unexecuted in any confederated state. It is reserved to the *sovereign princes* of the confederated states to regulate the internal affairs, having regard as much to the established rights of the old estates which formerly existed, as to the relations resulting from existing circumstances. The constitution of estates at present in vigor can not be changed but in a constitutional way. The German Confederacy being, with the exception of the free towns, formed of sovereign princes, all the political powers are to remain vested in the supreme chief of the state, and the sovereign can not be bound to admit the co-operation of the estates by a constitution but in the exercise of certain determined rights. The confederated sovereigns can not be hindered or restrained in the performance of their federal obligations by any constitution of estates. When the publicity of deliberations of the estates has been accorded by the constitution, care must be taken that neither in the deliberations themselves, nor in their publication by the press, the legal limits of the liberty of speech of the press should be passed in a manner dangerous for the public tranquillity. When a member of the Confederation desires the guarantee of the Confederacy for a constitution which has been introduced in it, the federal assembly is authorized to grant it. By so doing, it acquires the right, when the parties concerned require it, to maintain the constitution, and to smooth down the difficulties which may arise in its execution or interpretation, by an amicable mediation or a decree-arbitral, in so far as other Dtp. iv. 58, means for attaining the same object 60, Arta. 54, 60, may not have been prescribed by legislation."¹

Such was the FINAL ACT which formed the constitution of the German Confederacy, which defined and fixed its form of federal and separ-

* "Si dans un Etat confédéré, par suite d'une résistance des sujets contre l'autorité, la tranquillité intérieure est menacée immédiatement, et qu'il y ait à craindre une propagation de mouvements séditieux, ou qu'une sédition réelle ait éclaté, et si le gouvernement lui-même, après avoir épuisé les moyens constitutionnels et légaux, réclame l'assistance de la confédération, la Diète est en devoir de procurer un secours prompt pour rétablir l'ordre. Si dans ce dernier cas le gouvernement étant notoirement hors d'état de réprimer la sédition par ses propres forces, et en même temps empêché par les circonstances de demander l'assistance de la confédération, l'assemblée fédérale n'en est pas moins obligée d'intervenir, même sans y être invitée, pour rétablir l'ordre et la sûreté. Lorsque la tranquillité publique et l'ordre légal sont menacés dans plusieurs états de la confédération par des associations dangereuses, et des complots contre lesquels il ne peut être pris des mesures suffisantes que par la co-opération du corps entier, l'assemblée fédérale est appelée à mettre en délibération et à arrêter de telles mesures après en avoir préalablement traité avec les gouvernements qui sont menacés de plus près."—Arta. 20, 26, Acte Final; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 45, 46.

ate government, but in the inverse ratio of the Reform Bill of England, for it did not confirm but destroyed the influence of the people in the administration of affairs. It is easy to see that in a confederacy thus constituted, and with a preponderating weight enjoyed in the federal government by the great military monarchies, the growth of constitutional freedom in Germany by pacific means was rendered impossible. The free cities, in which the spirit of liberty burned with the greatest intensity, and a few lesser states and large towns by whom it was shared, were completely kept down by the weight of Austria and Prussia, who not only commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, but had the whole military force of the Confederacy at their disposal. The clauses in the Final Act which declared that "no constitution could be changed but in a constitutional way," and that any state might call upon the Confederacy to support it if any other mode of change were attempted, were decisive in a Confederacy constituted as the German was, against any progressive enlargement of popular rights. The first gave the initiative in any changes that might be contemplated to the constituted authorities alone; the last brought an overwhelming force to crush any attempt to introduce them in any other way.

Accordingly, it soon appeared that the extension of constitutional freedom in Germany had been finally stopped, at least in the greater states, by this of Prussia re-act. Austria took no steps toward the establishment of a constitution in her dominions; Prussia did nearly as little. By an edict issued on 20th January, 1820, the public debt was fixed at 180,091,720 dollars, and the contraction of every fresh debt was rendered dependent upon the will of the future Imperial Diet, but no mention was made of representation or estates. The definitive resolutions regarding these were published at Berlin on June 5, 1823, which laid down regulations for the formation and meeting of provincial estates, but passed over the convocation of any parliament or national diet in Silesia. The Prussian minister, in communicating this decree of the cabinet of Berlin to the Federal Diet, said that by this act "were accomplished the resolutions taken in common by the founders of the German Confederacy according to the 18th article of the Federal Act, and afterward explained by the 56th article of the Final Act." He might as well have said that Charles I. would have redeemed his promise to convoke a parliament by publishing regulations for the election of town-councils, or Scotch county commissioners of supply.¹

The determination of the ruling powers in Germany to elude all demands from their subjects for performance of the promise given in the Federal Act—that constitutions should be everywhere where established, and that the Confederacy would enforce performance of that undertaking—was strikingly evinced in the same year, in the proceeding which took place in regard to a petition from the prelates and equestrian order in Holstein to

¹ 24. Effect of the Final Act on German liberty.

²⁵ Misery edict regarding provincial diets.

Jan. 20. 1820.

June 5. 1823.

¹ Ann. Hist. vi. 263, 264.

³⁶

Diet to sanction the demand of Holstein for a constitution.

the Diet, to enforce upon their sovereign, the King of Denmark, the formation of a constitution. The Diet eluded this petition in the first instance by a resolution, which appeared reasonable, that they would give the ministers of the king time to prepare a constitution; accompanying that resolution with a report which sufficiently indicated the prevailing influence in its majority, and the manner in which the demand for constitutions would be received by them.* And, finally, when the demand for a constitution could no longer be put off by a request for time, the matter was disposed of *unanimously* by the adoption of the following resolution proposed by Austria: "The Diet having now acquired the certainty that the ancient constitution of Holstein is no longer in activity, the reclamation of the prelates and equestrian order in the duchy of Holstein is *refused as inadmissible*, according to the 56th article of the Final Act. Nevertheless it is intimated to the petitioners for their satisfaction, that the King of Denmark, according to the reiterated assurances given to the Diet by his representatives, has pledged himself to give to the duchy of Holstein a constitution which, according to the 56th article of the Final Act, is to combine, so far as possible, regard to ancient rights with reference to the actual circumstances of the present time."¹

¹ Ann. Hist. vi. 263, 265.

It became evident from these proceedings that the only steps toward constitutional government which the larger states of Germany were to obtain at this time, in implement of the promise contained in the Federal Act, was to be found in the provincial estates of Prussia. By the edict of June 5, regarding them, it was enacted: 1. That the provincial estates shall be put into activity; 2. That the possession of landed property should be the condition of admission into them; 3. That the provincial estates are the legal organ of the different classes of subjects in each province. The provincial estates are called on to deliberate not only on projects of laws affecting the local interests of their own provinces, but also, so long as estates-general were not convoked, the proj-

37.
Import of the constitution of the provincial estates of Prussia by the edict of June 5, 1823.

* "Sa Majesté l'Empereur ne trouva jamais convenable, que cette Assemblée fixe des termes aux princes souverains de la confédération pour donner des constitutions à leurs états. S. M. I. a non seulement à l'égard du Roi de Danemarck, mais encore envers tous les hauts confédérés, sa parfaite confiance qu'ils rempliraient fidèlement les devoirs qu'ils ont contractés en cette qualité, et elle sait apprécier la prudence et les soins paternels avec lesquels les affaires ont été préparées dans les états de la confédération. S'il était aussi facile de donner des constitutions, que se le figurent dans leur imagination quelques écrivains modernes, alors les hommes d'état que les princes d'Allemagne ont chargés avec une entière confiance de ce grand ouvrage mériteraient des reproches pour leurs délais, mais les exemples si instructifs que nous offre l'histoire ne doivent assurément pas être perdus pour nous. Tous les jours nous voyons les peuples saisir avidement les constitutions comme l'idéal du plus grand bonheur sur la terre, et nous les voyons ensuite goûter une véritable satisfaction, lorsque par leur propre force ou par un secours étranger ils se sont délivrés de la constitution qu'une main perverse leur a contrainte d'adopter. L'Allemand réfléchi, ayant égard à la manière prudente dont son souverain père traite tout avec maturité ne se méfie point de la pureté des intentions du gouvernement, et l'Allemand fidèle reconnaissant de ces soins paternels qui embrassent tous les rapports s'attachera encore plus intimement à son souverain."—*Rapport de la Commission de la Diète à Frankfort, 10th July, 1823.*

ects of such laws as propose changes in the rights of persons or of property. The king reserved to himself the right to fix the epoch of assembling the estates-general, and the manner in which it should be formed from the provincial estates. The elections were to be for six years, and the diets were to be convoked during the first six years every two years. The president and vice-president were to be named by the king. The members of the provincial estates were divided into three classes: 1. The equestrian order, into which certain families were to have entrance by right of birth; 2. The members for towns, who should be proprietors in them, or members of their magistracies; 3. The order of peasants, or proprietors of free lands or hereditary farms. In the provinces where there were most nobles, the deputies of the towns and the country were to be at least equal to the equestrian order—into which last would be admitted not only persons of noble descent, but also those who had acquired their estates.¹

¹ Edict, June 5, 1823; Ann. Hist. vi. 276, 277, 689.

The principle of this system of representation, and the motives which had led to its being so long withheld, were thus expressed in a letter from Count Bernstorff, the Prussian minister of foreign affairs, to all the Prussian legations: "The King of Prussia, the sincere friend of freedom, and father of a faithful and devoted people, has never hesitated a single instant to abide by his royal word spontaneously given in 1815, by which he engaged to organize anew the representation of the Prussian people. The principle of that representation, established for ages in Germany, is that of *deputation by orders*. It is that ancient principle and legitimate right which the government felt it was bound to adapt to the wants and the interests of the age. It was necessary to study the pre-existing relations, the base of the institutions which were to be founded, to ascertain the real wishes of the nation, and to meditate on the obstacles which thwart and the dangers which accompany innovation. Doubtless it would have been easy to proclaim a constitution of paper according to the abstract theories of the day, but such constitutions never endure. In addition to this, the Prussian government had another motive for proceeding with caution, and that was the universal agitation which prevailed in all countries, and the efforts of innovators, and enthusiasts especially, by means of secret societies. It was indispensable that that fermentation should be calmed, in order that the new institutions should be presented as a free gift of the royal wisdom, not as a concession extorted from them by the spirit of revolution."²

38.
Count Bernstorff's circular on the subject.

This circular reveals the dread which the Prussian government entertained of the secret societies which had overturned the thrones in all the monarchies of southern Europe, and had such extensive ramifications in Central and Northern Germany. The extension of these secret societies to the universities in an especial manner excited the apprehensions of government, and the chief of them, entitled the "Armorica," was denounced in an especial manner, and its members subjected to various dis-

39.
Regulations against the secret societies in Prussia.
Circular of Bernstorff; Ann. Hist. vi. 277, 278.

bilities. They were compelled at the termination of their studies, if they desired to become candidates for any public employment, to declare that they regretted having taken part in it, and that they would never belong to associations of a similar nature. In addition to this they were obliged to pass a year out of Berlin or the cities containing universities, and remain during all that period under the surveillance of the public authorities. Students of 1 Edict, Sept. 5, 1823; *Ann. Hist.* vi. 378. medicine could not obtain their degrees but on the same conditions.¹

The constitution thus given at the eleventh hour to the provinces of Prussia was the shadow of a representative government, and but the shadow. The estates thus established possessed no real authority in the State, and they were to be convoked at such distant periods that they could not exercise any material influence on the opinions of its inhabitants. They had neither the initiating of laws, nor the power of rejecting them, nor the power of granting or withholding supplies, placing or displacing ministers, or controlling the march of internal government or foreign administration. With the exception of the local concerns of their respective provinces, the estates could do nothing but express their *opinion* concerning proposed changes in the laws regarding person or property, which changes were to emanate only from the ministers of the Crown. In all respects the powers and duties thus devolved upon the provincial assemblies very closely resembled those enjoyed by the town councils in England or the commissioners of supply in Scotland, who are elected by certain classes of the people for the performance of certain duties under Government, and are at liberty when assembled to express their opinions on proposed acts of parliament which may appear to affect their interests, but enjoy no power, save by the influence of that opinion on the Government, of either advancing or obstructing them.

This shadow of a representation was so obviously a deviation from that which 40. Causes which had been solemnly promised by the prevented an outbreak. king in 1815, and sanctioned by the thirteenth article of the Federal Act, that it is probable that, despite the great weight of the military monarchies in the Confederacy, it would have led to serious disturbances in Prussia and the whole north of Germany long before the great convulsion of 1848, had it not been for the influence of two circumstances which calmed the public mind, and gave a different direction to the general thought. The first of these was the beneficial effect of some of the measures adopted by the Congress of Vienna, and embodied in the Federal Act. Perhaps the most important of these were certain regulations which provided for the free navigation of rivers, particularly the Rhine and the Elbe, by the acts of the Congress of Vienna, 9th June, 1815, and of the Federal Diet at subsequent periods. By a most important act also, which applied to all Germany, concerning the exportation of goods, it was provided that all restrictions or duties which limited or burdened the transmission of goods from one state of the Confederacy to another should be abolished.* The effects of these enactments upon the material prosperity of Germany were immense. They created all the states of the Confederacy into one vast empire, which not only enjoyed the inestimable blessings of internal peace and external security, but gave them the hardly less important advantages of free trade and communication among each other; and its great rivers, instead of being subjected as heretofore to endless tolls and exactions for the advantage of the petty sovereigns who dwelt upon their banks, were restored to the destination assigned them by nature—that of being the arteries and natural canals 1 Arch. Dip. iv. 103, 376, 291, 294, 295. through the State.¹

The next circumstance which tended to deaden, for a time at least, the ardent wish of the people of Northern Germany for free institutions, was the un- 42. Wisdom of the internal government of Prussia. common wisdom and beneficent tendency of the government of Prussia during the quarter of a century which followed the termination of the war. Her leading statesmen during that period, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Humboldt, and many others, were men of great capacity and enlarged views, who had learned wisdom and become practically acquainted with affairs in the school of adversity, and who, having seen their country extricated by a miracle from the jaws of destruction, applied their great talents earnestly and indefatigably to the healing of its wounds and the amelioration of its institutions. It is often more easy to do this in a despotic than in a free country, just as it is more easy to do mischief, because in either case the march of government is less restrained by the efforts for good or evil of party. Prussia had suffered so dreadfully in consequence of its conquest by France, and its long occupation by the troops of that country, that social improvement had become visibly to all classes, from the prince to the peasant, a matter of state necessity. This overwhelming pressure, like seasons of adversity upon an individual, produced the most salutary effects, and there is perhaps not to be found in the annals of the world a period when more wise and beneficent internal legislation was applied to a people, or its fruits appeared in a more sudden burst of general prosperity.

An account has been given, in a former work, of the admirable reforms, the offspring 43. Specific measures introduced. of necessity, which the Prussian government, under the able guidance of Stein and Scharnhorst, introduced in 1807 and 1808, after the peace of Tilsit, into the civil and military administration of the monarchy, and which, beyond all doubt, prepared in silence, beneath the cold shade of adversity, the glorious resurrection of 1813.² The same system was continued with unabated vigor after the general peace had relieved the government of the crushing weight of the warlike armaments, and left

* "Sont compris dans la franchise fédérale d'exportation les biens de toute espèce passant d'un état de la confédération dans l'autre, soit par suite d'émigration ou à titre de succession de vente d'échange, donation, dot, ou d'autre manière, et tout impôt qui restreint l'exportation des biens entre les états qui font partie de la confédération, ou de la propriété des biens entre les sujets des états confédérés, est déclaré abol."—Décision de la Diète Fédérale, June 23, 1837; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. p. 103.

42. Wisdom of the internal government of Prussia.

43. Specific measures introduced.

2 *Hist. of Europe*, 1780-1815, c. 51, 8-15.

them leisure to attend to the all-important concerns of their civil administration. "Every thing for the people, nothing by them," which Napoleon described as the true secret of government, was the ruling principle of their administration. Hence the greatest solicitude was evinced for the instruction of the people in all grades, from the humble parish school to the highest departments of science in the universities, which, as already mentioned, was attended with such success that Prussia may now with justice take its place as the most generally educated country in Europe. The peasantry were every where emancipated from the remains of feudal servitude, and intrusted, as well as the burghers, with the choice of municipal magistrates, who had the entire direction of their civic and local concerns. Provincial assemblies, though endowed as yet with no real power, gave the people, at stated though distant intervals, a legitimate channel whereby to make known their opinion upon any changes projected by the government in matters affecting their persons or properties. Free trade was established in its most unlimited sense, not only between all the provinces of the Empire, but between all the states of the Confederacy; all restraints were removed from the navigation of the rivers; and hitherto unheard-of markets were opened up in every direction for the productions of industry. New universities were established at Berlin, Breslau, and Bonn, all respectably endowed, and furnished with valuable libraries and museums; and schools to such an extent were set on foot over the whole country, that the wish of George III. in regard to his British subjects was realized: "Every man in the kingdom could read his Bible." In 1821 an extremely useful regulation was published for the division of commons; in 1822, one for the establishment of an extra post. Finally, an admirable system of military organization drew forth, without oppression, the whole physical strength of the state in defense of the country. Every man, of whatever rank, was bound to render three years' service, between eighteen and twenty-one, in the regular army, and was liable up to the age of thirty-nine to do duty in the land-
 44. The ultimate effect of these changes would have favored freedom.

¹ Stein's Lebens Erinnerung IV. 326, 347, and V. 241, 300.

dividual permanently, except those who chose arms as a profession, from pacific life, trained all to military duties, and inspired all with military spirit.¹

Social and political reforms of this description, which remove the fetters from industry, and enlarge the means of well-being to all classes, may for a considerable time stifle the voice of complaint, and weaken the desire for change; but their ultimate effect, in an intelligent community, is to increase them. The reason is, that they create or extend a middle class in society, which, with the acquisition of wealth and independence, inevitably become inspired with the desire to share in or even monopolize the government of the State. Hence it was that the feudal noblesse every where entertained such jealousy of the boroughs which threatened to encroach on their exclusive jurisdiction, and that a natural alliance sprang up between them and the sovereign for defense against their common enemy. It is probable,

therefore, that the rapid growth of population, wealth, and prosperity in Prussia, would have had its usual effect of inducing a struggle for political power much earlier than it actually occurred, were it not for another event which occurred ere long, and for a considerable period totally altered the ideas and prevailing passions of men. That event was the French Revolution of 1830.

Calamitous in every quarter to the interests of freedom, that great event was in an especial manner fatal to Teutonic liberty. It gave a new direction to men's minds, and in the end for a course of years substituted the terror of French conquest for the sturdy spirit of German independence. Exciting the revolutionary passions in the very highest degree in the smaller states and free cities of the Confederacy, and occasioning, as has been already seen, tumults in many, revolution in some, it proportionably augmented the alarm of the great military monarchies in which the power of the sword was really vested. The diplomatic relations between Austria and Prussia were immediately, upon the fall of Charles X., drawn closer, and military preparations on a great scale commenced in both countries to meet the expected invasion of the French. The Austrian army was raised to 360,000 men, of whom 80,000 men were sent to Italy, and 40,000 stationed on the Gallician frontier; while in Prussia two armies were formed, one of 80,000 men under Prince William, and one of 75,000 under General Borstel, whose head-quarters were at Aix-la-Chapelle. The warlike spirit became universal in the Prussian youth; it entirely and at once supplanted that of internal discontent. "A national sentiment," says the annalist, "then got entire possession of the Prussian youth. Terror at the thoughts of the conquest of 1814 and 1815 slipping from their hands, and a jealous dread of the tricolor flag, formed an effectual barrier against the revolutionary contagion."²

These sentiments, so natural in a country in which the national feelings had been recently so strongly roused, and which had only been delivered by a unanimous and unparalleled effort from the grinding tyranny of French domination, were greatly increased and worked up to a perfect climax by the Belgian and Polish revolutions. When the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin beheld Belgium revolutionized, and the kingdom of the Netherlands dismembered, Italy in a general revolutionary convulsion, Switzerland shaking to its centre, and Poland in the throes of mortal struggle for recovery of its independence, they not unreasonably supposed that a general war was approaching, and took their measures accordingly. When the people saw the French republicans indulging in visions of universal conquest, and the clubs resounding with declamations about advancing their eagles to the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Danube, they were seized with the old dread of French conquest. They knew, by dear-bought experience, what followed the victories of the republicans. They had not forgotten what ensued after the battle of Jena. Merciless requisitions, grievous taxes, they were well aware,

² Great effect of the French Revolution in checking German freedom.

¹ An. Hist. xiii. 620, 625.

² Increase of this feeling with the Belgian and Polish revolutions.

stalked in the rear of the tricolor flag. The landwehr was now called out in all the states of the Confederacy, and the people every where joyfully obeyed the summons. They repaired to their several rallying-points, singing the songs of Körner, recounting the victories of the Fatherland. The querulous discontent of the journalists and students in a few towns was drowned in the loud shout of national exultation. Severe measures were enacted by the governments against the license of the press and the machinations of the secret societies, but they did not require to be put in execution. The recreants to the cause of Germany had already been gibbeted on the scaffold of popular indignation. Such were the effects which followed the triumph of the Barricades in the cause of liberty on the right bank of the Rhine! If the demon of tyranny had been given his choice of the event which was most effectually to serve the cause of despotism in Europe, he could not have selected any one which would answer his purpose so effectually as the triumph of the three glorious days in Paris.¹

Still greater was the impression produced in Germany by the *entente cordiale* which ensued between France and England in consequence of the Reform revolution in the latter country. When the reality and sincerity of this new and unprecedented alliance were evinced in the union of the two kingdoms to support the pretensions of Belgium against Holland, and the junction of the fleets of the one power with the armies of the other to effect the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, a universal consternation seized the whole of Germany. It seemed impossible that Germany could avoid being drawn into the quarrel, for the King of the Netherlands had appealed, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, to the Diet of Frankfurt to protect him in his rights to that duchy, which formed part of the Confederacy. In truth, Europe then stood on the verge of a general war, and nothing but the dread of the united power of France and England, and the financial embarrassment which had been bequeathed to all nations by the unparalleled exertions of the last conflict, prevented it from breaking out. But though these causes averted hostilities even at the eleventh hour, when every hostile preparation had been made, they did not avert the consequences of the crisis to the cause of constitutional freedom in Germany; and those consequences were great and lasting.

Not content with taking the most stringent measures against the liberty of the press in her own territories, Austria took advantage of the general consternation to propose, and had influence enough in the Diet to carry, various measures which in a manner extinguished freedom of thought and expression throughout the Confederacy. The fermentation of men's minds, especially in the lesser states, where representative assemblies were established and a certain degree of liberty of the press existed, was such that it was evident that, if it went on, a civil war or breaking up of the Confederacy would inevitably ensue. In this crisis the measures of the Diet, under the guidance of Metternich, were vigorous and decisive. Not content with simply demanding, as it had done

in the preceding year, the execution by the separate sovereigns of the decree against the licentiousness of the press and popular assemblages, it went a step farther, and by a resolution on March 2, suppressed of its own authority three leading journals on the liberal side—viz., the *German Triumvir* and *Messenger of the West*, which were published in Rhenish Bavaria, and the *Wings of Time* at Frankfort. This decree was accompanied by another, which interdicted the editors of and writers in them from engaging in any similar undertaking. This was shortly after followed by decrees of the Diet on the 28th June and 5th July, which in a manner extinguished the constitutional liberties of Germany. By them it was declared—1. The states of the Confederacy are not bound to sanction the decrees of the chambers in particular states, except in so far as they are in harmony with the principles of the Confederacy. 2. Any refusal by the chambers to raise or sanction taxes in a particular state is to be held as an act of rebellion, which the Confederacy is bound to suppress by force. 3. The internal legislation of particular states is not to be permitted to run counter to the general objects of the Confederacy, or thwart the execution of the decrees of the Diet. 4. A commission shall be nominated by the Diet to last for six years, with power to watch over the proceedings of the chambers, and enforce obedience to this resolution.* The confederated governments engage to adopt and support measures calculated to prevent any attack upon the Confederacy in the assembly of its estates. 6. The Diet alone has the right to interpret the Federal Act and the Final Act of Vienna.¹

By another resolution, passed on July 5, the introduction was prohibited, in all the states of the Confederacy, of every Decree of foreign periodical publication, containing less than twenty pages, printed in German in any foreign country; all political associations were interdicted, as well as popular fêtes not consecrated by usage, without the consent of the constituted authorities; all political speeches at such meetings, though authorized, were absolutely prohibited, as were the bearing of any colors not belonging to the nation of the person wearing them, and all planting of trees of liberty; a great many minute and rigorous enactments were decreed regarding the professors and students of universities from whom so much danger was apprehended; finally, every government of the Confederacy engaged to exercise the most rigorous surveillance over its own subjects and strangers within its bounds, and engaged mutually to give up political offenders who might take refuge within their bounds from the neighbouring boring states. By another resolution of the Diet, on the 19th July, two journals in the grand-duchy of Baden were suppressed, and with them they expired the last remnants of the liberty of the press in Germany.²

* This commission was composed of M. de Munch, minister of Austria, De Nagles of Prussia, De Manténfeld of Saxony, of De Troit of Würtemberg, and Pechlin of Denmark for Holstein.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 339, note.

47. Effect of the siege of Antwerp in 1832.

48. Stringent measures of the Diet against the Press.

June 28, July 5, 1832.

1. Protocole de la 22^e Séance de la Diète, June 28, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 165. (Doc. Hist.)

2. 49. July 5 of the Diet.

3. Protocole de la Séance du 5, et 19^e Juillet, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 176. (Doc. Hist.)

These decisive resolutions of the German Diet created an immense sensation in western Europe, and gave rise to the most acrimonious debates and vehement condemnation both in the liberal journals and the legislative assemblies of France and England.

"These decrees," it was said in both, "consummate the labors of the congresses of Laybach, of Troppau, and of Carlsbad; strip the Germans of all the guarantees of liberty provided for them in the organic act of the Confederacy, violate the constitutions established by common accord between governments and the people, and sap the foundation of representative governments, by placing the national assemblies under a special and foreign surveillance, and denying them the right to refuse to vote taxes or of controlling their expenditure." Multitudes of petitions were presented from the free towns and liberal constituencies in the lesser states of Germany against these decrees, but in vain. They remained the standing law of the Confederacy, and being supported by 800,000 armed men, resistance to them was out of the question. The impassioned declamations on the subject in the English parliament and French chambers only confirmed the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin in their resolution to persevere in the measures of repression which they had adopted, for they regarded them as the two great revolutionary powers; and from the violence of their language against these decrees, they took the measure of the opinion they entertained of the effect they were likely to have in arresting the revolutionary contagion.¹

These decrees were followed soon after by another measure, which indicated still more decisively the determination of the military powers of Germany to put down the revolutionary attempts which originated in its lesser states and free cities. On April 3, 1833, when the minds of the liberal party were violently agitated by the sudden dissolution of the chambers in Hesse-Cassel and Würtemberg, which had just taken place, a riot of a very serious kind broke out in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which soon assumed the character of an insurrection. There could be nothing very formidable in such a movement in a little republic not containing above 80,000 inhabitants; but it assumed a very different aspect when it was

recollected that it was the seat of the meetings of the Diet, and entertained relations with the disaffected in all parts of Germany. The tumult was put down by the unaided forces of the magistrates, though not without difficulty, for the insurgents fought with great courage and desperation, and many lives were lost on both sides. It appeared, however, from the examination of the prisoners taken, that the conspiracy had extensive ramifications in other parts of the Confederacy, especially among the students in the universities; and, during the fight, a body of strangers, armed, approached the gates, and endeavored to force an entrance. Their object was to get possession of the federal treasure, of the archives of the Diet, and then, as from the seat of power, to proclaim a republic, one and indivisible, embracing all Germany. The Diet, which was sitting at the time, deeming the stroke leveled at the Confederacy itself, invoked the aid of its military force, which was promptly accorded. Next day a battalion from the garrison of Mayence entered the town, and they were followed on the next day by two thousand more, who permanently occupied the city. At the same time, a commission was appointed to examine into the revolt, and its ramifications in other parts of Germany, composed of deputies chosen by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse, and they commenced their labors; but the inquiry soon became so extensive that no report was obtained till the following year.¹

So great was the alarm excited by this insurrection at the seat of the federal government, that it led, in a subsequent part of the same year, to a congress of sovereigns at Münchengrätz. The King of Prussia met the Emperor of Austria on August 14 at Theresienstadt, in Bohemia, and the Emperor of Russia in the following month joined them at Münchengrätz, in the same province. At this conference it was agreed to assemble a congress in the succeeding year, to take into consideration the state of the Germanic Confederacy, and the difficulties which seemed to render incompatible, for any length of time, the existence of representative constitutions in any of the states with monarchical institutions in the others. In the mean time, the sovereigns agreed to a treaty, signed on January 4, by which,

"in consideration of the interest which they all had in the preservation of the existing order and tranquillity in the Polish provinces, they agreed mutually to deliver up persons accused of sedition or treasonable practices in any of them to the authorities in the others." At the same time a proclamation was issued by the governor of Milan against a secret society, entitled "La Jeune Italie," described as the most dangerous species of Carbonarism, and against the members of 4, 1834; *Ibid.*, which the severest penalties of the criminal code were threatened.²

Since the occupation of Frankfort by the troops of Austria and Prussia, a species of forced tranquillity had prevailed within its walls, arising from a sense of the overwhelming military force which could be brought at any moment against the insurgents.

¹ "What have we to do with Austria, that old, musty, worm-eaten, hollow trunk? It will be dashed to the ground by the worms of time, and in the storm will crush all those who sought shelter beneath its boughs. What advantage can absolute Prussia offer to constitutional Bavaria, that treacherous cane which pierces through the hand that thinks by leaning on it to find support? How can Prussia protect the rights of Bavaria, that red-hot Moloch, to which, with treacherous madness, a father must offer up his own child? What protection would be to us that iron colossus with feet of clay? Oh king! thy people adores thee alone, close not the unhappy alliance with these absolute powers—drive the tempter back; trifle not with the affections of the Bavarians; quit not thy people in the hour of trial and of danger, that thou mayest not, when too late, have to repent thee of having thrust them off; that when hereafter thou shalt feel the bitterness of being the vassal slave of foreigners, thy people may not turn away from thee when thou shalt crave their aid, and say, Seek help from whom thou hast more confided in than in thy Bavarian people."—*Address of Rhénish Bavaria*, July 18, 1833; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 378.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xvi. 381, 383.

² Congress of sovereigns at Münchengrätz. Sept. 9, 1833.

Jan. 4, 1834.

³ *Ann. Hist.* xvi. 385, 387; treaty, Jan. 4, 1834; *Ibid.*, 145. (*Doc. Hist.*)

⁴ Fresh riot at Frankfort, which is put under martial law, May 2, 1834.

This was disturbed, however, the following year, by a tumult which was got up in order to effect the liberation of the persons imprisoned on the charge of the former insurrection, and whose trial, according to the usual and deplorable tardiness of German legal procedure, had not yet been brought to a close. Five prisoners escaped, but they were all soon retaken, except one. This incident, in itself trivial, acquired importance from its being made the pretext for the placing the city under martial law, and vesting the supreme direction of it in the hands of the Austrian governor. This strong step in a free city, and the seat of the federal legislature, was justly regarded as affording the clearest indication of the despotic dispositions which had now got possession of the allied councils. The congress agreed to in the preceding year met at Vienna on January 12, and immediately commenced their deliberations, which were almost entirely directed to the means of suppressing, by the forces or authority of the Confederacy, the refractory disposition of the estates, or the anarchical efforts of the people in the lesser states. By a decree agreed to then, and sanctioned by the

Oct. 30, 1834. Diet on 30th October ensuing, it was provided that, in the event of a difference ensuing between the government and the representative assembly of the state upon the interpretation to be put on any part of the constitution, or in consequence of a refusal to vote the necessary supplies, and after all legal and constitutional attempts to adjust the dispute had failed, the parties interested were to apply to a tribunal constituted for the purpose of settling such differences, composed of thirty-four members, two chosen by each of the federal states having a voice in the Diet, whose decision was to be final, and immediately enforced by the authority and forces of the Confederacy. These judges were to be elected for three years, and re-elected at the expiration of that period, and decided all questions by a majority of votes. As Austria and Prussia commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, it was easy to see how a tribunal thus constituted would decide every important question which came before them. In the same session a variety of still more

Nov. 13. stringent regulations were passed, for the purpose of controlling the universities, and preventing their entrance into the secret societies. As to the press, it was already subjected to such a rigorous censure in every part of Germany, that it was not deemed worth while to

pass any additional regulations on that subject. The trial of the Frankfurt rioters was not finished till the end of the year 1836, when the greater part of them were sentenced to imprisonment for life, or for twenty years, and a few acquitted.¹

So much had now been done by the Federal Diet, during the three preceding

Decrees of years, to fritter away or restrain representative assemblies, extinguish the

liberty of the press, and coerce the universities and the students, that the attention of succeeding Diets only required to be turned to lesser details and objects of social solicitude. This change was soon apparent in their public acts, and bespoke the substitution in the general mind of questions of social for those of political

interest. Two decrees were passed in 1835. By the first, the traveling of *workmen* from states in the Confederacy where *trades' unions* were prohibited to those where they are permitted, was stopped, and those coming from the latter countries were placed under the strict *surveillance* of the police. By the second, the society of writers, known by the name of "*Junge Deutschland*," was denounced, and the publication of all writings, by five members of it specially named, prohibited under severe penalties.¹

On the 12th of March in this year, the Diet received the official intimation of the death of the Emperor Francis, who had closed his long and eventful reign at Vienna on the 8th of the same month. In Austria, however, as in all states governed by an aristocracy, the demise of the emperor made no change on the policy of the monarchy. Metternich remained, and the ruling oligarchy of three hundred nobles who directed the empire was unchanged and unchangeable. The new emperor, Ferdinand I., early gave token of this, in the official communication which he addressed to the Diet, immediately after his accession to the throne. "As to what concerns the affairs of the German Confederacy," said he, "the path is traced out. His Majesty will remain forever faithful to it. The most conscientious discharge of the federal duties, an active and continual co-operation in the maintenance and consolidation of the alliance, an immovable resolution to contribute every thing to the exterior and interior security of Germany, and to protect by all possible means the independence and inviolability of the different states—such were the sentiments with which the Emperor Francis was animated for the bringing to perfection of that great work, due in a great degree to his paternal laws; and the Emperor Ferdinand will be ever animated with the same sentiments and principles."²

The task which devolved on the young emperor, of solving the many knot-points, and keeping together the heterogeneous members of the Germanic Confederacy, was much facilitated in the first years of his reign by the remarkable change which, in Germany as in other parts of Europe, took place at that period, in the object of general thought and public interest. One law only of importance—that providing for the uniform punishment of state offenses, and mutual extradition of political offenders against the constitution of any of the states of the Confederacy—marked the annals of the immediately succeeding years.* Material objects had come to supersede political; projects of gain occupied every mind. The railway mania, which soon after seized so violently on the public mind in England and France, extended also to Germany,

"Toute tentative contre l'existence, l'intégrité, la sûreté de la Confédération, ou de chacun des états dont elle se compose, doit être jugée et punie suivant les lois déjà en vigueur ou toutes celles qui seraient à l'avenir sur les divers délits contre la dite Confédération. Les états de la Confédération s'engagent réciproquement à livrer tout individu qui serait coupable des délits ci-dessus spécifiés." — *Edict de la Diète*, 18 Août, 1836. *Ann. Hist.* xix. 295, 296.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 413, 414.

² *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 413, 414.

³ *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 413, 414.

⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 413, 414.

and with it the passion for extravagant speculation and gambling in shares, with which unhappily these undertakings, when generally embraced, are found to be attended. The thoughts of making a fortune in a few days or hours by a fortunate speculation, possessed irresistible attractions for a people so little accustomed to the whirl of commercial excitement, and for the most part leading so simple and patriarchal a life as the people of Germany. The first railway on the Continent was laid down in Germany; and numbers were soon set on foot, which have nearly all been since completed, and formed the spacious net-work of iron communication which overspreads the Fatherland, and has so essentially modified the habits, ideas, and inclinations of its inhabitants. The mania spread from the people to their governments; and for some years the legislatures of the small states, which had been such a prolific source of discontent, were occupied entirely with projects of public utility or private advantage. The passion spread to Austria, generally the last to embrace any projects of innovation; and a great society was established to promote the navigation of the Danube, remove its obstructions, and restore it to the destiny intended for it by nature—that of being the great artery of Germany.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xix. 295, 297.

The determination of the Diet to entertain no projects which tended to the extension or restoration of public rights was strikingly evinced in the year 1838, in regard to an application from the town of Osnaburg, in the kingdom of Hanover. In 1837 the King of Hanover, in consequence of the tumults which had arisen in his dominions from the contagion of the French Revolution, abolished, of his own authority, the constitution which had been solemnly established in his dominions in 1833 by the consent of all the estates. The town of Osnaburg upon this, in the succeeding year, petitioned the Diet for its restoration, appealing to the 56th article of the Final Act of Vienna of 15th May, 1820, which bore that "the constitution of states at present in vigor can not be changed *but in a constitutional way*." As there was no question that the constitution of Hanover had been changed in an unconstitutional way, having been abrogated by the sole authority of the sovereign, the Diet was not a little embarrassed how to elude the demand. At length, after a silence of six months, they returned an answer, that "they did not consider themselves in the situation of being bound to interfere;"* a decision which distinctly showed that they regarded that article as intended to prevent a change of constitution forced upon a reigning prince by his subjects—not one forced upon his subjects by a reigning prince.²

² Ann. Hist. xxi. 228.

This affair made, as well it might, a great noise in Germany at the time, and tended powerfully to revive the political agitation which

had been so much allayed by the prevalence of projects of gain and material progress in the preceding years. The agitation, however, was in a great measure neutralized by a dispute which arose at the same period between the Prussian government and the Papal See relative to marriages of Protestants and Catholics, which threatened to revive the flames of theological controversy in Germany, which had slumbered since the Peace of Westphalia. This dispute arose in consequence of an article in the Prussian law which conferred on the father, in case of mixed marriages, the right of choosing in which religion his children should be brought up, in default of which choice they were to be educated in his own. This law, how agreeable soever to the principle of the *patria potestas*, recognized in all ages over the whole civilized world as indispensable to the peace and regulation of families, was far from being equally so to the dignitaries of the Romish Church, who ever direct their principal efforts to secure the spread of their faith in that sex which, though weakest in intellect, is the first in charms and influence. Accordingly the Pope, by a brief dated the 25th March, 1830, which was the foundation of the whole dispute that followed, enjoined the prelates to make the Catholic spouse, in the case of mixed marriages, come under an engagement to bring up the children in the Romish faith. It was the obedience yielded by the Catholic clergy in Prussia which occasioned all the dissensions that followed.

Another subject of dispute between the Government and the See of the Vatican was the theological tenets of Dr. Hermes, which admitted freedom of thought to a degree that was deemed incompatible with the tranquil despotism of the Church of Rome, and were accordingly denounced by a papal bull on 26th September, 1835; and in pursuance of it the Archbishop of Cologne published an ordinance forbidding any student in theology to receive lessons in the University of Bonn, which had embraced the principles of Hermes. Matters at length came to such a pass that, after having exhausted all means of conciliation, government resolved on removing the archbishop by force. This was a very hazardous step, as the great majority of the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces of Prussia were Catholics, and zealously attached to their faith. It was accomplished, however, happily without bloodshed. On the 28th November the whole garrison of Cologne was put under arms. Cannon, with matches lighted, guarded all the approaches to the archbishop's palace; and the governor of the Rhenish provinces, accompanied by the commandant of Cologne, entered the building and informed his grace he was dismissed, and their prisoner. He was immediately conducted, under a powerful escort of cavalry and artillery, out of the city, and conveyed to the fortress of Minden.³

³ Dispute between the Prussian government and the Pope regarding the Archbishop of Cologne.

¹ Moniteur, Nov. 23, 1837: Ann. Hist. xxi. 401, 402.

It may readily be conceived what a sensation this *coup d'état*—executed by the temporal authorities alone, and on a prelate so eminent in station as the Archbishop of Cologne, in the midst of a zealous Catholic population—excited

* "La Diète Germanique fait connaître au magistrat et aux conseillers-municipaux de la ville d'Osnabruck, par le Docteur Heessenberg, leur fondé de pouvoirs, qu'elle ne trouve pas, dans le cas qui lui est soumis, qu'ils aient été autorisés légitimement par l'acte de la Confédération à adresser l'exposition ci-dessus mentionnée de leurs griefs."—*Réponse du Diète*, 6 Sept., 1838; Ann. Hist. xxi. 227, 228.

in Europe. Such was the clamor raised on all sides—some approving, some condemning—that it was absolutely stunning, and recalled the days when the powerful but rude arm of Luther shook to its centre the fabric of papal power in Europe. The government soon after published a long manifesto, in which the grounds of their complaint against the archbishop were fully detailed.* This led to a rejoinder from the consistory of the Vatican. On December 16, the Pope protested "in favor of the violated immunities of the Church, the episcopal dignity trampled under foot, the jurisdiction of the Holy See so flagrantly usurped, and the rights of the Catholic Church and the holy set at naught;" and this was soon after followed by an exposition from Rome of their side of the question. Meanwhile the excitement was daily increasing in the Rhenish provinces; and on the 11th

December a riot took place in Münster, which was only suppressed by several charges of cavalry, and at the expense of several persons wounded. Anxious if possible to appease the Papal See, the cabinet of Berlin sent a most able diplomatist—whose suavity of manners, not less than his literary and theological acquirements, eminently qualified him for the task—M. le Chevalier Bunsen,† to Rome, to endeavor to effect an adjustment. The negotiation was prolonged for a very long period, and in the end was terminated in a species of compromise. The Catholic clergy, in obedience to the supreme pontiff, agreed to cease to make inquiries into the religion in which the children of mixed marriages were educated; while the king, by a wise and tolerant edict, declared on the one hand that, if the Catholic spouse refused to emit a declaration as to the religion in which his children were brought up, he should not be subjected to ecclesiastical censures; and that the Catholic priest was not to be constrained to celebrate the mixed marriage according to any forms but those of the Catholic Church. This judicious compromise at length allayed a ferment which had subsisted for three years, and threatened again, after an interval of two hundred years, to deluge Germany with blood in a theological quarrel. It is a curious circumstance, indicating at once the unchangeable policy of the Church of Rome, and the danger of generalizing too soon from imperfect data, that within thirty

* The Rev. Sydney Smith in Peter Plymley's Letters.

years of the time when an able divine of the Church of England had asserted,¹ in advocating the Catholic claims in Ireland, that all danger

* "L'Archevêque a donc forcé à sa patrie et à ses devoirs; il s'est mis en opposition avec les ordonnances et les lois existantes; de plus, il a fait pour miner ces lois et les renverser des tentatives sourdes, que non-seulement il cherchait à cacher au gouvernement, mais sur lesquelles il trompait et trahissait son souverain, en faisant accroire qu'il respectait tout ce qu'il ne songeait qu'à fouler à ses pieds. Toutes ces allégations sont clairement établies par des pièces qui, par des motifs de haute convenance, ne peuvent être portées jusqu'à présent à la connaissance générale. Ces faits graves et criminels joints à un coupable mépris de tout avertissement, et à des déclarations écrites de l'archevêque, faites à divers reprises, qu'il entend persister dans sa rébellion, justifiaient déjà seuls et provoquaient d'une manière impérieuse les mesures que le pouvoir temporel vient de prendre." — *Exposé du Gouvernement Prussien*, 22 Nov., 1837; *Ann. Hist.*, xx. 403.

† Since the highly-esteemed Prussian Minister in London, and author of the celebrated *Life of Hippolytus*.

from the ambition of the Court of Rome had disappeared, and that the supreme pontiff had become "a pope of wax," this waxen pope convulsed Europe from one end to the other, by advancing pretensions combated by Henry II. in the twelfth century, and which recalled the days of Thomas à Becket.¹

The remaining and last years of the Prussian monarch were chiefly devoted to regulations directed to the material prosperity of his subjects, whose industry at that period was taking so rapid and extraordinary a step. A wise regulation, which it would have been well for Great Britain had its rulers adopted, provided that every project for forming a railway should, in the first instance, be submitted to government for its sanction, with a statement of its subscribers, who were all personally and absolutely bound to pay 40 per cent. on the estimated price, from which obligation they were not relieved by selling the shares, or the company taking them off their hands, declared null all sales of shares before this had been done, and prohibited all rival lines for thirty years after the first had been constructed. At the same time the Prussian government gave proof of its liberality by an edict which opened all the universities in the Confederacy to Prussian students, under the reasonable condition only that those who wished to practice medicine in the monarchy should study a certain time in one of its universities; and of its toleration, and desire to throw oil on the bitterness of theological controversy, by commencing the entire restoration and completion of the cathedral of Cologne, originally commenced in the year 1248, and which, sedulously followed up in subsequent years, has rendered it the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures of that description in Europe.²

The year 1839 was marked in Northern Germany by two events which strikingly evinced the liberal and enlightened spirit of the age. The first was a general amnesty proclaimed in Prussia for all lesser delinquencies and all Crown debtors below 50 thalers (£6), on occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation.

This act of grace, in a truly catholic spirit, embraced persons of all religious persuasions, not those only who had embraced the Lutheran creed. The next was a most important one, which, in favor of certain states in Northern Germany, of which Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony were the most considerable, established an entire reciprocity of duties, in themselves very moderate, on the most important articles of commerce with Holland. This measure was important in itself, but it became doubly so in its results, as the first step toward the establishment of the Zollverein, or union for the purpose of collecting import and export duties, on one uniform scale, for behoof of the parties forming part of the union, which has since contributed so much to the prosperity of Northern Germany,³ and augmented so largely the influence and consideration of

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 404, 405, and xxi. 242, 245.

² *Wise internal regulations of the Prussian government.* Nov. 3, 1838.

³ *Ann. Hist.* xxi. 246, 248.

⁴ *Amnesty on the 300th anniversary of the Reformation and treaty of reciprocity with Holland.*

⁵ *Aug. 10, 1839.*

⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xxii. 297, 299.

Prussia, the acknowledged head of the Confederacy, and by whose servants the various duties are collected.

Political passion seemed stilled by these beneficent changes, and Germany, industrious and enlightened, seemed occupied only with the career of wealth and independence which they were calculated to bring to its inhabitants. But an event soon occurred which showed that the desire for power only slumbered and was not extinguished, and was gaining strength by the growth and prosperity of the middle class, among whom it always is most strongly felt. Frederick-William III., King of Prussia, died on the 7th June, 1840, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.* The close of his long and eventful reign disclosed the fires which were slumbering beneath the surface of his eminently prosperous dominions. He was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederick-William IV., the present (1855) reigning monarch; and the ceremony of coronation of the new sovereign took place with great solemnity, Sept. 10.

September, at Königsberg. In conformity with established custom, which bespoke the former existence of long-forgotten rights in the Prussian people, the provincial diet of Eastern Prussia was summoned to attend the ceremony, and invited to determine whether, on this as on former occasions, the equestrian order should be represented by twelve knights, who were to explain, on behalf of their order, what rights they wished to have confirmed. The diet met accordingly, and by a majority of 90 to 5 resolved on the motion of M. d'Auerswald, that his Majesty should be respectfully invited to cause his ministers to prepare a new law for the organization of the provincial diets, from which

the national representatives should be chosen, in conformity with the royal declaration of 22d May, 1818, corroborated by the Federal Act of Vienna of 8th June in the same year, and the Final Act of 5th January, 1823. This petition was signed at Königsberg on 7th September with the ominous words, "The States of the Kingdom of Prussia."¹ An. Hist. xliii. 422.

Had a bombshell fallen and burst in the royal council, it could not have created greater consternation than this unexpected demand, supported by so large a majority, did in the cabinet of Berlin. The king's answer was delayed till he came to make his speech dissolving the diet, and he said, "He would give to the promises of the late king the accomplishment which the good of the country demanded;" vague words, which might mean any thing or nothing. During the ceremony of fealty he said, "He would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation, and would pursue a course based upon historical progression, and suited to German nationality;" words of deep significance, and which, if carried into effect, might have avoided all the calamities which followed. The provincial estates were shortly after opened, and separate diets for each established in the provinces. They did nothing material, however, and the public attention was rather directed to the proceedings of the Zollverein, which met at Berlin in August, and entered into negotiations, though at that time with little success, to induce Brunswick and Hanover to join the fiscal league.² An. Hist. xliii. 423, 424.

The first serious affair which called for the attention of the new monarch was the schism between the Crown and the Holy See, which had so violently convulsed the monarchy in the preceding reign. This was at length finally effected, and on terms more favorable to the See of Rome than could have been anticipated. Both parties receded from the pretensions they had originally advanced: quarrels are in general more easily adjusted when their direction falls into the hands of heirs, than when in those which originally commenced them. An accommodation was effected with the Pope, in virtue of which the Archbishop of Posen, who had been dispossessed and kept in detention for two years, in consequence of having, like the Archbishop of Cologne, refused to obey the edicts of the king in the vexed matter of the mixed marriages, was reinstated in his functions; and although the Archbishop of Cologne was not formally restored to his province, yet he got a colleague in the Bishop of Spire, who was nominated by the Pope, and received personal satisfaction in a public royal letter from the sovereign. This was a great concession in appearance to the Catholic party, and went far to appease the discontent among the members of that persuasion. Both parties gained something by this compromise; for, on the one hand, the Holy See obtained a recognition of the important principle for which they have always contended, that spiritual authority, conferred by the head of the Church, can not be abrogated by temporal power;³ while, on the other, the royal edicts as to the education of the children of mixed marriages⁴

* He was born on 15th October, 1775, and married, on 13th November, 1801, the Princess Louisa of Bavaria.—An. Hist. xliii. 422.

In his testament, Frederick-William addressed the following eloquent instructions to his son and heir, which, better than any thing else, explain his views in the last and most critical years of his life: "It is on you, my dear Frederick, that will henceforward fall the weight of affairs, and their responsibility. The position you have hitherto occupied has prepared you for it better than any other held to the throne. It is for you to justify my hopes and those of the country. Your principles and your sentiments afford me a sure guarantee that you will prove the father of your country. Preserve yourself from that mania for innovation which has become so general, and from the numerous theories afloat in the world, which it is impossible to reduce into practice; but guard also against falling into another excess which may be not less fatal—I mean an excessive predilection for ancient institutions. It is only by shunning these two shoals that you can succeed in introducing really useful ameliorations. The army is organized in the most superior manner: it has justified my expectations in peace as in war. May it never forget its high mission, and may the country never forget what it owes to it. Continue, so far as you possibly can, in a good state of intelligence with the European powers: in particular, may Prussia, Austria, and Russia, never be disunited. Their union is the safeguard of European peace. My beloved children give me the sweet consolation of feeling assured that they will always distinguish themselves by a useful, active, wise, and pious conduct: it is by such alone that the blessings of Heaven are to be attained, and that consoling idea will comfort my last moments. May God protect and bless our dear country! May His almighty hand forever bless our family. May He bless you, my dear son, you and your reign: may He bestow upon you the strength and talent necessary for reigning; and may He give you conscientious and faithful counselors, dutiful and obedient subjects."—CARPENTIER, x. 225, 226.

64. Adjustment of the dispute with the See of Rome.

3 An. Hist. xliii. 423, 424.

4 An. Hist. xliii. 423, 424.

remained in force throughout the whole of Prussia.

The meeting of the provincial estates, which took place in the different provinces with great solemnity on the 1st March, revealed the strong undercurrent in favor of constitutional freedom, which, beneath a tranquil despotic surface, had been long flowing in Germany. In the outset of the sittings, the royal commissioner, M. de Busewitz, read a decree of the king, permitting them

to make public their deliberations *by means of the press*, and at the same time announced a remission of certain taxes which bore especially hard on the poorer classes. These concessions gave universal satisfaction, and realized in some degree what the nation had so confidently expected and passionately desired from representative institutions. It led to another step in advance—the most important of all—an attempt to establish the freedom of the press. On April 9 a motion was brought forward in the diet at Berlin, that the king should be petitioned to remove the restrictions on the press, which it was said had entirely annulled the benignant intentions announced in the royal proclamation of October 18, 1819, and rendered all free communication of thought impossible. Immense was the sensation excited by this debate; men could scarcely believe their own ears when they heard it announced: with agitated hearts they listened in crowds in the streets to the report of the speeches on the subject in the newspaper, the *Staats Gazette* of 18th April, which was read in a low voice. The example of the states of Berlin was speedily followed in the other provincial diets, and with an energy which gave no small uneasiness to the government. The states of the Rhenish provinces demanded that the debates should be daily and faithfully published, that the censorship of the press should be abolished, as it had been in England for one hundred and fifty, in Denmark for seventy years. The diet of Cologne demanded the convocation of a general parliament for the whole kingdom; a similar proposal at Posen was, after three days of stormy debates, only rejected “lest the nationality of Polish Prussia should be drowned in the general majority of the kingdom.” In a word, the thorns began to show themselves with the roses, and so much was the government alarmed on the subject, that, by a circular to the different governors of provinces, the utmost vigilance was enjoined in enforcing the censorship of the press, and the free publication of debates was permitted only in the *State Gazette*.¹

The cabinet of Berlin in this year zealously pursued the two great objects of its domestic policy, which were, to attract literary and scientific talent from all quarters to the Prussian capital, and to render it the centre of the great financial union of the north of Germany. Both efforts proved successful. M. Schelling, an eminent philosopher, was put at the head of public instruction, and numbers of men, distinguished in science and literature, were attracted to Berlin. The Zollverein obtained an important extension this year, by the accession of Brunswick and Hesse-Hom-

burg. The advantage of belonging to the union, both from the diminished expense of collecting the duties, and the increased facility of transmitting goods from province to province, was now generally felt, and was rapidly overcoming the resistance offered by local interests, which always in the first instance obstructs measures of general utility. Treaties of commerce were also concluded with England, America, and Turkey, which materially lightened the import duties on commodities coming from these countries. They brought to light in Prussia the jealousy between the manufacturing and agricultural interests, which inevitably, in a certain stage of its progress, gets up in every country making rapid progress in industry. The eastern provinces toward Poland, which were entirely agricultural, warmly supported the treaty with England, which promised to give them the manufactured articles of which they stood in need, cheaper and better than they could be made for them at home; the western, in which native manufactures had made considerable progress, strongly opposed it, and deplored the ruin it was destined to bring on the commercial prospects of their own country.¹

Not content with having thrown down the barriers which impeded the commercial intercourse of the different states forming the Zollverein, the Prussian government was indefatigable in its endeavors to connect them all together, in a solid and durable way, by a vast system of railways. In September, 1841, the line from Berlin to Köthen was opened, which connected that capital with the one running from Leipsic to Magdeburg. It was soon after united to one running to Dresden; and another, of vast commercial importance, running from the Prussian capital to Bremen, Hamburg, and the Danish states. The government conceived, with justice, that these great undertakings would not only open up new markets for the industry of their subjects, but cement the fiscal union which was every day embracing fresh states, and adding to the preponderance of Prussia in Northern Germany. The Austrian government followed, *sed haud passibus æquis*, in the same beneficent career; and this year saw the lines opened from Prerau to Olmütz, and from Wiener-Neustadt to Neunkirchen. But so much more vigorous was the spirit of enterprise in the northern than the southern states, that of fifteen railway lines at this period existing in Germany, no less than ten belonged to states forming part of the Prussian Commercial League.²

Two important events in the constitutional history of Germany ensued in the following year, which well deserve a place in European history. The first of these was the inauguration of the Cathedral of Cologne, which took place on October 15, to commemorate the entire adjustment of the differences with the Holy See. On this occasion the King spoke words pregnant with meaning, not only on the great principle of religious toleration, but on the still more thrilling topic of German unity and nationality. “We are not engaged here,” said the monarch, with

65.
Opening of
the provin-
cial estates,
and great
excitement
with which
it was at-
tended.
March 1.

March 2,
1841.

Ann. Hist.
xxiv. 467,
469.

67.

Vast system
of railways
in Northern
Germany.

68.

Inauguration
of the Cath-
edral of Co-
logne, and
King's
speech at it.
October 15.

Ann. Hist.
xxiv. 468,
469.

the earnest accent of deep emotion, "with the construction of an ordinary edifice: it is a work bespeaking the spirit of union and of concord which animates THE WHOLE OF GERMANY, and all its persuasions, that we are now constructing. May, by the grace of God, the gates of this temple become to Germany the gates of a new era, when she may be great and powerful; and may all that is anti-German—that is, all that is not noble and true and sincere—be ever far from her: may the shameful attempts to relax the bonds of concord which unite the German princes and people, and trouble the peace of persuasions, be shattered against them; and may that spirit which has interrupted the completion of this sacred edifice, the temple of our country, never reappear among us! That spirit is the same as the one which, nine-and-twenty years ago, burst asunder our chains, and
Ann. Hist. xiv. 333. avenged the insults our country had received under the yoke of the stranger!"

The next important step in the year, and a mighty one in the annals of German freedom, was the meeting of the estates of the *whole kingdom*, which, for the first time in Prussian history, was held at Berlin on the 19th October. It may be conceived what hopes and expectations this event awakened among a people so passionately desirous of political enfranchisement as the middle ranks of Prussia were. They were somewhat damped, however, by a passage in the opening speech which Count Arnim delivered in the name of the King: "Unity in the deliberations of this assembly—this is what his majesty confidently expects of you, at the moment when, of his *sole royal pleasure*, he has put in execution the important complement of the institution of estates by uniting the different provincial committees. In those cases where the provincial estates, in their separate and independent representation, and in the consideration of what is suitable for their respective interests, have separated without coming to an accord, upon them the committee will here unite and reconcile them."
Ann. Hist. xiv. 345; Moniteur, Oct. 24, 1842.

These words recorded the real design of the government in convoking this general assembly, which was by no means to erect a barrier which had in other countries proved often so serious against the royal authority, but to obtain a means, under color of reconciling the differences between the provincial assemblies, in reality of obtaining their direction. No real control of the executive was permitted either to the provincial or the united assembly: on the contrary, by a royal ordinance of August 10 in the same year, the functions of the committees were limited to questions involving a diminution of taxation or the formation of railways. The session was always to be opened by the Minister of the Interior, and the secretaries were all to be chosen by the King. Important restrictions fettered the powers of the central assembly, and almost nullified its powers. No member was to be allowed to speak more than once on any question; the speakers were to address themselves to their respective chiefs of departments, and not to the opposite orators; and

the representatives of the commons *were only a third of the entire assembly*. So little did the government contemplate any interference with its prerogatives, that when the provincial estates of Cologne desired to be permitted to present a petition to the King, who was then in their city, on the subject of commercial reform, they could not even obtain an audience. The session was closed at Berlin on November 10, after having sat just three weeks; and some questions of education, of taxation, and forming railroads, alone occupied their attention. It terminated by a speech of the King in person, who congratulated the country on the formation of the States-General out of the committees of the provincial estates as "the last development of the Prussian monarchy, and the satisfactory manner in which they had discharged their duties, and justified his confidence."
Moniteur, 14, 1842; Discours du Roi, Nov. 11, 1842; Ann. Hist. xiv. 96 (Doc. Hist.); Ann. Hist. xiv. 344, 346.

Notwithstanding, however, these complimentary expressions, confidence was very far indeed from being really felt, and the government soon found that the concession they had already made was a great step in the career of constitutional freedom. Petitions for greater powers to the States-General, for the abolition of the censorship of the press, publicity of debates, and for real States-General, not mere committees of the provincial estates, crowded in next year from all quarters. From Königsberg no less than three hundred and fifty-five petitions to this effect were presented in the very next year. The ferment was particularly strong in the Rhenish provinces, whose estates petitioned that the States-General might be permitted to deliberate on *all* the affairs of the nation—not merely taxes and railways—and that entire publicity should be given to their debates in a perfectly free press. These demands, and the increasing excitement in the country, caused government to take fright and pause in its career. The amiable illusion of unity of opinion, which is always the dream of the inexperienced, and with which the King had flattered himself, was already dispelled by the sober reality of division, the invariable result and characteristic of emancipated man. The King agreed that the "accounts" produced to the estates should not be subjected to the censorship; but the publication of debates was only permitted to the *Gazette de Prusse*, the government organ, from which the other journals were obliged to take them. An important concession, however, was made by royal ordinances, 10th October, 1842, and 4th February, 1843, which abolished the censorship *entirely* of works exhibited to above twenty pages; and in regard to journals or lesser pamphlets, enjoined the censors to discharge their duties with gentleness and discretion, and not to erase any thing which did not strike at the monarchical frame of government, or tend to bring the institutions of the country into discredit, or discuss existing laws in an unsuitable or insulting manner. Wise principles, but how difficult of application to particular cases.
Ann. Hist. xxi. 269, 271; and ordinances, Oct. 10, 1842, and Feb. 4, 1843; Ann. Hist. xxi. 161, 163. (Doc. Hist.)

So great was the vigor with which the con-

struction of railways was pushed forward, both in northern and southern Germany, ^{72.} Progress of in the succeeding year, that the lines 1844. were rendered complete from Hamburg to Trieste—that is, from the Baltic to the Adriatic! Such a prodigious penetration of that hitherto inland and remote country by the means of communication and rapid conveyance, could not but have ere long an important influence on its political fortunes. Railways are the pioneers of thought; when they have opened the way, changes of opinion, and through them, of institutions and government, rapidly succeed. The material and pecuniary interests of governments lead them to favor a change in this respect, destined in the end to work a much greater change upon themselves. This appeared in this very year. A serious revolt broke out in Silesia, the most manufacturing district of Prussia, originating in a strike among the workmen, who complained of the lowness of their wages, and the ruinous effect of machinery upon their interests. This revolt soon embraced the whole manufacturing towns and districts, and was not put down but by the intervention of a large military force, and a deplorable effusion of human blood. With the industry, the fabrics, and the riches of free states, Germany was ^{1 Ann. Hist. already inheriting their passions, xxvii. 361.} their collisions of classes, and their dangers.¹

^{73.} The increasing ferment of ideas, and the disposition to shake off the shackles of priestly as well as temporal authority, were strongly evinced in the succeeding year. A pretended relic of a saint, which had been exhibited at Treves for the adoration of the faithful, roused the indignation of a young Catholic priest, named Johan Ronge, who commenced preaching a reformation somewhat similar to that of Luther three hundred years before. The success of this bold attempt was at first such as to excite the greatest alarm in the papal conclave. The principles of the new sect were, that the supremacy of the Pope should be abolished, and he should be reduced to the mere rank of Bishop of Rome; that confession should be abolished, priests permitted to marry, and the mass be celebrated in the native tongue. This was cutting up the ascendancy of Rome by the roots, and it met, as might have been expected, with the most violent opposition from the Catholic party in every part of Germany. Deprived, however, of the aid of the fagot and the Inquisition, it was not so easy a matter as it once was to check the progress of heresy; and the schism of Ronge shook the Romish Church in Northern Germany to its foundation. Ronge and Czercky, the two leaders of the new sect, were formally excommunicated; but ere long, like many other reformers, they quarreled, and this fresh schism was more fatal to the new opinions than the thunders of the Vatican. The King of Prussia was strongly urged, by a deputation from the magistrates of Berlin, to take vigorous measures against the ultra-Puritan party in that city, at the head of which were MM. Thiele and Eichorn, both members of the royal council; but he answered in just and pregnant words, which bespoke the real seat of the evil in the superstition of some and indifference of others. "To me

alone," said he, "belongs the direction of religious matters. You have nothing to do with it. Under my grandfather, Berlin contained forty thousand inhabitants, and fifty preachers; now its population is nearly five hundred thousand, and you have not added to their number; you have not built a single church. Is this a proof of your zeal for religion? As to the Puritans, those were men faithful to their God and their King; it is not for the magistrates of Berlin to attack them: the King can still less recognize that right in the declared partisans of the new ^{1 Ann. Hist. Catholics, those men who have vied xxvii. 363.} lated their oath toward the Church."¹ 285.

This religious schism was an indication of the stirring of men's minds; it was the precursor, as the fervor of the Puritans had been in England, of the great rebellion. When the human mind is resolutely set on expansion and inquiry, it is often in religious division that its heavings first appear. The same anxiety was evinced by the people, on the one hand, to obtain States-General, or a real representative assembly, and by the government, on the other, to repress insolent language, and check extravagant ideas. The demands of the petitions presented to the King had become so extensive, their language in some cases so violent, that they were nearly all considered illegal, and their insertion in the public journals prohibited. The object of the government was not to put an entire stop to the stream of innovation; that, they were well aware, was wholly impossible. What they desired was to turn it into constitutional channels, and take the initiative themselves in any changes which might be deemed advisable. Accordingly, Prince Adolphus of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, who presided over the provincial estates of Silesia, thus addressed them at their opening on the part of the government: "It is permitted to us to hope that the King will accord in the next session (that of 1847) the constitution of *States-General which you desire so warmly*. The King is convinced that the present situation of affairs not only requires, but favors that design." Numerous demands were made by all the estates, especially those of Cologne, Posen, and Berlin, for various objects of domestic and social reform, particularly a reform in criminal trials, and publicity of their procedure; the publication of the debates of the estates, the emancipation of the Jews, the establishment of real States-General, the extension of the representation of towns and rural communities in them, the guarantee of the liberty of the press, and similar objects. The answer of the King to these applications, though sometimes evasive, in general contained promises that the grievances complained of should be taken into consideration. The autumn ^{Aug. 10.} of this year was rendered remarkable by an auspicious event, the visit of our present gracious sovereign to the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, when she was magnificently entertained by the King of Prussia, whose language on the occasion bespoke alike the courtesy ^{1 Ann. Hist. of a chevalier, the grace of a sovereign, xxviii. 395.} and the felicity of a scholar.^{2*} 302.

* At a public dinner given to the Queen of England at Cologne, the King of Prussia said: "Gentlemen, fill your glasses to the brim. We are about to pronounce a word which ever resounds most pleasingly in English and Ger-

The year 1846 was chiefly distinguished by the agitation which prevailed in Prussia and all Northern Germany in favor of religious toleration and liberty of conscience, a topic which is every where, but especially in that country, the battle-field between the subjects and their sovereign. The religious schism, which had got up in the preceding year, furnished occasion for the presentation of numerous petitions on the subject to the King, in the answers to which the firm determination of the monarch to uphold the Lutheran religion as by law established was clearly expressed. It is remarkable that in these answers, which were chiefly addressed to municipal magistrates, by whom the petitions had been presented, the principle of appealing to the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith was expressly disavowed—a clear proof that men had ceased to be swayed by authority in matters of religion.* The magistrates, however, were not daunted by this rebuke; those of Königsberg followed the example of Breslau, and formed a new sect, under a minister named Rapp, which soon embraced the chief men of the place. Magdeburg and Leipzig also had their divisions; and open-air meetings, like those in England, were called to discuss—as was done in Scotland in the time of the Covenanters—knotty points of theology. Alarmed at this religious agitation, the King convoked a synod to settle the disputed points; and it met at Berlin, and promulgated, as from authority, some dogmas. They, however, only gave rise to fresh remonstrances from the municipalities, and increased division among the people. In truth, the evil was ineradicable, save by a change of national institutions. Religion was the battle-field which the parties chose for their conflict, because none other ¹ Ann. Hist. was permitted to them. It was the xxix. 351, reform bill of the German people 355.

The municipal bodies and provincial diets, especially in Rhenish Prussia—the centre alike of political effervescence and Catholic resistance—continued this year to petition for State-General, a free press, publicity of judicial proceedings, and the other objects of constitutional reform, with increased vehemence. It was evident that a crisis, and that of the most violent kind, was approaching. The government endeavored to elude the demands for a free press, by referring to the resolutions of the Diet of the Confederation on the subject; but at the same time they set on foot some journals on the side of government—a concession which was justly

man hearts: formerly, it resounded on the battle-field, hardly won, as a symbol of a happy fraternity in arms. Now it resounds, after a peace of thirty years, the happy result of the arduous toils of that period: here, in this German province, on the banks of this noble stream of the Rhine—that word is VICTORIA.”—*Ann. Hist.*, xxviii. 302.

* “Le véritable danger aujourd’hui c’est que l’Eglise, oubliant tous ses devoirs, reconnaisse comme ses serviteurs tous ceux qui tout en raillant les principes fondamentaux de la Foi Chrétienne, osent en appeler à l’Ecriture Sainte. Sous mon sceptre ceux-là auront liberté de conscience complète, mais jamais je n’admettrai qu’avec de tels principes ils puissent être serviteurs de l’Eglise évangélique et nationale.”—*Réponse du Roi de Prusse aux Magistrats de Breslau*, March 7, 1846; *Ann. Hist.*, xlix. 353, 353.

considered as the first step to absolute freedom of discussion. An important addition was made this year to the duties on cotton thread and goods, avowedly directed against England, who thus early began to experience the truth that all the concessions she might make in the way of reduction of duties on her side, would be met only by enhanced ones on the other part. An insurrection broke out at Posen on 14th Feb. 14. February, in connection with one at the same time at Cracow, the centre of all the efforts for the restoration of Polish nationality; but it was speedily suppressed, and led to no other result but the occupation of Cracow by the Russian troops. The peasants of the grand-duchy of Posen, who had become proprietors, and largely benefited under the Prussian government, evinced no disposition to ¹ Ann. Hist. put themselves again under the rule xxix. 351, of their stormy Comitia.¹ 360.

The year 1847, the last of the old government in Prussia, was also, in a constitutional point of view, one of the most important. The desire expressed by the nation for a representative government had become so strong and universal, that the cabinet deemed it no longer safe to withhold it. On 3d February the long and ardently wished-for boon was granted. An edict appeared in the form of letters patent, convoking a general assembly of the estates of Prussia, arranged in four classes—that of the nobles, the equestrian order, the towns, and the rural districts. The diet consisted in all of six hundred and seventeen members, of which the nobles were only eighty; so that the *tiers état* and equestrian order had a great majority.* In addition to this general assembly there was a chamber of peers, to which certain separate functions were assigned, exclusive, however, of all matters of finance and taxation, which were to be privative to the general diet. The diet was empowered to discuss all questions concerning the legislative power, its exercise, and the relations between it and the executive. The initiative in all measures was reserved to the Crown; the diet had the power only of discussing and voting on them. It was empowered to receive all petitions—the right of presenting was fully accorded to the nation. By this constitution an immense step was made in the career of representative government in Prussia: a real national assembly was for the first time established, and a known channel opened by which the people might make their wants known to the throne; while that unity was established in the monarchy, the object of such passionate desire to every true German heart.² ¹ Ann. Hist. xxx. 334, 341.

The National Diet assembled on 24th July, and was opened by the King in person, in a noble speech, remarkable alike for the elevation and generous spirit which it evinced. He said in Prussia, substance, “that in preserving entire and King’s the prerogative and prestige of the speech.”

* The deputies of the orders stood thus:

Nobles	80
Equestrian order	231
Towns	163
Rural districts	134

617

—*Ann. Hist.* xxx. 336, 338.

crown as the ruling power in the state, the object of the King was to preserve the form and unity of the monarchy. He convoked the diet in order to make himself acquainted with the wants and wishes of his people; to satisfy, in a just measure, those views when they were legitimate. Sometimes he would invite a vote of the diet when important new measures, as the laying on of additional burdens, were requisite. But the government would not be changed in its essence; the absolute monarchy had only become *consulting*; and for the interest even of his people, the King did not think it was his duty to establish a proper representative government. He felt that it was his duty to resist the leveling and innovating spirit of the age: he would never permit a charter to intervene between him and the duty which he owed to his people; he would never yield to the rule of majorities, and he would resist to the last the ruinous democratic and incendiary designs which were the disgrace and the peril of the age." This speech, it may readily be conceived, gave rise to a violent debate as to whether the constitution thus explained was or was not a redemption of the royal pledge given in the declaration of 20th May, 1815. An address substantially approving of the constitution was carried only by a majority of fifty-three—the numbers being 303 to 250; and an energetic protest was signed by the minority. An animated debate also took place on the finances; and the session was closed on 24th June by a royal rescript, after the assembly had given sufficient proof of a sturdy unmanageable disposition, which too surely prognosticated the terrible convulsions of the succeeding year.¹

From this account of the political circumstances and constitutional history of Germany subsequent to the peace, it is evident that its situation was very singular, and such as necessarily stamped a peculiar character on its literature, and portended at no distant period serious convulsions among its inhabitants. On the one hand there was a vast confederacy of states, the great majority of which were in a simple agricultural condition, animated with a strong military spirit, deeply tinctured with feudal ideas, governed by a feudal nobility, and inspired with the strongest aversion to the democratic régime, from the invasion of which they had already suffered so much. On the other hand, there were many free towns and commercial or manufacturing districts, already considerable at the commencement of the period, which increased immensely during the long peace that followed the conclusion of the war, and the inhabitants of which were animated with the strong and inextinguishable love of freedom which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race. Between such classes, inspired with such opposite feelings, union was impossible—ultimate contest inevitable. The *tiers état* of Germany was rising so rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and consideration, that it was not in the nature of things that it should remain long in the fetters of the feudal nobility: the feudal nobility were so strongly entrenched in the citadels of power and in the possession of government, that it was equally

hopeless to expect they would relinquish it without a struggle, or be driven from it without convulsions.

A contest of this description is inevitable in one stage or other of every monarchy of the European race. Effect of the gland had it in the Great Rebellion —France during the Revolution. But what was peculiar to Germany, which divided and rendered it likely to be more serious there than in any other country, was this—that the long duration and successful issue of the revolutionary war had materially added to the strength of both parties, and in a similar proportion augmented their hostility against each other. Twenty years' almost unbroken warfare had drawn forth to the very highest degree the military spirit and resources of the country; and the narrow escape it had made at its close, by almost superhuman efforts, from slavery and bondage—the sad result of their former divisions—had both convinced every one of the necessity of a federal union to cause the common independence to be respected, and of a vast standing army to maintain it if assailed. Thus the whole of Germany unanimously agreed, while smarting under the evils of French oppression, to a federal union, which placed the entire physical strength of the Confederacy at the disposal of Austria and Prussia—the two greatest military powers of central Europe; and acquiesced in the establishment of a federal army of 800,000 men to obey their directions. Such and so great was the accession to the strength of the aristocratic and monarchial party from the long continuance and final triumphant issue of the revolutionary war.

But that very triumphant issue, and the long peace to which it gave rise, augmented in a proportional degree the passion for freedom in the middle and commercial portions of the community. The victory had been gained by a unanimous effort of all ranks; and, in the first fervor of gratitude, the sovereigns of Germany had solemnly given in return, in the Federal Act, the promise to *all* of representative institutions. In Prussia this promise had been followed up by the official announcement that government were engaged in the inquiries requisite for the formation of a constitution. When, therefore, year after year passed away without this promise being redeemed in the great monarchies, and when at last it terminated in the illusory concession, in the Prussian states, of provincial assemblies only, and in Austria in no assemblies at all, the discontent was general and extreme. It was rendered the greater that, during the long interval of expectation, the industry and wealth of the middle classes had immensely increased, and with it the desire for and capability to exercise representative powers had proportionally augmented. The Diet had most wisely prohibited internal war between the states of the Confederacy; they had effectually guarded it against foreign attack, and had removed many of the restrictions which fettered the commercial intercourse of one state of the union with the other. The Fatherland—peaceful within, respected without—had been moulded into a vast empire, containing in the end forty millions of inhabitants speaking the same lan-

¹ Ann. Hist. xxx. 335, 363.

79. Extraordinary political situation of Germany.

81. And in insurrection for freedom.

guage, descended from the same stock, in great part actuated by the same sentiments, and rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and industry. Imagination could hardly conceive circumstances more favorable to the development of the passion for freedom among the middle and industrial portion of the community; and yet the very circumstances which had created this desire had imposed seemingly impassable barriers to its gratification.

The education which had become so general in Germany, especially its northern and central states, powerfully augmented this general and natural desire. Every person, in however humble a condition, being taught to read, a great proportion of them learned to think; and the first effect of an entrance into the realms of thought always is to beget a passionate desire to bring opinions into action, and mould the social institutions and measures of government according to what seems to them most desirable. Unthinking man, whether in religion or politics, is often for a very long period passive and quiescent—thinking man never. Division of opinion and divergence of action arise with the development of intelligence as naturally as the sparks fly upward. Unity of thought is the result of ignorance, universal, save in the few who direct it. It was inevitable, therefore, when Germany became instructed, that difference of opinion on political subjects should arise, and the passion become general for those representative institutions which might open vents, as it were, for its reception. But there was a circumstance peculiar to that country, which in an especial manner aggravated the difficulties of its situation, and inflamed the vehemence of the political passions which agitated its bosom beyond what perhaps ever occurred in any other country.

In general, where free institutions are established in a country, or the desire for them is generally felt, it is in consequence of manufactures having flourished, commerce extended, and, as a natural consequence, colonies having been planted, which afforded a vent to the surplus population of the parent state. But nearly all these means of independence and outlets to discontent were wanting in Germany. Colonies they had none; foreign trade, except in a few towns in the north, little; manufactures were flourishing in some districts, but not so generally established as to afford any sufficient employment or vent for the inhabitants. Hamburg and Frankfort, the two largest commercial towns in Germany, do not each to this day contain more than eighty thousand inhabitants—not a fifth part of Glasgow, Manchester, or Liverpool. It results from this, that none of the ordinary outlets which draw off the bustling and active part of the community, and to which Great Britain has been so deeply indebted for her internal tranquillity, were open in Germany, while, at the same time, the general intelligence of the people inspired multitudes with the desire to elevate themselves in the world, and exchange manual for intellectual labor. Thus its governments came to be placed in the most perilous of all situations—that of being constantly in presence of educated indigence

panting for elevation, and squalid multitudes destitute of employment. We boast of the stability of the Anglo-Saxon character, and the manner in which England has stood the political storms which have proved fatal to the governments of so many other states; but it is not equally generally felt how much of that is owing to the coal and iron under our feet, which has given us manufactures, and the encircling ocean, which has given us commerce and colonies. And if we would see what Great Britain has owed to these advantages, we have only to turn to Ireland to see what a country can be brought to which is in Denmark, part without them.¹

So powerful is the influence of these causes, prompting to general discontent and social convulsion, that they would undoubtedly have brought on disturbance, and probably revolution, in the states of northern and western Germany long before the outbreak of 1848, were it not for other circumstances which had a directly opposite tendency, and kept the social body together when causes of discord were at work in its bosom eminently calculated to tear it in pieces. The first of these was the Federal Union, which not only gave a preponderance of votes in the general Diet to the monarchical and military states, but put the immense military force of its members entirely at their disposal. Out of the seventeen votes which composed the Diet, not more than one or two could be reckoned on by the commercial towns, or the liberal party in the smaller states: they never on a serious occasion could muster more than two votes, while Austria could command fifteen; and of the military forces of the Confederacy not less than 225,000 was at the disposal of the great military monarchies, or those whom they influenced. The knowledge of how political and physical strength was thus arranged, prevented any partial outbreak in places where the democratic feeling was strongest, from its obvious hopelessness.

II. In this question a great degree of importance must be attached to the fact, that a majority of the German states were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Their inhabitants were, in 1820, nineteen millions to the Protestant seventeen millions.

It is true, nearly the whole genius and intelligence of the Fatherland was to be found in the Protestant states of the north, and that they almost exclusively directed the thought of the German educated classes, and the character of German literature throughout the world. But although that circumstance will doubtless come to exercise a great and probably decisive influence on the fate of Germany in the end, it could not counteract, in the first instance, the efforts of the Catholic clergy in the Romish states to retain their flocks in a state of real ignorance. Rome has a perpetual dread of instruction and intelligence, because an unerring instinct tells it that they inevitably lead to division of opinion. The mere fact of the whole people in Austria and southern Germany being taught to read, had no influence in counteracting this tendency; on the contrary, it increased it. The people got leave to read nothing but little books

82. Great effect of general education in increasing this desire.

84. Causes which held Germany together: contrast of the Diet, the federal union.

83. Great difficulties arising from the want of foreign commercial colonies.

85. Effect of the preponderance of Catholics in the Confederacy.

of their priests' composition. Accordingly, on every important division in the Diet, the representatives of the Catholic states all voted with Austria and the monarchical party.

III. It was a mistake to say, as is often done by the liberal writers, that this decided superiority of the aristocratic party, both in the Diet and the governments of Germany, was owing to the wishes and aspirations of the people being crushed by the force of military power. Constituted as the army in all the states of the Confederacy is, its voice is the exponent, not the controller of general opinion. As every man, of whatever rank, without exception, is bound to serve three years in the armed force, at the expiration of which period he retires, and makes way for his successor, who during that period has grown up to the military age, the army is in fact an *armed depuration of the nation*, just as the juries in America are a judicial committee of the majority. It is possible with a mercenary force, which has no sympathy with the people among whom they are introduced, or with a victorious host which follows the standards of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, to crush effectually for a time the expression of general opinion; but with an army constituted as those of the German states are, this was impossible. The people have arms in their own hands: the whole population have been trained to their use; if they are dissatisfied with the existing system, they have the remedy in their own power. No one succession of soldiers remains so long in the service as to come to be detached from the people, and belong to the military caste. The armies of Germany are aristocratic, and support the monarchical cause, because the great majority of the people, whatever a portion of them in the great towns may be, are of the same way of thinking, lead a simple agricultural life, and are still subject to the old influences.

IV. A prominent place in the causes influencing German policy and domestic history in recent times must be assigned to the influence of Russia. This great power, essentially monarchical and despotic in its system of government, is as tenacious of purpose and far-seeing in policy as the inhabitants of free states are vacillating and inconsiderate. The close union which subsisted between the Czar and the King of Prussia during the war of liberation, led to a very great influence of the former over the latter, and, in effect, has ever since rendered Prussia, so far as external policy is concerned, little more than an outwork of Muscovy. Austria entertained for long, and till driven into her arms by the tortuous policy of England, a very great dread of Russia; and therefore the main efforts of the latter power, during the last quarter of a century, have been directed to gain the command of the Diet by means of extending its influence among the lesser powers. Fortuitous circumstances gave it the means of doing this with very great effect. Through the Empress Catherine, a Livonian princess, the Russian house of Romanzoff was connected with several reigning families in the north of Germany; the marriage of the Emperor Nicholas to a sister of the King of Prussia brought it into close connection

with the royal family of Berlin, while that of the Emperor Alexander with a princess of the house of Baden had placed it in alliance with an old and highly connected family in central Germany. The vast armies of Russia, like those of the East India Company to Great Britain, furnished employment to the numerous youth of noble extraction in Germany, to whom circumstances and the general feeling left no other career but that of arms; and this means of influence was prodigally exerted by the cabinet of St. Petersburg to extend its sway over the German powers. Thus the influence of Russia had become nearly omnipotent, especially in the lesser states, before the French Revolution of 1830; and so strongly was this felt by the popular party, that the greatest reproach which could be cast upon a writer, and that which proved fatal to Kotzebue, was that he was a Russian spy.

V. A very curious circumstance connected with the social condition of Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, tended greatly to extend the influence of government, though at first sight it might seem calculated to have a directly opposite effect. This was, the great extent to which education had been carried in the middle and lower ranks. That this universal opening of the gates of knowledge rendered nearly all young men at first liberal, and even revolutionary in their opinions, is indeed certain; and accordingly, extreme license of ideas in the schools and universities was one of the circumstances which most strongly excited the solicitude of the governments of Germany. But what came of these young men when they left college and went into the world? Universally educated, they all sighed for intellectual rather than physical labor: restricted in their walk of life by circumstances, there was not one in ten could find employment, or earn a subsistence in intellectual pursuits. Trade or manufactures in a country so little commercial could absorb only a limited number; the army furnished occupation merely for a few years in early life; colonies there were none; emigration, till the middle of the century, was almost unknown. Thus the only channel left open was that of government employment, and the great number who crowded accordingly into that line, gave the authorities an immense sway over those who had entered upon the career and felt the wants of real life. Dreaming of republics, and declaiming passages about Brutus and Cromwell, was very exciting, as long as the youths were at college, maintained by their parents, and animated by the presence of each other; but when they went out into the world, and found themselves alone in a garret, with scarce the means of purchasing one meal a day, it became very desirable to exchange such penury for the certainty and security of a government office. Thus it was universally found in Germany that there were a dozen applicants for every vacant situation, how humble soever, that fell vacant, and that the visionary enthusiasm of the young aspirant was speedily cooled down by the chill atmosphere of real life after they left the universities. The ardent student, burning with the passion

87.
Influence of
Russia on
Prussia and
the lesser
states.

88.
Influence of
the want of
employment
in forcing
men to be-
come gov-
ernment em-
ployees.

for freedom, who had fought two duels, with his meerschaum, his beer, and his *liebens-würdige scharnspielerin*, was ere long transformed into a quiet, respectable government *employé*, who toiled at his desk twelve hours a day for eighty pounds a year, and thanked his stars that, in the dread competition, he had drawn such a prize in the lottery of life. It would be the same in every other country if the means of existence were equally restricted. Cut off the backwoods and California from America, or Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, with India and Australia, from England, and where would be the boasted independence of the Anglo-Saxon character?

VI. Among the circumstances which tended to coerce for a very long period the rising democratic spirit of Germany, must be reckoned the revolutions of Spain and Italy in 1820, and France in 1830, so productive of disaster to the cause of freedom in every part of the world. Like all other attempts by force and violence to overturn governments and change institutions, they deeply injured the cause for which they had been undertaken; and it is hard to say whether they did this most effectually by their early success or their ultimate discomfiture. The first excited the terror of the monarchical and aristocratic party all over the world, buried their jealousies in oblivion, and caused them to coalesce cordially to oppose the revolutionary deluge: the last chilled the hopes of the friends of real freedom by the ill success which had attended the efforts of the revolutionists, and the apparent hopelessness of their cause. The treachery and defection of the Spanish army, the object of such impassioned laudation from the liberal party all over the world, in reality promoted nothing but the interests of Russia, for it rallied all the friends of order over Europe to its standard. This advance of Muscovite sway was still more furthered by the triumph of the Barricades, and the establishment of a revolutionary government on the left bank of the Rhine. The lesser German powers, violently assailed, and some of them overturned, by the outbreak of the democratic spirit in their own bosoms, were fain to take shelter under theegis of the great conservative colossus of the north. The fall of Charles X., for which the short-sighted Liberals chanted *io-pæans* all over the world, in reality had no other effect but that of extending the Russian influence from the Niemen to the Rhine, and throwing back for half a century the cause of German freedom.

Such were the chief causes which acted upon the people of Germany during the thirty years which followed the termination of the war of liberation. The most cursory observation must show that they were on each side so powerful, and yet so contradictory to each other, that they could terminate only in a vehement struggle or an entire disruption of society. The restraining causes and influences were the more powerful in the commencement of the period, but the disturbing became more efficacious as time rolled on, and it was evident, at its close, that nothing but a violent shock from the neighboring

kingdom was required to throw society into convulsions. The thirty-three years which elapsed from 1815 to 1848 were nothing but a long-continued preparation for the terrible convulsion in the latter year in Germany; just as the fifteen years from 1815 to 1830 were for the Revolution of France, which overturned Charles X.; and the seventeen years from the same epoch to 1832, for that which subverted the old constitution of England. The convulsion was longer of coming in the Fatherland, because the aristocratic and monarchical influences were more powerful, and the innovating principles less active, in a great inland and agricultural Confederacy than in either of the adjoining states, where commerce and manufactures had, from the possession of coal and the vicinity of the ocean, made much greater progress.

And here a mark-worthy circumstance deserves to be noted, eminently characteristic of the ceaseless vicissitude from good to evil and from evil to good, which in the unbroken chain of events marks the progress of human affairs. It was the triumph of the conservative powers, at the close of the terrible struggle with France, which left the seeds of revolution in all the countries which had proved victorious in the strife. This History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that it was the vast growth of wealth and realized capital in Great Britain, during and after the war, from the immense extension of the empire which occurred during its continuance, which, by enabling the holders of it to get possession of the close boroughs, put it in their power to pursue measures calculated for their exclusive advantage, and brought on the Reform revolution. Spain was revolutionized in consequence of the successes of Wellington and the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in the Peninsula; Flanders, from the effects of the triumph of Waterloo. Russia was shaken to its centre from the participation of its armies in the strife of central Europe and the conquest of Leipsic; France, by the consequences of the restoration of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon; and Germany was no exception to the general law. In the effects of the great and formidable Confederacy which arose out of the strife of which its fields had so long been the theatre, is to be discerned the remote but certain spring of revolutionary movement in its bosom, more determined and bloody than any which have yet convulsed the world. Such strength as was there given to the conservative and democratic principles in the different classes of society, and such antagonism as was there created between them, could not but lead at no distant period to a frightful social convulsion. Whoever would rightly apprehend the German revolution of 1848, must devote his days and his nights to the study of the moving principles which had been brought into action among its inhabitants subsequent to the battle of Waterloo and establishment of their independence.

The causes which have been mentioned have exercised an influence not less powerful on the LITERATURE of Germany than on its political condition and social state. In the speculations

89.
Disastrous effects in Germany of the revolutions of 1820 and 1830.

91.
The triumph of the Conservatives left the seeds of revolution in all the European states.

90.
Contrasting influence of these causes.

of its philosophers, equally with the visions of its poets and the imaginations of its dramatists, is to be seen the traces of genius chafing against the fetters of conventionalism, of freedom seeking to burst the bonds of power. Excluded from a share in the direction of affairs, debarred from exercising an influence on present events, shut out in consequence from a practical direction, the thought of Germany has been forcibly turned into the realms of imagination, and has sought a vent for its ardent feelings in the picture of ideal beauty, the creations of erudite fancy. All the events of time, from the earliest ages, have floated before its vision; all the characters of men in all nations have peopled its ideal world; all the thoughts which have been wrung by joy or suffering from the human heart in the endless vicissitude of human affairs, have found a vent in its poetry. Hence the perfection, unrivaled in modern times, to which the German drama has suddenly arisen. The stage was the only theatre on which the ardent aspirations of an age of intellectual activity and impassioned energy could be exerted. The German drama and poetry is the result of excited genius and enthusiastic feeling wielding the treasures of great learning, but debarred from any practical application. Like the poetry of Racine and Corneille, it contained the aspirations of minds born to be free, but permitted to expatiate only in the realms of imagination. And genius wrote for the drama because it had no real stage to write for; men went to the theatre because they had no House of Lords or Commons to go to. This circumstance invests the German literature during the period of its greatness—that is, the last half century—with an interest, and gives it an importance beyond what usually belongs to the efforts of thought, how great or splendid soever. In it, as in a mirror, and far more than in the political history of the period, may be traced what ideas have been really fermenting in the minds of men; and if “coming events ever cast their shadows before,” it is when the sunlight of genius throws its radiance over the dark and troubled ocean of the moral world. In the extravagant doctrines and corrupt conceptions which prevailed in France in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Lord Chesterfield saw the harbingers of the coming revolution in that country; and he must be blind indeed who does not perceive in the German literature of the nineteenth the heavings of a pent-up fire destined to produce throes and convulsions more earnest, more serious, but not less bloody, than those which have stood forth as a beacon to the world in the French Revolution.

There can be no doubt that, in a social and political point of view, the formation of the German Confederacy has proved a very great blessing, not only to its own members, but to Europe in general. To its existence humanity is mainly indebted for the long peace which succeeded the revolutionary war, with the inestimable blessings which it brought in its train. Germany, for two centuries before, had not merely been the battlefield of Europe, but the coveted prize which provoked its wars. The lesser states, incapable of

resisting the assault of the greater, afforded only a bait to tempt their cupidity. Religious zeal strove at one period to effect their subjugation, in order to realize the seducing dream of unity of belief; regal ambition, at another, to effect the substantial acquisition of universal dominion. The lesser states of Germany formed a sort of “land debatable,” into which Gustavus Adolphus rushed to defend the cause of religious freedom, and Frederick the Great to anticipate the dreaded partition by Austria, and revolutionary France to convulse and overturn the world. The Thirty Years’ War, the Seven Years’ War, the Revolutionary War, the fiercest strifes which have stained the soil of Europe with blood in modern times, have all arisen from the political weakness and defenseless condition of the lesser states of Germany. But the case was very different when these little principalities formed part of a vast Confederacy, capable of bringing 800,000 men into the field, and backed by Austria and Prussia, whose armies could in a few months double that armed host. Even the greatest powers shrank from provoking such a colossus. More than this, its existence in the centre of Europe prevented the great powers from attacking each other. Beyond all doubt, it was the impediment of the German Confederacy which kept asunder France and Russia in 1831, and preserved the peace of Europe at a time when it was so violently threatened by the propagandist efforts of the French revolutionists and the despotic tendencies of the Russian autocrat.

If we consider the German Confederacy with reference to the internal development of constitutional ideas, and the effect of the progressive growth of civil liberty, there is unfortunately much less to admire. As the majority both of votes in the Diet and of physical strength in the field was decidedly in favor of the great military powers, while the peace which they secured for the whole Confederacy was equally favorable to the growth of a passionate desire for freedom and self-government in the lesser states, as much internal jealousy and heart-burnings were created within as peace and tranquillity without. The obvious hopelessness of any attempt on the part of Würtemberg, Bavaria, or Baden, with the aid of Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort, to withstand the great military monarchies, prevented any general insurrectionary movement, or if it did break out, rendered it easy of suppression. But it by no means followed from that state of things that men’s minds were really satisfied, or that society was seated on as solid a basis as its external appearance appeared tranquil and unruffled. On the contrary, these outward appearances were every day becoming more fallacious; the discontent of the middle class was rapidly increasing, and beneath the surface of peace and concord the flames of a frightful volcano were in reality smouldering. Extraordinary as at first sight the revolution of 1848 may appear, it was in reality nothing more than the natural result of the long peace which Germany had enjoyed, and the peculiar circumstances of its federal union.

These considerations throw an important light on a question of much importance to mankind,

92.
Influence of these causes on German literature.

93.
Advantages of the German Confederacy to the peace of Europe.

94.
Effect of the German Confederacy on domestic peace and the progress of freedom.

viz., the ability of a federal union, such as those of Germany or America, to promote the ends of the social union, and advance the general happiness of society. And this question may probably be resolved by a distinction.

If the states forming the confederacy are in the same, or nearly the same, political circumstances; as all commercial, like the Dutch; or all pastoral, like the Swiss; or all agricultural, like the vast majority of the American; they may frame institutions adapted to their entire inhabitants, and enjoy, perhaps, the greatest social felicity which is allotted to man on this earth. Unity of external power, and individuality of internal institutions, present a combination which, as long as it lasts, affords the best possible security for general happiness, because it unites the inestimable advantages of national independence, domestic peace, and suitable institutions. But if the circumstances of the different states are widely and irreconcilably dissimilar; as if some are commercial and manufacturing, others agricultural or pastoral, or some resting on the labor of freemen, and others, from the heat of their climate, chained to the toil of slaves; the ends of the social union will be irrecoverably thwarted by their being united together, and no durable existence can be presaged for such confederacies. The majority in such cases will force institutions upon the minority, so prejudicial in their nature to them, or so unsuited to their circumstances, as to breed a dissatisfaction which will ere long burst out in revolution, or occasion a forced abstinence from vexed questions fatal in the end to the existence of the union. Germany is an example of the first, where the great agricultural and military monarchies succeeded in denying to the free towns and commercial districts those political immunities which they so ardently desired, and thereby occasioned a dissatisfaction which broke forth in the terrible revolution of 1848; America of the last, where the confederacy is only held together by a most irksome toleration in the northern states, of slavery in the southern; and it is well understood that the first serious infringement of that compromise will be the signal for a dissolution of the Union.

It does not, however, appear hopeless to expect, in the progress of time, that certain plain and simple truths may become so generally admitted, that the advantages of federal government may be combined with those of separate legislation. Hitherto, indeed, this has been found to be impracticable for any length of time; for this plain reason, that such is the selfishness and blindness of human nature, that men, when they have got the power, by means of a majority in a ruling assembly, never fail to make use of it, in the very first instance, for their immediate aggrandizement, and to force the institutions of which they themselves approve upon their neighbors, how resolutely so ever opposed to them. It is chimerical to expect that this selfish propensity will ever be lessened in the progress of time; but it is not chimerical to hope that its pernicious effect may in the end be abated, by men seeing that their interests will be more advanced by adopting a more tolerant policy toward other men. Unity

of institutions and laws in politics, like unity of belief and form in religion, is the dream of the inexperienced; diversity of laws and institutions is the want of civilized man. The farther he advances in his career, the greater is the divergence of ideas and habits in different places, and the greater the necessity for different institutions suited to their different circumstances. It is on account of the immense advantages which such adaptation affords, that confederacies of small states, such as those of Greece in ancient, or the Italian republics in modern times, have presented such brilliant spots in the history of the world. This splendor was instantly destroyed when they were conquered by foreign powers; and it is their experienced inability to resist such assault which has rendered them so short-lived, and men so distrustful of their advantage. But it does not seem hopeless that men may at last come to be convinced of the plain truth, that diversity of institutions arises inevitably from diversity in race, character, or occupation, but that it is not incompatible with *entire and cordial union for the purposes of internal peace and external independence*. But many ages must positively elapse, and much misery be endured, before such an union of monarchical and democratic states becomes practicable, or will ever for any length of time be realized.

It is a remarkable fact, clearly indicative of the real causes which have, for the time at least, made shipwreck of German freedom, that its greatest shipwrecked advances were made at the period when the conservative party were all-powerful in Europe, and its greatest reverses sustained when the revolutionary was in the ascendant. Estates were solemnly promised to all the states of Germany by the congress of sovereigns at Vienna, and by the King of Prussia to his subjects at Berlin, immediately before the battle of Waterloo; they were given to Poland at the same time by conservative England; they were subsequently withheld mainly in consequence of the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of the revolutionary party in other states of Europe. France, blessed with a representative government, and in the enjoyment of real freedom, was the theatre of one incessant conspiracy for the overthrow of the government ever since the Restoration, at the head of which Lafayette and the whole liberal leaders were to be found. England was so disturbed during the same period, that all the Continental observers thought she was on the eve of a revolution. Germany had no inducement to adopt the Constitutional régime, when it had led to such results in the countries where it had been first established; still less, when the subsequent revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, demonstrated that nothing short of the entire despotism of numbers would satisfy the movement party in any state of Europe. The German governments were unquestionably right when they declared that their institutions should be framed according to the historical traditions of the country, and based on the representation of classes, not numbers; but they were as clearly wrong when they delayed to redeem the pledge given of establishing such institutions, and gave their opponents the fair ground of complaint that they were opposed to any ad-

vances even toward freedom, and anxious to prolong the despotism of the sixteenth amidst the light of the nineteenth century. The Liberals of Germany were unquestionably right when they claimed from their governments the redemption of this pledge, but as clearly wrong when, on its being delayed to be rendered, they allied themselves with the revolutionists of France and Spain, to commence their career of human emancipation by secret societies and open assassination. And thus it ever is in hu-

man affairs; the progress of freedom is checked, and the extension of human felicity prevented, not so much by wrong ends being pursued by either party, as right ends by wrong means. The most dangerous and demoralizing doctrine ever put forth among men is the principle which revolutionary has borrowed from Romish ambition, that the end will justify the means. The only course which history in every age shows has been permanently beneficial, is that which pursues **THE RIGHT END BY THE RIGHT MEANS.**

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITERATURE OF GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IMPORTANT at all times, and in all countries, the LITERATURE OF GERMANY during the early part of the nineteenth century is pre-eminently so, not only as indicating the progress of the human mind during the most important era of modern times, but as foreshadowing the course of social change, and the march of political event. In free countries the changes of public opinion, often capricious and inconstant, are indicated by unmistakable symptoms, and future events are foreshadowed in a manner which, even by the most inconsiderate, can not be misunderstood. The debates in the Legislature give vent to general thought, and define the objects of the parties into which the State is divided; the press disseminates them through every part of the realm, and strengthens the passion of which they are the expression; public meetings indicate, often in a voice of thunder, the objects of popular desire, and the subjects of general discontent; and philosophic thought, in periodical literature, applies to present events the lessons of past experience, and stimulates or discourages future change by the contemplation or the picture of former revolution. No one who is acquainted with the literature, whether daily, monthly, or quarterly, of free states, can be at a loss to apprehend whence they are coming, or whither they are going. But it is otherwise in despotic countries. No national assemblies there furnish a safety-valve to public feeling, or indicate its tendency; the expression of discontent in any form is strongly prohibited; rigorous punishment deters from any censure, how well soever founded, on the measures of government; and while national feeling is daily accumulating, and public discontent is at its height, the journals do little more than narrate the progress of princes and princesses from one city to another, and the universal enthusiasm when they show themselves in public. But in an age of advancing intelligence and stirring events, it is not to be supposed that the human mind is in reality dormant; it is incessantly working, but its movements are not perceived, nor is the existence of dangerous passions even suspected at a distance, till a sudden and unforeseen event at once reveals their tendency, and demonstrates their strength.

It is in the literature of such states that we must look for the real tendency of public opinion, and the foreshadowing of future change; and it is to be found, not in the discussion of present, but in the contemplation of past events; not in the journals, but in the drama. *Vehet in speculum* may then be with truth inscribed over the curtain of every theatre. The ardent desires and aspirations of the human mind, unable to find a vent in public assemblies, a free press, or the discussion of present

events, seek it in the realms of imagination; the license of the theatre consoles for the restrictions of the senate-house; and the dreams of perfectibility are indulged in a world of the poet's creation, if they are not to be found in that of the statesman's direction. This is the true cause of the elevation and frequent grandeur of thought in the drama of despotic states, and its ultimate degradation in free communities: in the former, it is the expression of noble and generous thought; in the latter, it is the scene of relaxation from it. Thence it was that Corneille and Voltaire poured forth such noble declamations in favor of general freedom under the despotic rule of the Bourbons; thence it was that Shakspeare uttered such heart-stirring sentiments at the absolute court of Queen Elizabeth; and thence it was, in later times, that the drama had not even arisen in America, in an age when Schiller and Goethe had rendered it immortal in Germany, and that Alfieri's noble tragedies on Roman liberty were contemporary only with Sheridan's comedies on the English stage.

The Germans say that the French have got the land, the English the sea, and themselves the air. No one can be acquainted with their literature without perceiving that there is much truth in this observation, and that as much as it is inferior to the works of English thought in practical utility or acquaintance with the social necessities of mankind, is it superior to most of them in ardor of imagination and romance of sentiment. This difference between two people sprung from the same stock, and commencing their career with the same institutions, is very remarkable, and strikingly indicative of the influence of situation and external circumstances upon the ultimate character of general thought. The Germans have built their castles in the air, because they were unable to construct them upon the earth. For the most part shut out by their inland position from the ocean, they were deprived of the material resources and extended intercourse of commerce; surrounded by military monarchies, which turned all the external energies of the state to war, and crushed every approach toward liberal institutions at home, the middle classes neither acquired the social importance, nor, if they had gained it, could they have wielded the physical strength necessary in a conflict with a powerful and proud aristocracy, and a government having at its command great armies. Thus the powers of intellect and imagination, second in the German race to none in the world, were of necessity turned into the realms of imagination, from the closing of all the avenues to practical exertion; and thence both the aerial turn of their literature and the sudden start to the very highest eminence which it made. In all respects, save race and descent, the circumstances of Great

1.
Great importance of the German literature in the early part of the nineteenth century.

2.
Literature is thus the index to general opinion.

3.
Cause of its romantic character in Germany.

Britain were the very reverse; and if the Germans had been placed in a land encircled by the waves, abounding in coal and ironstone, and on the frontier of the Atlantic, and the English in an inland territory, without the means of commerce, and constrained, in self-defense, to turn all their energies to the military art, the character of the literature of the two countries would probably have been reversed.

It is not in general in the outset of its intellectual course that nations, any more than individuals, evince the decided bent which race or circumstances are destined to imprint upon its subsequent stages. Early youth in both is, in the first instance, imitative. The Greeks themselves, gifted beyond any people that ever existed with original genius, copied in the outset from the Persians and Egyptians; the marbles of Lycia and Egina preceded the Parthenon. On the dawn of letters and of art in modern Europe, the classical models were the object first of the most extravagant admiration, next of servile imitation. It is by the collision of original genius with the study of the great works of antiquity that a new school is formed, guided in its conceptions by the former, chastened in its execution by the latter. This is exactly what took place in Germany: the classical and imitative school preceded the romantic and original; and the latter in its infancy was strongly tinged with the images and ideas of the former. But various circumstances tended both to make the spring of intellect later in Germany than in the adjoining states, and to cause it, when it did arise, to start almost at once into perfection and vigor.

Its inland situation and military bent, forced upon it from being the battle-field of Europe, was the main cause of the long intellectual night which overspread the German Empire. Its nobles were constantly, as it were, clothed in armor; its burghers arrayed in defense of their walls; its peasants tilling the soil for haughty and warlike nobles. Its inhabitants were neither protected from invasion by a barrier of mountains, like the Italians or Spaniards, nor sheltered by a barrier-stream and incomparable situation like the French, nor encircled by the ocean and guarded by their fleets like the English; on the contrary, the German plains were the scene in which they all engaged in mortal conflict. Situated in the centre of Europe, and too much divided into separate dominions to be able then to repel aggression by their native strength, the German states have alternately been the prey of internal discord and the theatre of external aggression. The Poles, the Huns, the Franks, the Italians, the Spaniards, have successively ravaged their fields, or contended in them for the mastery of Europe: war has not been to them a season only of pleasurable excitement as to the French and the English, but it has brought its ravages and desolation home to the hearths of the burghers and the cottages of the poor. Such a state of things is inconsistent with the growth of a national literature, which, though it is often stimulated by the excitement and passions of war, can only take root and flourish amidst the tranquillity and enjoyments of peace. There

was no national literature in Scotland till the Union with England had made it cease to be the battle-field of the British Islands; nor in Spain till the expulsion of the Moors had given the Castilians leisure to reflect on the exploits of the Cid and the Paladins of Christendom. Religious freedom was extinguished in Germany by the victory of the White Mountain near Prague; and it never acquired domestic peace till the victories of Eugene and Marlborough had tamed for a season the ambition of France, and those of Frederick the Great had secured the independence of Northern Germany.

That science had made great progress during the Middle Ages in Germany, the land which gave the art of printing and the discovery of gunpowder to the world, need be told to none at all acquainted with these subjects; and on the revival of letters she took an honorable place both in scholarship and the exact sciences. The country of Scaliger and Erasmus will ever be dear to the lover of classical literature; that of Kepler, Leibnitz, and Euler, to the student of astronomy and mathematics. Kepler might make with truth the sublime boast, "I may well be a century without a reader, since God Almighty has been six thousand years without an observer." The Teutonic race, if not the soil of Germany, may boast of Tycho Brahe, one of the greatest of modern observers, whose observatory still dignifies the Sound; and of Copernicus, the discoverer of the true system of the heavens, who was born at Thorn, in Prussian Poland. But the intellect of Germany at this period, bred in cloisters and nourished by the study of classical literature or the exact sciences, was entirely of a learned cast. Its productions were, for the most part, written in Latin, and addressed only to scholars. Its national literature did not arise till the middle of the eighteenth century.

Lessing was the first of this school in Germany, and his writings indicate the period when original thought, struggling for existence, was as yet fettered by the ideas and influence of classical and foreign literature. His works are chiefly critical, a circumstance which Madame de Staël considers as very singular, on the idea that original composition in natural order precedes the examination of others—an idea, however, directly contrary to the fact, as every schoolboy's thesis or student's essay at college attests. A bird learns to fly by imitating the motion of its parents' wings, long before it can take a flight for itself. Lessing's essays on the French and classical drama have great merit, chiefly from the correct taste, sound sense, and precision of expression by which they are distinguished, but they have little original genius. His dramas are still more mediocre; fettered by the rules of the French stage, they are an imitation of Voltaire rather than a specimen of the powers of the Fatherland. His works, however, did an immense service to the cause of literature in Germany; they opened men's eyes to what had been done before them, and prepared the way for original conception in the admiration of that which had been already formed. What Lessing

did in the drama, WINKELMAN did in art; and there is not to be found in the whole of modern literature a finer appreciation of the beauties of ancient sculpture, or a more correct exposition of the principles applicable to every species of composition on which it is founded.

Lessing, with all his talent and taste, only led the way; his works mark the transition state from the classical to the national school. It was reserved for a mightier genius—that of WIELAND—to complete the passage, and show the world of what the ardent mind and romantic disposition of Germany was capable. This great man seems to have had his soul steeped, as it were, in the ideas of two different worlds; for he alternately exhibits the elegant mythology and charming images of the classics, and the chivalrous spirit and heart-stirring incidents of the feudal ages. Like Goethe and Sir Walter Scott, he is equally felicitous in prose and in verse. It is hard to say whether his poems or his novels bear away the palm, or most strongly fascinate the reader. In *Agathon* he has given a charming though sometimes too seducing a picture of the age of Aspasia, Alcibiades, and Cyrus the younger, in Greece; in *Don Sylvio di Rosalba*, a romance in Spain, he combines the delicate satire of *Don Quixote* with the imagery of the *Arabian Nights*. His poetry bears marks of the same combination; for in *Oberon* he has rivaled Ariosto, and fascinated the world by the most charming conceptions that ever were formed of the romantic school, in his lesser poems he has rivaled Ovid in the skillful use he has made of classical imagery, and the novel colors in which he has arrayed the immortal episodes of the *Metamorphoses*.

The great reproach which is generally made against Wieland is, that he is too licentious; and Madame de Staël, who has appreciated in so generous a spirit the literary excellence of Germany, has recorded her regret that a writer gifted with such a brilliant and creative imagination should have treated love as a passion rather than a sentiment, and dwelt more on the fascination of the senses than the melting of the heart. It can not be denied, even by the warmest admirers of Wieland, that there is much truth in this observation; although his fault in this respect is redeemed by one peculiarity which can not be said of Goethe, but which, while it renders his scenes sometimes more agreeable, unquestionably makes them more dangerous. He is rarely gross. His ideas are all cast in a refined and poetical mould; and even when treating of subjects on the confines of propriety, he throws a veil of elegance and refinement over his most voluptuous conceptions. He is by no means insensible to the influence of noble and elevated sentiments, and in many passages of his works they are treated in a lofty spirit, and with the greatest effect; but the development of such feelings is not, as in Tasso, the main object of his efforts. Variety of conception, brilliancy of imagery, interest of incident and situation, are his great characteristics, and in them he may fairly be said to be unrivaled by any author in ancient or modern times, for he has grasped the imagery of both, and the fecundity of his fancy has improved upon the concep-

tions of either. Fairy tales, classical myths, ballads of chivalry, the *Arabian Nights*, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the fancy of Ariosto, seem to be alike present to his ardent mind, stored, as it were, with the aerial literature of the whole world; and in his works, as in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, we see an epitome, brilliantly colored, of the creations of human fancy from the dawn of imagination to the present time.

The same character in a great degree applies to the greatest of the German writers, though in him it is combined with many qualities which did not appear in so remarkable a manner in his brilliant contemporary. GOETHE is, by all writers of all tastes and schools, admitted to be the greatest writer of Germany; and his world-wide fame proves that, like Homer, Shakspeare, Cervantes, Sir Walter Scott, he has struck into the deep recesses of the mind of man, which in every age and country are the same. Some of his works, in particular *Iphigenia in Tauris*, demonstrate that he was familiar with the literature and images of antiquity; but that was not his great characteristic, nor does therein lie his chief excellence. His mind was not, like that of Wieland, stored with the mythology and imagery of the classical times; he had worked out a richer mine, he had labored in a wider field—the human heart. In that he perhaps stands unrivaled in the whole range of literature, ancient or modern. So varied are his conceptions, so vast his acquaintance with the secret springs of action, so immense the range of thought and event which he has gone over, that his works do not resemble those of any individual man, but rather of a cluster of gifted spirits, each great in a separate department, and each shining with the powers of imagination, and laden with the stores of knowledge. The Germans say he is *viel seitig* (many-sided), and that is certainly his great characteristic: but he is not merely infinitely varied in subject and incident, but ideas; and, contrary to what is often observable in men of original genius, the most minute scrutiny will not detect, in the whole of his voluminous works, a single repetition of the same idea, or one expression twice repeated.

The fame of Goethe, both in his own and foreign countries, mainly rests on his *Faust*, which is certainly one of the most extraordinary efforts of the human mind. Not, however, that it is by any means faultless; on the contrary, it has many and serious blemishes. Some lines in the scenes on the Brocken, in particular, are a perfect disgrace to a man of his genius and taste. Its world-wide celebrity is mainly owing to the conception of the piece, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, and, above all, the secret springs of evil, which it exhibits. There is in every mind, even the strongest, a certain tendency to superstition, and a belief in supernatural spirits, which exercise a paramount influence over our destiny; and when this illusion is embodied in a creation of Goethe's imagination, and adorned with the charms of his versification, it assumes a form of irresistible attraction. The imaginative see in it a realization of many of their hidden dreams; the romantic, a picture of what fancy has often attempted to

depict, but never in such glowing colors; the experienced, a portrait of what they know too often passes in the world. The young dwell with rapture on the beautiful visions of Margaret; the elder sometimes recognize in Memory the truth of the portrait of Evil presented by Mephistopheles. Thus all ages and dispositions find something to admire in this wonderful composition, and thence its immense and universal reputation. The different characters it presents are so many *embodyings* of the varied and contradictory qualities of the author's own mind.

Madame de Staël says, "Il y a dans le caractère de Goethe, comme de tous les hommes de génie, des étonnans contrastes." There can be no doubt that this remark is strictly true of the great

German, though she herself is a striking exception to the general observation as to genius, for she is always the same—elevated, refined, and impassioned; not so Goethe. The character of his works is as different as the various compartments of his mind, and unfortunately some are much less creditable than others. In a few, as *Torquato Tasso*, *Iphigenia*, *Count Egmont*, *Werther*, and many of his lyrical pieces, we are charmed by the highest refinement and delicacy of sentiment; in many, as *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, the *Relatives by Affinity*, and *Herman and Dorothea*, we see a profound knowledge of the human heart, a thorough knowledge of the world in all its grades, and a complete acquaintance with the secret springs of evil which are ever springing up in the breast; in some, unhappily, an undisguised propensity to licentiousness, and occasional expressions so gross that his most ardent admirers can not read them without regret. It is scarcely possible to conceive how the same mind which had conceived the exquisite picture of loveliness and innocence in Mignon—of passion in Margaret—could have penned some scenes in *Wilhelm Meister*, some lines in *Faust*. It is evident that he was at bottom a sensualist, and not merely so in the sense in which it is generally understood, but in the gratification of all the senses. His descriptions of love too often savor of the warmth of Moore's earlier effusions, rather than the tenderness of his *Irish Melodies*; and amidst all his admiration of the glaciers of Switzerland and the sun setting on the rosy summit of Mont Blanc, he is by no means insensible to the merits of a good dinner, or the charm of red wine after the fatigues of a sultry day.

On the great subject of morality and religion

he does not appear to have had any moral and fixed principles. No one could make more skillful use of their *luxuries* than he has done on many occasions, or move the heart more intensely by the most exquisite pathos, the most elevated sentiment, the most generous self-devotion. But he does so as a barrister makes use of the flowers of rhetoric to serve his client, an actor of the expression of passion to enchant an audience; such sentiments evince the skill of the artist, not the sentiments of the man. It is doubtful if he believed in the immortality of the soul, or had any thing but a wavering trust in the existence of a Supreme Being. Certain it is that he not only disbelieved in Christianity, but had a fixed aversion to its precepts and its very name.

He was too much enamored of the good things of the world to tolerate any creed which prescribed a check upon its indulgences; and felt too strongly the enjoyments of the senses to think their abandonment was not dearly purchased by the secret approval of conscience or the public applause of the world.

So great was the versatility of Goethe's genius, so vast the range of his observation, so close his survey of the inmost recesses of the heart, that there is scarce any branch of literature which he has not touched, and none he has touched that he has not adorned. In the drama he stands second only to Schiller, and, in the estimation of many, even superior to that noble writer; his novels have given him a world-wide reputation; his comedies prove he was as thorough a master of the secret springs of vanity as his tragedies do of the heroic self-sacrifice of duty; his *Life of Benvenuto Cellini* shows he was capable of writing an interesting biography; his *Memoirs* of himself a charming autobiography. No traveler in Switzerland can fail of being fascinated by his description of the Alps; in Italy, with his generous appreciation of the beauties of art. There is no philosopher whose profound sayings are more frequently quoted, as embodying just and obvious, but yet novel reflections on human affairs; no lyric poet whose stanzas are more frequently repeated by the children of the Fatherland; no critic on literature or art who is universally acknowledged to have embodied more sense and justice in beautiful language, or more worthily appreciated with a kindred spirit the genius of others. He is the most striking example that ever occurred of the versatility of the highest class of intellect, and of the truth of Johnson's observation, that what is called original genius is nothing but strong natural parts accidentally turned in one direction.

This extraordinary versatility of genius and reach of observation has secured for Goethe a more wide-spread reputation than any other writer in Germany; but it has perhaps precluded him from reaching in any one department the very highest stage of excellence. It is not given to any one mind, not even to that of Shakespeare or Goethe, to excel at once in every branch of literature; universality of fame is a proof of universality rather than perfection of genius. Every one finds something that gratifies his taste, or strikes his intellect; but none find their expectations entirely gratified, their aspirations with nothing left to conceive. Had Raphael given to the world the sunsets of Claude Lorraine, the rocks of Salvator Rosa, the battle-pieces of Lebrun, and the boons of Teniers, as well as his Holy Families, he would have been admired by a wider circle, but he would never, by common consent, have been placed at the head of the art of painting. Some part of one quality would have insinuated itself into the works produced by another; the vulgarity of Teniers's groups, the luxuriance of Titian's figures, would have marred the chastity of his divine conceptions. The true mark of the highest class of genius is not universality of fame, but universal admiration by the few who can really appreciate its highest works

Goethe's works are peculiarly valuable and interesting in one respect, from the picture they afford of the training and formation of the German mind in the peculiar state of society that there exists. The influence of the stage seems in a peculiar manner remarkable, and to one accustomed to English habits almost inconceivable. No Mephistopheles ever exercised over a Faust a more complete empire, a more thorough fascination, than the drama does over the German youth. It pervades all ranks, enchains all minds, sweeps away all understandings. Upon the youth at the universities in particular its influence is unbounded, and often not a little pernicious. The characters on the stage are the heroes on whom their admiration is fixed; the actresses the object of their idolatry. In *Wilhelm Meister*, and in his own Autobiography, Goethe has painted with graphic truth the evolving of sentiment in the German youth; their imaginations first excited by the puppets of the marionette theatre; their feelings next stirred by the master-pieces of Schiller and Goethe; their senses soon enthralled by the handsomest actress who captivates their eyes; their early life spent with singers, dancers, and strolling players. This mental training, so little fitted to prepare men for the duties of active life, or exercising the rights of free citizens, is partly owing, without doubt, to the enthusiastic temper of the German mind, especially in its northern provinces; but still more is it to be ascribed to the peculiar structure of society, and the sullen lines of demarkation which separate its different ranks. The burgher class, in whom intellectual cultivation most prevails, and ardent aspirations are most frequent, shut out by feudal pride from the highest circles, by despotic government from a share in public affairs, too often take refuge in the Aspasias of the theatre for relaxation, in the ideal world of the drama for occupation; and thence in a great degree the deep desire for freedom which pervades their ranks, and the general inability, when put to the test, to exercise its powers.

If Goethe's genius, vast as it was, was somewhat dimmed by the multitude of objects which it embraced, the same can not be said of the author who with all obtains the second, with some the first, place in German literature. SCHILLER has not the variety of Goethe's ideas, but he has the unity of refined thought: he is a mannerist, but his mannerism is that of the *Iliad*. His mind is essentially heroic, and on that account little prized by the ordinary herd; he will always occupy the highest place in the estimation of those of a similar temperament. He had not the profound knowledge of the human heart, as it exists in ordinary men, which strikes us in every page of Goethe, but he had a more thorough acquaintance with it as it beats in the breast of the noble and generous, and as it has prompted the greatest and most memorable deeds of which history makes mention. We shall look in vain in his pages for a picture of the secret workings of vanity in the female, of selfishness in the masculine heart; but we shall never fail to find a portrait of the transports of love, the pangs of jealousy, the heroism of courage, the self-devotion of duty, such

as no other author, ancient or modern, can exhibit. His mind was not graphic, like that of Homer; nor profound, like that of Shakspeare; nor tender, like those of Virgil or Racine. It was simply heroic. His works are not a collection of portraits of individual men or women, in which all recognize some of their acquaintances; but a historic gallery, into which none are admitted but the illustrious of former days, and in whose visages no emotions are depicted but such as animated those whose names have become, or were worthy to have been, immortal.

This is the general character of his conceptions; but it is not to be imagined from that circumstance that there is not a very great variety in his writings, and that the reader is likely to be wearied, as he so often is in Metastasio, with the frequent repetition of the same generous sentiments, the same bewitching language. He had studied human nature; but it was neither in real life, like Goethe, nor on the opera stage, like Metastasio, nor in the dreams of aristocratic republicanism, like Alfieri. It was in the page of history that he had studied mankind; and as the characters which stand forth in bold relief after the lapse of ages are those only of a lofty kind, which, for good or for evil, have stamped their impress on human affairs, his conceptions savor somewhat of the ideal, and have their prototype only in those of a heroic disposition. He does not always treat of those whom fortune had made great; his characters are not exclusively princes or princesses. He drew the heroic self-sacrifice of Joan of Arc, as she left her flocks in her native valley, the generous patriotism of William Tell on the lake of Uri, with as much enthusiasm as the pathetic scenes of Queen Mary's death, the terrible pangs of jealousy which tormented Philip in the stately solitude of the Escorial. But, high or low in worldly stations, his leading characters, those on which the force of his genius was asserted, are those to whom nature had given the patent of nobility; and hence he is immeasurably inferior when he comes to comedy, which chiefly portrays the follies, and is often occupied with the most contemptible of mankind.

Schiller's powers of the pathetic are of the very highest kind: the last scene of *Queen Mary*, many in *Joan of Arc*, the exquisite scenes of Thekla in *Wallenstein*, are among the most perfect specimens of that species of excellence which the literature of the whole world can exhibit. They are worthy to be placed beside the parting of Hector and Andromache at the Scean Gate, the last scenes of Dido and Eneas in the *Aeneid*. Equally remarkable are his rhetorical powers, and the graphic picture of the ideas and passions of particular ages and parties which he has given in his historical dramas. This is particularly the case in *Queen Mary* and *Don Carlos*. The best-informed student of the religious wars in the Netherlands will find something to learn in the speeches of the Marquis Posa and Don Carlos in the noble drama which depicts the jealousy of the Escorial. Those most acquainted with Scotch history recur to those in *Queen Mary* for an admirable summary of the considerations for and against the Reformation

16.
Goethe's picture of the influence of the stage.

17.
Schiller: parallel between him and Goethe.

18.
His powers of the pathetic and of rhetoric.

in this island. Schiller's historical knowledge is so great, his rhetorical power so vast, that he throws himself, whenever an opportunity occurs, into these oratorical displays with the utmost eagerness; but though these speeches in verse excite universal admiration when read in the library, they are far from being equally effective on the stage, and often, by their tediousness, mar the effect of his finest compositions.

Like all other great dramatists, Schiller is ^{20.} equally eminent as a lyric poet. His merits as a lyric poet. The connection between tragedy and the lyric muse is so close that they insensibly run into each other; the choruses of the Greek tragedies and the strophes of the Italian opera follow so naturally from the previous language and ideas, that the transition never appears violent. Many of his lyrical pieces, in particular the *Lay of the Bell and Hero and Leander*, are among the finest of the kind that modern Europe has produced. They unite the burning thoughts of Gray, the condensed expression of Campbell, to the varied pictures of Collins, the poetic fire of Pindar. His *Bride of Messina* is, from the beauty of the choruses, and the strict imitation of the Grecian drama which it presents, the most perfect specimen of that species of composition which modern Europe has produced. In several of his other pieces, in particular *Wallenstein's Death*, and *Joan of Arc*, although the unities are in some places violated, yet they are in reality observed in the material parts of the piece; a peculiarity which obtains also in *Othello*, *As You Like It*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and many of Shakspeare's most popular pieces, indicating the deep foundation which the ancient rules in this respect have in the human heart, and the principles of all the arts intended to move it.

Unlike other dramatists, Schiller is also a ^{21.} historian, and there his merits are by no means equally great. This is a remarkable circumstance, when the eminently historical character of his mind, as evinced in his dramas, is taken into consideration; but the same thing occurred in the case of Sir Walter Scott, Moore, Southey, and many others who have tried to combine the muse of history with that of poetry. His *Thirty Years' War* is a luminous and succinct narrative of a most important era in modern history, and as such it merits the attention of every historical student, but it has no pretension to be a great historical work. It is a good epitome of the events of the period for the use of schools and colleges, that is all. It is a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance, that the defect always observable in the writings of poets and novelists, when they begin to write history, is, not that they are too imaginative, but that they are too prosaic; not that they are unworthy of credit, but that they are dull—the sin which is never to be forgiven either in prose or verse. Mr. Fox assigns a place to history next to poetry, and before oratory; but there are few poets who, when they entered the adjoining region, have not forgotten the place given them. It would seem that the narrative of events is so different from the flights of imagination, that those who can make the farthest sweep in the latter are unable to bring their powers to bear upon the former. Fearful of being thought romancers, they be-

come mere compilers; they curb their imagination from the dread of being too poetical, but they become too prosaic. And yet this disposition is a deviation from the true principles of composition applicable to such subjects—for what is fiction but an imitation of actual life; and how is the ideal to be founded but on the real; and why should the shadow be clothed in brighter colors than the substance?

If general and wide-spread celebrity is to be taken as the test of excellence, the ^{22.} next place must be assigned to the Klopstock. great epic poet of Germany, KLOP- "The Mess- stock, in the literary gallery. Yet siah." is this to be done, according to our ideas, rather in conformity with general reputation than our own opinion, for with all its sublime ideas, pure thoughts, and lofty imagery, there is no concealing the fact, that to read *The Messiah* is a heavy task, which fewer than are willing to admit it have been able to perform. The reason is, that it is too much in the clouds; to awaken the sympathy of mortals, it has too little of the interests, the passions, the weaknesses of humanity. There is also much too frequent an allusion in his great poem to death and immortality—topics of the utmost interest and sublimity when properly and only occasionally introduced, but which lose their influence when too often brought forward. We can not live always among the tombs; and if we are compelled to do so, their imagery, like death to a soldier who daily sees his comrades fall around him, will soon be stripped of all its terrors. The greatest human genius can not avoid failure from these causes, when an attempt is made by mortals to depict the councils of Heaven. Homer only avoided it by giving his gods and goddesses the passions and cares of men and women; Milton, by painting in *Paradise* the picture, not of divine but human primeval innocence. When he attempted to construct an epic poem with the materials of heaven alone, the *Paradise Regained* showed the inevitable failure of the attempt. That poem was the favorite of the author, because he felt that, in constructing it, he had greater difficulties to contend with than when the charming episode of "the bowers of *Paradise*" enlivened his pages: like the mother of a weak child, he felt more interest in it than in the more robust offspring which had never caused anxiety. But it by no means follows that the world are to be influenced by the same feelings; and it is no imputation on the genius of Klopstock that he failed in awakening the interest of poetry in a subject such as Homer and Milton were unable to invest it with.

If we would form a correct estimate of the poetical genius of Klopstock, we must ^{23.} study his lyrical pieces, and then His merits as there is room only for the most a lyric poet. unqualified approbation. Like the *Allegro* and the *Penseroso* or *Lycidas*, they evince the lustre of his imagination even more than the stately march of the epic. It is so with many, perhaps most German writers; and the reason is, that in that species of poetry they are compelled to be brief, contrary to the usual inclination of the German mind, as it is evinced in their prose writers, which is to be diffuse and long-winded. Nothing can exceed the beauty of some of his

lyrical pieces, or the refinement and delicacy of the sentiments and images presented in them. They are not so graphic or varied as those of Goethe, nor so lofty and chivalrous as those of Schiller: they have not the exquisite rural pictures of Uhland, nor the varied earth-wide panorama of Freiligrath. But in delicacy of sentiment, purity of feeling, and refinement of language, he is equal to any of these illustrious writers; and the poetic fire of some of them proves, that if he has failed in making an interesting epic poem, it was not because his powers were unequal to the task, but because the task itself was above the power of man. It was that which made Dryden say, that the real hero of the *Paradise Lost* was the devil.

OEHLENSCHLAGER is perhaps the poet who, 24. if he is not the most varied, is the most Oehlen- national that Germany has produced. schlager. Several of his works, in particular *Aladdin*, and the *Waringers at Constantinople*, are filled with foreign imagery, and prove that he was feelingly alive to the blue skies and ardent sun, and graceful palms and bewitching damsels of the East. Others, in particular the beautiful drama of *Corregio*, evince a thorough acquaintance with the refined ideas and delicate taste and passionate admiration of art which distinguish the inhabitants of modern Italy. But neither is his ruling disposition: his heart is elsewhere; he is a pilgrim, not a sojourner, in the land of the sun. Heart and mind he is a Goth. His inmost soul is tinged with the imagery and ideas, the passions and desires, the scenery and aspirations of his Scandinavian forefathers. His heart is at times rigid and frozen with the severity of an arctic winter; at others it gushes forth in copious floods with the breath of spring. So deeply is he impregnated with the habits and ideas of his rude ancestors, so entirely has their disposition with their blood descended into his veins, that he describes them rather as one of themselves than one of their successors. The sea-kings never had such a bard; the halls of Walhalla never resounded with such strains; the heroes of the north never inspired such enthusiasm. Their courage is not the child of Roman patriotism; it is not the offspring of Grecian democracy; it is the ardent passion, the inextinguishable desire, which sends forth the children of night into the sunshine of nature. We mount with him the waves of the German Ocean; we share, in imagination, in the spoils of mighty England; we pass the Pillars of Hercules, and see the "brood of winter" reveling in the blue waves and sunny isles and pendent vintages of the *Ægean Sea*.

But it is not merely in depicting the warlike 25. passions of the hosts whom the sea- kings of the north led forth to conquer and desolate the world that Oehlenschläger is great; he represents with not less felicity the softer feeling which melted those breasts of iron, and caused them to yield a willing homage where force was not to be found, but beauty had supplied its place. Nowhere shall we find so finely painted as in his pages the workings of that passion which can alone tame the savage breast, which is ever strongest in the strong, most generous in the generous; which, when it is awakened in worthy breasts, loses all its dangers by being

severed from all its selfishness; which rouses great aspirations, prompts to noble deeds, and which is rightly designated by the same name as the love of heaven, for it shares in all its purity. This passion, the object of ridicule to the man of the world who can not feel, of astonishment to the man of business who can not conceive it, is nevertheless the foundation of the imaginative literature of modern Europe, and constitutes the great distinction between it and the fictions of ancient times. As it had its birth-place among the warriors who issued from Scandinavia to overturn the Roman empire, so it has never been so nobly represented as by one of the most gifted of their descendants. Love, as represented in the pages of Oehlenschläger, is neither the wild passion bordering on insanity of the Greek dramatists, the infliction of which was deemed one of the curses of an offended Deity, nor the licentious desire of the Roman poets, which taste sought to refine and invention to multiply; it is neither the fierce passion of the harem, which, thirsting for pleasure, perishes with enjoyment; nor the heartless vanity of the drawing-room, which, faithless to every one, seeks gratification in an endless succession of conquests. It is the profound feeling which, once awakened, can perish only with life itself; which shuns society, and is nursed in solitude; which time can not weaken, nor distance sever; which shares with the devotion of the pilgrim its warmth, with the honor of chivalry its constancy; which commands respect from its disinterestedness, and becomes sublime from its immortality. Whoever has read with kindred feelings his beautiful dramas of *Axel und Walburg* and *Das Land gefunden und verschunden*, will not deem these observations overcharged, and will see from what source the spirit of chivalry, which has so profoundly moved the heart and influenced the literature of modern Europe, has taken its rise.

GRILLPARZER is an author who belongs to the same school as Oehlenschläger, but he 26. is more modified by the literature of Grillparzer. antiquity and the ideas of southern Europe. He is not less national in his feelings or graphic in his descriptions: like him, he delights in painting the manners and ideas of the olden time, and bringing again on the stage the giant characters and heart-stirring incidents and splendid phantasmagoria of the heroic ages. His noble drama of *King Ottakar* is a sufficient proof how completely he was master of that imagery. But he is more tinged with the imagery of the south: he partakes more of Ariosto's imagination; his soul is more penetrated with the sunny isles of the Mediterranean. In *Sappho* this peculiarity clearly appears: it unites the brilliant imagery of the Greeks with the chivalrous ideas of modern time: if it is less powerful than the dramas of Sophocles, it is more refined. The "*Ahnfrau*," the scene of which is laid in a feudal castle, and the incidents taken from modern manners, is perhaps the most perfect drama on the Greek model, though without the chorus, which modern literature has produced; and *Medea and Jason*, constructed on the well-known tale, and on the example of antiquity, presents many of the beauties of the Greek stage. Their extreme beauty and interest raise a doubt whether the neglect of the unities, and espe-

cially the most important of all, the *unity of emotion*, in England since the time of Shakspeare, is not the chief cause of the decline of the drama in this island. Nor is still more modern genius wanting in the same career:

"Uno avulso, nec deficit alter
Aureus."

FREDERICH SALOM, the author of *Der Sohn der Waltniss*, if he continues as he has begun, may well claim a place in the august Walhalla of German genius.

If celebrity on the stage and temporary theatrical success is to be taken as a test of

27. *Kotzebue*. real dramatic excellence, *Kotzebue* is to be placed at the very head of the literature of Europe in that department. His plays have been translated into every language, represented on every theatre, drawn thunders of applause from every audience. Rendered into English by the kindred genius of Sheridan, under the name of *Pizarro*, his *Death of Rolla* is one of the most popular pieces that ever appeared on the British stage. This reputation, however, is sensibly on the decline: they keep their place in the theatre, but they are seldom the study of the library. The reason is obvious; their merit consists in what appears on the boards, not what is conveyed in the lines. He was a perfect master of stage effect, and was never exceeded in the ability with which he brought forward a succession of interesting scenes and thrilling *coups de théâtre*, to entrance and keep up the excitement of his audience. Therein lay his real merit; as a dramatic poet he was very deficient. He had neither the heroic soul and ardent spirit of Schiller, nor the exquisite pathos and profound knowledge of mankind which captivate all in Goethe. His knowledge was immense, his mind eminently discursive, his glance extended over the whole world and all ages. But his characters were all the same: there was great variety of incident, but little of ideas, in his pieces. His imagination for the construction of dramas was as prolific as that of Lope de Vega, his subjects as varied as those of Voltaire; but his thoughts were almost all those of civilized Europe in the nineteenth century. His dramas owe their immense celebrity to the pantomime and theatrical effect: they would be nearly as interesting if it was all dumb show. Hence, they can not be expected to keep their place as works of literary merit, or as the delightful companions of the fireside; but they will long amuse and delight the world, when exhibited with the charms of scenery and the magic of stage effect.

WERNER is in every respect the reverse of *Kotzebue*; he is in a great measure ignorant of stage effect, is careless of *coups de théâtre*, and therefore his pieces are little calculated for dramatic success; but they possess a rare beauty if read at home, and regarded as lyrical effusions, or what the Germans call dramatic poems. It is not that he was ignorant of the principles of dramatic composition, and what is essential for success on the stage; but he was indifferent to it. He regarded his dramas, as Byron did his tragedies, as a convenient mode of pouring forth *poetic oratory* in a more abbreviated and less formal mode than in a regular epic poem. Accordingly, with a few brilliant exceptions, of which *Luther* is the most

remarkable, his dramas have had no great success on the stage; but they form a collection second to few in German literature for study in the closet. The dignity of philosophic thought, the charm of lyrical versification, is nowhere more happily combined than in his lines. Unfortunately, he does not add to it the succession of brilliant images which forms so essential a part in dramatic and lyric poetry; therein lies his inferiority to Schiller and Goethe. Like Wordsworth, he is more diffuse than loose, profound than imaginative; he deals in thoughts more than images, and consequently, like him, he is more likely to have devout worshippers for a season than steady admirers in all future times. His finest dramas, however, *Luther*, *Attila*, the *Cross of the Baltic*, and the *Twenty-fourth of February*, are a great addition to German literature, and must always keep a respectable place even in the galaxy of genius which the German drama presents.

The comic muse of Germany has by no means attained the celebrity which its tragic 29. has reached. Even in the hands of the greatest dramatic writers—Goethe, Schiller, and *Kotzebue*—though it 30. *comedy*: *its defects*. was by no means neglected, it is far from being so distinguished as the sister art. The characters are, in the estimation of a foreigner at least, too strongly drawn; they are grotesque and ridiculous rather than comic. They have neither the delicate satire of Molière, nor the playful wit of Sheridan, nor the inexhaustible invention of Lope de Vega, nor the ludicrous farce of Goldoni. They portray with graphic truth the mean and despicable qualities of human nature as they appear in ordinary or vulgar characters, but they are destitute of the fine perception of weaknesses, the secret workings of vanity, as they are revealed in the higher classes, which we see in Beaumarchais, Marivaux, and Molière. In truth, the German mind is too serious; it is strung on too high a key to grasp the nice distinctions, the delicate *manners* of character, which are requisite for the felicitous display on the stage of the manners of high life.

Nor is this all. The structure and exclusive system of German society preclude the possibility of its peculiar features becoming known to the rank from 30. *Causes of these defects: structure of its society*. which the authors of the country are taken. With a very few brilliant exceptions, they all belong to the burgher class, with which they alone associate through life, and with whose manners and follies they are alone familiar. Princes and dukes, duchesses and countesses, are not wholly unknown to them, but they are seen only at a distance—much as in England the sovereign and royal circle are to the great bulk of those who attend levees or drawing-rooms. There are scarce any noble authors in Germany; the sword, not the pen, is in general alone wielded by the magnates of the Teutonic race. The art of war may sometimes, as in the case of the Archduke Charles or Frederick the Great, exercise the thoughts of the highest in rank—the first in genius; but these are the exceptions, not the rule. Hence the picture of elegant high-bred manners is a matter of impossibility in Germany, either on the stage or in romance, for

this plain reason, that the persons who write both have never seen high life; and this is a want, especially in the delineation of women, for which no genius can compensate. Imagination can figure fairy tales, heroism can portray heroic characters, and elevation of mind will appear in elevation of language; but the delicate shades of refined society can be represented only by those to whom they are familiar; and Burns never said a truer thing than when he declared that he had never seen any thing in men of high rank which he had not more than anticipated, but that an elegant woman was altogether beyond his conception.

Madame de Staël says that in comedy there is always something of the animal; either

31. a man speaks like an animal, or an animal like a man. Tieck affords a proof of the justice of this remark. He first introduced from the *Animali Parlanti* of Pulci the system of making animals speak, which has since been so much prosecuted in Germany, and in Andersen's Tales has been brought to such perfection. In this respect he much resembles, and has much of the merit of La Fontaine. Under the guise of the inferior animals, which, with the power of speech, are supposed to be endowed with human feelings and passions, is conveyed a delicate and often amusing satire on men and women. His *Puss in Boots* is an example of this. His melodramas are often skillfully constructed, in particular *Octavian* and *Prince Zerbis*, which are full of romantic incident and interesting situations, eminently attractive to a people so passionately fond of the marvelous as the Germans. Tieck's satire is delicate, and always conveyed in delicate language, and his knowledge of life is complete, as far as it goes; but when he leaves fairy tales and comes to real life, it is life in a small German town which alone is portrayed. As a lyric poet, he possesses far higher merits; and many of his smaller pieces contain lines of exquisite beauty, second to none in the German or any other language.

The German drama is the branch of its literature which is most remarkable, both 32. from the splendid genius which has been exerted on it, the brilliant position—beyond all question the first in modern Europe—which it has taken, and from its being in a manner the reflex, and the only reflex, of the general mind. But it is not to be supposed from that circumstance that other branches of literature have been neglected; on the contrary, many have attained the very highest eminence. In the very front rank we must place lyric poetry, and at its head KÖRNER. This remarkable man, the Tyrtæus of the Fatherland, was gifted by nature with the true poetic temperament. An ardent mind, a lofty soul, a brilliant imagination, were in him united to an indomitable courage, an heroic disposition. These qualities would have made him remarkable at any time, and under any circumstances; but it was the time in which he lived, the circumstances in which he was placed, which rendered him great. His intrepid spirit chafed against the chains of French oppression: he stood forth with the strength of a giant in the war of liberation; his strains thrilled like the sound of a trumpet through the heart of the Fatherland. Several

of them, in particular the *Lyre and Sword*, are among the finest lyrical pieces that ever were composed; and long after the contest had ceased, and the excitement of the moment had died away, they have, from the intense beauty of the expression, and noble feeling which they display, taken a lasting place in the highest class of German literature. Like Chateaubriand's pamphlet on Bonaparte and the Bourbons, they had a powerful influence in bringing about the fall of the great oppressor; and it was not without reason that, when he was treacherously wounded by some French hussars, unworthy of the name, they exclaimed, when the Germans announced the armistice, "No armistice for Körner," and stabbed him.

Körner is chiefly known in foreign countries from the patriotic odes and songs, 33. to which his genius and tragic fate Körner as a have given immortal celebrity. But dramatic poet he has other merits, less generally appreciated, but also of a very high order. Long before the war of liberation broke out, he was celebrated as one of the most successful dramatic writers of the age, and his best pieces had been produced on the stage of Vienna with very great effect. Like Schiller and Goethe, he took in the whole world in the range of his conception, and sought to extract the grand and the pathetic from the events of all ages and climes. His *Rosamond* is taken from the legend of the loves of Henry II. in the forest of Woodstock; his *Tony* from a romantic tale of love and devotion in a Creole during the horrors of the St. Domingo revolt; his *Zriny* from an incident in one of the memorable sieges which the Hungarians sustained against the Turks. It can not be said that his pieces have the profound knowledge of the heart, and the secret springs of life, which characterize the works of Goethe, or the dramatic effect and condensed eloquence which have immortalized those of Schiller; but in all we see traces of the lofty and magnanimous soul which stirred the heart of Germany, as with the sound of a trumpet, in the war with Napoleon, and never fail to be charmed with the richness of a flowing and mellifluous eloquence. Perhaps the greatest defect of his theatrical pieces is, that they possess these qualities in too high a degree, and exhibit them *too constantly*. Compounded as man is of base and selfish, as well as noble and magnanimous feelings, we can not long bear to have the latter qualities constantly displayed: it strikes us as unnatural, and mortifies our self-love to have pictures before our eyes exhibiting qualities superior to what we are conscious of in ourselves. Hence it is that Sir Charles Grandison never has been a favorite hero of romance, and that Homer's characters, where the littleness as well as greatness of humanity are faithfully delineated, have stood the admiration of every age and country.

BÜRGER is a poet of a different class, but also of very high merit. It is from his ballads that the other nations of Europe 34. Bürger for long took their idea of German literature; *Leonora*, or *Death and the White Horse*, and the *Cruel Huntsman*, rendered into the languages of the adjoining states, into English by the kindred genius of Sir Walter Scott, spread a universal charm, and awakened a high admiration, but gave in many respects a mistaken

opinion of German literature. He first opened to the general mind the idea of the magic of feudal imagery, and of that blending of imagination with the events of the dark ages which has formed so interesting a field of subsequent fiction. His ideas are bold, his fancy vivid, his conceptions often terrific, his language heart-stirring; and none ever understood better the art, so important in romance as well as the drama, of keeping expectation awake, and the mind of the reader or spectator in anxious suspense down to the very close of the piece. Persons unacquainted with the German language, and taking their ideas of its literature from his ballads, supposed at the time, and may still suppose, that that is the universal character of a literature which, the better informed know, embraces all subjects, unfolds all ideas, and is fitted to captivate all understandings.

FREILIGRATH has cultivated the lyric muse with a success which seldom has been surpassed. He is not heart-stirring and sublime like Körner, nor wild and romantic as Bürger. His odes are neither fitted to strike the heart of the patriot nor to rouse the terrors of the superstitious. The whole earth is embraced in his grasp; his lines present pictures of every climate and of every land. In turning over his pages, we roam alternately with the camel-driver in the desert, dip our feet in the cool waves of the Jordan, traverse the burning sands of the Sahara, or rejoice in the first burst of spring after the desolation of an arctic winter. The sun of Italy, the isles of Greece, the icebergs of Greenland, the waves of the Mississippi, the steppes of Buenos Ayres, the summits of the Andes, the plains of Tartary, are equally present to his vivid imagination. No poet in any language has ever made more skillful use of the immensely varied imagery which modern information has brought to light, or given a more decisive refutation to the opinion, now so generally entertained, that the progress of knowledge is fatal to the influence of imagination. The poet may mournfully exclaim, in the well-known lines:

"When science from Creation's face
Enchantment's veil withdraws,
What lovely visions yield their place,
To cold material laws!"

That opinion is formed only by the uninformed, unfortunately always the great majority of mankind: more extended knowledge teaches us that the imagery of nature and the occurrences of real life much exceed all that imagination has ever figured; and that the only secure foundation for the ideal is to be laid in the real.

UHLAND shares in some degree the character of Freiligrath, but he differs from him in some important respects. He is not less observant of nature, and felicitous in his description of it, but he is less discursive and more domestic in his objects. He does not roam over the world—he remains at home. It is there that his heart is fixed—it is from thence that his imagery is drawn. His descriptions are all taken from the scenes in which he had dwelt; his images are those with which all are familiar; and the example of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," and the "Deserted Village," may teach us that when such objects are treated in

the true poetic spirit, no more charming subjects for the lyric muse are to be found. Sunset amidst the bleating of lambs in a solitary pastoral valley—the breath of spring after the severity of winter—the leafy month of June—the hoary icicles of December—the first green of the leaves—the first bloom of the flowers—the tolling of the village bell which calls the faithful to the house of God—are the images on which he loves to dwell. Unlike many of his countrymen, he is deeply impressed with the feelings of religion; and if to "look up through nature to nature's God" is one chief end and the noblest object of poetry, few have ever attained it more successfully than Uhland. In this respect, as well as in his enthusiastic admiration of the beauties of nature, and his felicitous use of common images, he very much resembles Longfellow, who has rendered, in a kindred spirit, many of his finest odes into the English language.

RUCKHART is the most voluminous lyric poet of Germany. His works, in six volumes octavo, exceed in bulk those of all its other bards of that class put together. It does not follow from that circumstance that he is the best. Bulk in lyric poetry is generally in the inverse ratio of real merit. It will be long before England produces six volumes composed of poems like "Alexander's Feast," "The Progress of Poetry," "The Allegro," or "Hohenlinden." Ruckhart has in many respects great merit, but it is not of the highest kind. He has prodigious facility of versification, a richly-stored memory, a poetic fancy, and often shows great felicity of casual expression. Like Freiligrath, his imagery is drawn from the whole earth; and, like many other inhabitants of the northern regions, his imagination seems to have been in an especial manner fascinated by the sunny isles and graceful palms and unclouded sun of the south. What he wants is depth of feeling and elevation of thought. He is neither profound and pathetic like Goethe, nor noble and chivalrous like Schiller: he is more akin to Wieland, both in the flow of his versification and the strain of his ideas. He is not destitute of sentiment, and occasional passages of exquisite beauty are to be found in his writings; but, generally speaking, he is an epicurean in thought—not a stoic. He is more akin to Horace than Pindar. His amatory verses, which are very numerous, resemble the Italian ones in the decline of taste, when conceit and extravagance had come in place of the simplicity of genuine affection. They remind the English reader of the extravagance of the euphuists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Compared to the simple devotion of Thekla or Mignon, they indeed afford a lasting proof how little all the riches of imagination can supply the want of the simple voice of nature.

Of all the poets whom recent times have brought forth in Germany, REDWITZ is the most successful. His chief and longest poem, *Amaranth*, has gone in a few years through eighteen editions. There can be no doubt that it possesses merits of a very high order, and what renders his verses the more attractive to foreigners, they are peculiarly of a German character. To the simplicity and almost homeliness of rural life in the middle class of landed gentry in that country, it unites the

interest of chivalrous feeling, and the romance of feudal event. A sincere Christian, Redwitz presents the Romish faith under its most amiable and attractive form, and hence it is warmly recommended by the Catholic clergy to those of their persuasion, though the warmth of some of the scenes savors little of the coldness of the cloister, or the self-denial of spiritual love. In *Amaranth* the poet has portrayed in charming colors the innocence and simplicity of the virgin heart, under the influences and chastened by the spirit of religion; in *Chimonda* he has attempted to draw the portrait of the charms, the passions, and the vanities of the world. Perhaps those who know it best will say that the *denouement* is not agreeable to nature, and that Redwitz would have interested us more if he had made Walther's breach with the Italian syren originate in something else than her refusal, at his request, to submit to sacrifice the natural and universal aspirations of the female heart. Be this as it may, the poem abounds with pure and elevated ideas, great felicity and beauty of expression, and a refined taste for the influences and charms of nature.

KINKEL belongs to the same school as Redwitz, and his *Otto* and *Margaret* present 39. beauties of the same description. The Kinkel first is a tale of true love and chivalry, such as is recorded of the olden time, and is, we believe, more true to nature, even in these degenerate days, than, judging from the mere surface of society, we should be inclined to imagine. Its strain is as elevated and generous as that of Redwitz, though perhaps there is somewhat less of the varied and attractive imagery which, in the latter poet as in Wieland, gives the charm of a fairy tale to the creations of fancy. *Margaret* is itself a fairy tale, in which, as in *Little Red Riding Hood*, the pathetic and the terrible are educed, by a little superinduction of the marvelous, on the common events of humble life. The extreme popularity of both these poets, and the immense extent to which their works are read in Germany, is very remarkable, and eminently characteristic of the pure feelings and lofty spirit which, in a land still untainted, for the most part, by the vices or corruptions of cities, animate the vast majority of the inhabitants. They diminish our wonder at the glorious efforts of the war of liberation, they prognosticate a corresponding generous burst in behalf of civil freedom, when the aspirations of the people shall assume a practical form, and be guided by observation, not impelled by passion.

If ever two branches of literature stood forth in striking contrast to each other, it is the poetry and prose of Germany. 40. The immense celebrity of its literature, at least with the great bulk of readers, depends almost entirely upon the former. The prose writers have in many instances the very highest merit; their learning is generally immense, their industry almost marvellous, their thoughts sometimes profound. But there is, with a few brilliant exceptions, a fatal defect in their style. As much as the Teutonic poetry is brief, condensed, and emphatic, is its prose lengthy, tedious, and obscure. The sentences are in general involved, and of inordinate length, their ideas often vague and

mystical, their doctrines abstract, and incapable of any practical application to the affairs of the world. Their expressions are often felicitous, and the power which their language gives them of compounding a single word so as to make it convey a whole idea, makes them often extremely striking, and renders inexcusable the wearisome length of their sentences, and the mystical obscurity of their ideas. They have neither the terse brevity of the best class of English writers, nor the power of lucid arrangement and clear expression which seems inherent in all ranks of French. They are almost always involved and obscure, and their sentences so long that they put us in mind of what is said of some American orators, who, when they have gained possession of the floor on Tuesday, are expected to keep it during the whole remainder of the week.

This fault, great as it is, and seriously as it must impede, as long as it continues, both the influence of the German 41. writers on general thought, and their fame as individuals, is not, however, to be ascribed entirely to themselves. It is the result of the youth of their literature; it is common to them with nations commencing their career in composition all over the world, and in all ages. Look at the prose writers even of the greatest genius in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or soon after; Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton himself. Their prose sentences are so long, their ideas so involved, that it is next to impossible, in spite of the occasional beauty of expression, to read them with the pleasure which their merit deserves. The same is the case with the early historians of Italy—Davila, Guicciardini, Giannone. Men of vast genius, and the most powerful minds, may even at such periods indeed convey their thoughts in brief language, but it belongs only to such capacities as those of Machiavelli, Cervantes, Montesquieu, or Bacon, to do this. Generally speaking, the era of antithesis and epigrammatic expression is late in literary history; it is in the days of Sallust or Tacitus, not of Livy or Xenophon. It is the same with individuals, even those who ultimately become most celebrated for terseness of expression and clearness of ideas. Johnson's Essays in the *Rambler* are for the most part couched in pompous periods and long rounded sentences; his colloquial sayings, recorded by Boswell, are models of vigorous thought and clear epigrammatic expression.

The reason is, that a young nation, like a young author, is *writing itself into* 42. *thought*, not conveying that already formed. The world will not take this defect. mere enunciations of propositions off the hands of a young nation any more than a young writer; it requires the weight of years and established reputation to effect this with either. The ideas of a nation commencing the career of thought are of necessity vague, as the movements of a traveler are when he first adventures upon an unknown region; his steps are devious and uncertain, because he does not know well where to go. Decision of thought, and consequent brevity of expression, belong to the experienced nation as well as traveler. Add to this that there is no oratory in Germany except that

40.
Prose of
Germany: The
immense celebri-
ty of its litera-
ture, at least with
the great bulk of
readers, depends
almost entirely
upon the former.

The prose writers have in many instances the very highest merit; their learning is generally immense, their industry almost marvellous, their thoughts sometimes profound. But there is, with a few brilliant exceptions, a fatal defect in their style. As much as the Teutonic poetry is brief, condensed, and emphatic, is its prose lengthy, tedious, and obscure. The sentences are in general involved, and of inordinate length, their ideas often vague and

41.
The youth of
their literature
is the cause of this.

42.
Causes of
this defect.

of the pulpit and the professor's chair; and they, so far from being the school of brevity, are just the reverse, for their audiences are obliged to listen in silence to the prelections of their holders, how long and wearisome soever they may be. There is no school for brevity like free debate in presence of a numerous assembly which is at liberty to testify its weariness, for the auditors will not tolerate long-winded effusions, and the effect of speaking is generally in proportion to the clearness of its thought and the terseness of its expression. Thence the inimitable brevity and force of the Greek and Roman orators. But though these considerations may explain how the German prose, withal so different from their poetry, is so diffuse and tedious, they do not lessen the fault, nor render it the less true that he would confer the greatest obligation on German literature who should prevail on their writers to cut their long sentences into four, their short into two.

If general and wide-spread fame, at least among scholars and learned men, is to be taken as the test of real merit, Niebuhr must be placed at the head of the historians of Germany. He undoubtedly possesses merits of a very high order. To the vast learning and almost incredible industry which seems in a manner indigenous in German scholars, he has added the rarer gifts of a philosophic turn of mind and aptitude for general conclusions. He possesses the power, the distinctive mark of genius, of extracting conclusions of lasting value from particular events, and bringing an infinite multitude of detached authorities to bear upon the conclusions which he wished to establish. He has evinced a rare sagacity in treating of the early history of Rome, and separating the real from the imaginary in its charming legends. But with these remarks the measure of just praise to him seems to be exhausted: what more is given, and much often is, seems rather the zeal of partisanship or the affectation of scholarship than the impartial estimate of discriminating criticism. His style is obscure, his sentences long, his narrative neither pictorial nor dramatic. Subsequent writers, and Arnold in particular, have extracted much which they have rendered interesting from his pages; but we will search for it in vain in those pages themselves. To the most enthusiastic scholar it is a heavy task to wade through his history. Even in the matters on which he is generally thought to have thrown most light—the early constitution of Rome and the real nature of the Agrarian law, the contests for which so violently shook its later days—what he has done is more to superadd extraneous authority to what was previously known than to have made new discoveries; there is scarce any thing he has advanced on these points which is not to be gathered from Livy or Cicero. And supposing it to be true, as it probably is, that he has shown that the authentic history of Rome begins with Ancus Martius, much is not gained for the interests of mankind by classing all previous myths with the immortal fairy tales which first charmed our childhood.

If Niebuhr's usefulness and fame have been seriously impaired by the want of lucidity in his style, of order in his arrangement, and brevity in his expression, the

same can not be said of the next great author who in recent times has devoted his energies to the elucidation of ancient story. Till we open the pages of HEEREN we are wholly unaware what treasures we really possess in regard to the early ages of the world, and what a graphic and complete future may be framed by modern genius from the materials which have floated down the stream of time. His histories of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, the early Greeks and Romans, seem from their completeness, the vividness of the pictures they contain, to be rather the annals of contemporary nations than the history of those which have long since disappeared from the face of the earth. They have justly formed part of the education of youth in every country of Europe, but they are not less charming to the advanced in years, as bringing to his eyes, after the heat of the day is over, the images and ideas which first attracted his youth. Heeren has as much learning as Niebuhr, though, as being diffused over a wider surface, it has not gained for him so wide-spread a reputation: but he has not so much genius; his mind is pictorial and discursive rather than profound. If he has seldom, however, struck out original thought himself, there is no one who has furnished in greater profusion the materials of it to others; and to a mind fraught with the events and social questions of modern times there are few works which in every page furnish more ample subjects of reflection.

MÜLLER has thrown over a most interesting part of modern story the light of genius and the stores of unbounded antiquarian research. His *History of Switzerland* is in some respects one of the most valuable historical works which modern literature has produced. It is remarkable how much more animated and pictorial it is than Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War*: the work of the antiquarian seems tinged with the colors of poetry, that of the poet darkened by the shades of prose. It is the same with Gibbon's *Rome* and Scott's *Life of Napoleon*—a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance. Müller's memory was prodigious. It is related of him that it was once betted that he would repeat on being asked, without previous warning, a complete list of all the sovereign counts of Bugey; he did so immediately, and taxed himself severely for want of memory in not being able to tell whether one of them whom he mentioned had been regent or sovereign.¹ This prodigious knowledge of details, however, did not prevent him from painting the interesting scenes and events with the colors of romance. His descriptions of the sublime scenery of the Alps are master-pieces of their kind; and his account of the great events of Swiss history, the conspiracy of the field of Gruthi, the battles of Sempach and Morgarten, of Naefels and Morat, of Bâle and Grandcour, never were surpassed in pictorial power and romantic interest. His defect—and it is a very serious one, though common to him with the whole antiquarian school of historians—is that he has overloaded his narrative with a mass of insignificant details, which fatigue the reader's mind, are in themselves neither interesting nor instructive, and only withdraw the attention

44.
Heeren.

¹ Mad. de Staël, de l'Allemagne, II. 331.

from objects of real importance. Sir Joshua Reynolds said that he would advise every young painter to take a brush dipped in deep shade, and go over three-fourths of the figures in his picture; and the remark is still more applicable to historians, because they are perplexed with a still greater number of small figures. Müller died poor, and left an injunction to sell his manuscripts to pay his debts; and if they did so, he bequeathed his watch to his servant: a sure proof that he had the integrity of a pure mind, for with his talents, if he had chose to pander to any of the passions or ambitions of the day, he might have made a fortune.—“Semper bonam mentis soror est paupertas.”

Any account of the German historians would be imperfect if VON HAMMER were not mentioned. His minute and voluminous *History of Turkey*, in twelve volumes, is an invaluable resource to all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the transactions and character of that remarkable people, who during four centuries have played so very important a part in the world's history, and with whom its present destiny seems decisively wound up. He undoubtedly has many great merits. He is laborious, detailed, and circumstantial, and his examination of various authorities, both on the Asiatic and European side, give his history the peculiar value of being, in a manner, a digest of both. But with these remarks the meed of applause due to him must terminate: he can not be called a great historian. He has neither the general views of a philosopher, nor the artistic skill of a painter. He is neither discursive nor dramatic. Pictorial he certainly is in a very high degree, for great part of his work is taken up with descriptions of processions, dresses, and entertainments. There is no *perspective* in his pictures; every thing is represented in the foreground, and worked out with equal minuteness. This defect, of all others the most fatal to a historian, is in a peculiar manner conspicuous in his writings. If any one doubts it, he is recommended to try to read his twelve volumes. Genius is shown as much in what is rejected as what is retained in history; and it is in the judgment with which insignificant details are dropped out, even more than the skill with which interesting or material ones are portrayed, that the skill and discrimination of the artist is evinced.

HERDER was more a poet than a historian: his works are rather fitted to fascinate the imagination than instruct the understanding. Considered in the former point of view, however, they have a very great charm. His *Philosophy of History* has no pretensions to that character; but it is a brilliant series of pictures of ancient and remote periods, which almost bring them before our eyes in the days of their pristine splendor. The chapters on Persepolis and Babylon, on the Persians and Egyptians, carry us back to the days of Cyrus and Darius, of Sesostris and Cleopatra. His essay on the *Poetry of the Jews*, in like manner, is tinged with the soul of Oriental song; and never were the ideas, manners, and habits of the children of the desert, who pervade every part of the East, unfolded with more graphic power, or stricter observance of the truth of nature. He has even gone so far as to imitate the

versification of the Hebrews, and that repetition of the same image or idea in different terms, which constitutes so remarkable a feature in their poetry. “Art and nature,” says he, “preserve always an imposing uniformity in the midst of their variety.” This is undoubtedly true, and it is a truth applicable to others of the fine arts besides poetry. Witness the imposing grandeur of the avenue of sphinxes at Luxor, the charming identity of the columns in the Parthenon of Athens, or the façade of the Louvre at Paris. There is scarcely any form in nature so revolting that it may not be rendered imposing, or even sublime, by being repeated often on a great scale: that is a truth of which the Assyrians at Nineveh and the Egyptians at Thebes have left many proofs; and however paradoxical it may appear, it is undoubtedly true that more effect will often be produced, at least in architecture, by the repetition of ugliness than the variety of beauty. Avenues of colossal toads might become sublime.

SCHLOSSER has acquired a very great reputation in Germany: there are several of the best judges in that country who consider him as entitled to a place beside the first historians of England or of modern France in philosophic eminence. His *History of Europe during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* is certainly a very remarkable, and, considering the circumstances under which it was written, a surprising work; but it is far from being deserving of that high character. It has not the fault of the antiquarian historians; it generalizes sufficiently, and is far from being overcharged with a multitude of insignificant details. But put beside Hume or Robertson, Machiavelli or Montesquieu, Thucydides or Tacitus, the inferiority is at once apparent. There are general ideas in plenty, but they are those of the closet, not the forum. What is felt as wanting are those general remarks, drawn from a close observation of the collision of the different classes of mankind in a free community, or the contending ambitions of their rulers in despotic ones, which at once carry conviction home to every succeeding age. But the absence of this is not to be ascribed as a fault in Schlosser, so much as regarded as the inevitable result of ideas being formed out of the pale of freedom; and this consideration only places in a clearer light the duty incumbent on those who do enjoy that inestimable blessing, to observe human affairs with an impartial eye, unbiassed either by the vanity of popular applause or the seductions of courtly power.

Among the eminent historians of modern Germany a prominent place must be assigned to RANKE, whose *History of the Popes*, rendered into every civilized tongue, has acquired a world-wide reputation. The subject is a very great one, possessed of that unity of interest which is so essential an element in success, and of undying interest, for the papal policy is unchanged and unchangeable. No one can approach it without acknowledging the benefit he has conferred on the cause of historic truth by his narrative, and the ability with which he has compressed into a very moderate compass the annals of the long series of the holy fathers. The work, however, has great deficiencies. It is wanting in interest, and its want is

not redeemed by philosophic views. The extraordinary growth of the Reformation, its subsequent stationary condition during two hundred and fifty years, and the renewed vitality of Catholicism in these times, are portrayed, but they do not elicit from the author the reflections which such a series of events is fitted to awaken. No one can expect from a history of the Popes the interest in narrative or event which we see in Livy or Sallust; but we might see the graphic power in describing the changes of society which we admire in Robertson, the profound views which carry conviction to our minds in Guizot. What is wanting in Ranke may be judged of by what has been supplied in Macaulay's review of his work, one of the most brilliant of his many splendid productions.

SCHLEGEL has a very high reputation in Germany, and his *Philosophy of History* is often referred to as containing profound and important views of human affairs. There does not appear to be any solid foundation for this opinion. The *Philosophy of History* may be a prodigy in Germany, but it is a very ordinary affair elsewhere. It is little more than a clear and succinct abridgment of universal history for the use of schools and colleges, with a few observations interspersed which belong to a higher class. Compared with the writings of Machiavelli, Montesquieu, or Guizot, it is as nothing. Nowhere does it so clearly appear how essential the contests of freedom are to the growth of just views of human affairs, or the real causes which are at work in the affairs of nations. Without entire liberty of thought and action it is vain to expect that the secret springs of events are to be discovered. Machiavelli reached them from a contemplation of the republics of modern, Montesquieu from the study of those of ancient Italy. In the despotic atmosphere of Vienna they can not be attained. The real merit of Schlegel is as a philosophical critic, and in that department his merits are hardly surpassed. Perhaps nowhere in literature, ancient or modern, is to be found a higher perception of the objects of art, a more generous appreciation of genius, than in his lectures on the drama. English literature has nothing of the same description which can be compared to it. His *Æsthetics*, as the Germans call them, or principles of taste in various branches of art, are models of refined feeling and just criticism, and prove that if he failed in the *Philosophy of History*, it was not from want of the power of generalization, but from the difficulty of thought being adequately directed to the affairs of nations under a despotic monarchy.

It can not be said that the German military historians have rivaled the transcendent phalanx which the wars of the Revolution have called forth in France, but nevertheless they can boast of some whose merits never were surpassed. At the very head of the array is to be placed the ARCHDUKE CHARLES: the first in rank is also the first in candor, discrimination, and just reflection. His *Memoirs* of his own immortal campaign in Germany in 1796, and of the still more checkered and heart-stirring one in Italy and the Alps in 1799, are models of lucid and authentic military history,

worthy to be placed beside the *Commentaries* of Cæsar or the *Reveries* of Marshal Saxe. The principles of strategy on a great scale, to which the greatest successes or reverses in war are to be ascribed, never were more profoundly reflected on or lucidly explained than by this great commander. Like the dictator, he discusses his own measures with an impartiality which is, literally speaking, *à toute épreuve*. To the merits of others, and most of all his opponents, he is ever alive, and yields a willing testimony; he is silent only on the praise due to his own great achievements. In this respect he presents a striking contrast to Napoleon, whose *Memoirs*, distinguished by greater acuteness and reach of thought, are constantly disfigured by the propensity to magnify self and detract from the merits of others, which, springing from his inveterate selfishness, forms so remarkable and discreditable a feature in his writings. Above all, the narrative of the Archduke Charles is distinguished by that entire *truthfulness*, and consequent trustworthiness, which seems an inherent feature in the Teutonic character, and forms so striking a contrast to the mingled genius and falsehood which so often characterize even the greatest men of the Celtic.

General CLAUSEWITZ had not the immense advantage enjoyed by Cæsar, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and the Archduke Charles, of having himself directed the movements which he described, but he had borne a considerable command in many of the most important of them, and his intuitive military genius enabled him to do the rest. He was born a great general, if he was not made such. Many men are so who never drew a sword. The power of directing or correctly judging of military movements is a gift of nature which may be improved but is not created by practice, and often appears in its highest lustre in those who have had none. Witness Napoleon's skill in tactics as an engineer at the siege of Toulon, where he first saw a gun fired in anger; in strategy, in his first campaign in Italy. Clausewitz's account of the campaigns of 1812 and the three following years are models of clear and accurate military narrative, the study of which is eminently calculated to form great generals. He has not the splendid power of describing battles and sieges which we admire in Napier, but neither are his writings overloaded with the flood of insignificant details which in him so much distract the reader's attention. He takes a general view of his campaigns. He narrates them neither as a subordinate actor nor a general-in-chief, but rather as a superior being, who, from an elevated point in the skies, looks down, like the gods in the *Iliad*, on the contests of men. His *coup d'œil* is just and rapid—his narrative clear and succinct—his reflections generally just, often profound. They bear a close resemblance to those of the Archduke Charles; and in both we see similar proofs of the candor and equanimity of the German mind in its best mood, when swayed only by reason, and undisturbed by passion.

If the Revolution in France has warmed into life a crowd of memoir writers, whose effusions throw an invaluable light on the events of that memorable period, the war of liberation in Ger-

50. Military historians: the Archduke Charles.

51. Clausewitz.

many has been hardly less efficacious in calling forth a host of writers, who have portrayed with equal felicity the changes and feelings of that eventful era. Their number is so considerable that a separate criticism on each, in a work of general history, is impossible; but three stand prominently forward, and deserve notice in any account, how brief soever, of German literature. **Bartholdy's** *Krieg der Tyroler* presents a graphic and interesting narrative of the memorable struggle of its heroic mountaineers in the year 1809; and **Varnehaugen von Enae** has collected with much ability, and recorded with dramatic effect, the most striking incidents connected with the war of liberation, and its hero Marshal Blücher. Inferior in graphic power, but much superior in political importance and historical information, the memoirs of **Baron Stein**, one of the greatest and most far-seeing of German statesmen, exhibit a most interesting account of the measures which had prepared the triumph of Prussia in that memorable struggle; while the memoir of **Baron Muffling** has furnished a valuable record, from authentic materials, of the most important steps connected with the final *dénouement* which at Waterloo terminated the eventful drama.

Autobiography, when relating to very eminent men, and written in a spirit of candor and moderation, is one of the most interesting, and withal instructive species of composition; for it at once amuses the indolent with the account of the efforts of the departed great, and encourages the strenuous, whom Providence has gifted with the power of emulating them. How valuable such a record may be is sufficiently proved by the admirable sketch of his life by Hume—the more elaborate and charming autobiography of Gibbon; while the confessions of Rousseau afford a melancholy proof how completely the revelations of a great but vain man may undermine even the most colossal reputation, and the truth of the saying, that of all sights the most unbearable is a “naked human heart.” Vanity is the general cause of the despicable character of so many biographies of themselves by eminent men; and unfortunately this failing is generally the most conspicuous in those of the greatest celebrity—witness the autobiographies of Chateaubriand and Lamartine. It is fortunate for the memory of Byron that his has been burned; for it would in all probability have destroyed all respect for his character, though it could not have impaired the admiration for his genius.*

Germany has not been wanting in works of this description from some of the most gifted of her sons, and three stand forth pre-eminent among many others of lesser fame. Goethe's Autobiography, without being so fearful a confession of disgraceful turpitudes as Rousseau's, is a most curious and

valuable record of his mind; so various, so many-sided, so full, alternately, of piercing thoughts and common inclinations. It is far too minute, however, and in consequence tedious. With more enthusiasm in his disposition and romance in his tastes, that of Oehlenschläger exhibits an interesting picture of the gradual development of an ardent and gifted mind, and of the mingled influence of the traditions of the olden and the literature of modern times upon a highly poetic temperament. It is only to be regretted that its interest is somewhat impaired, at least to a foreign reader, by the multitude of obscure names and characters who are introduced, alike unknown to general fame, and insignificant in the picture of character. But the most interesting of all these autobiographies, as the briefest, is that of Andersen, the celebrated Danish novelist. The picture of his early life in the island of Oldensee, and the patriarchal manners of the inhabitants of the archipelago in which it is placed, is in the highest degree interesting; as is also the picture of the successive means by which his genius was developed, and raised him from an humble station in a provincial town to the society of kings and queens. It is only to be regretted that vanity, the usual foible of successful authors, is too conspicuous in the latter pages of his biography, and strangely contrasts with the simplicity and candor of his earlier narrative. It is surprising that so many authors of discernment, in scanning the character of others, fall into this mistake when delineating themselves, and prove blind to the obvious truth that vanity is not only always contemptible, but never fails to defeat its own object, because it wounds the *amour propre* of those who read its effusions.

Romances and novels innumerable have of late years issued from the prolific press of Germany; any attempt to enumerate even their names is impossible in a work of general history. Generally speaking, they can not be said to be at all comparable to those of England or France. Scott, Bulwer, and Madame de Staël, have met with no rivals in the Fatherland. They are generally distinguished by one characteristic—they paint only one, or at most two, strata of society. In the first instance, the extravagant admiration which was felt for Goethe's *Werther* led to a crowd of sentimental writers, who descanted on the moon, and midnight serenades, and dying lovers, till ridicule was brought over the whole subject. As usual in such cases, the next school went into the opposite extreme, and the exact representation of real life, with no fictitious additions, became the great object. By its authors, society in a village or small country town in Germany is painted with minuteness and fidelity, but nothing more. The village priest, the apothecary, the bailiff of the neighboring castle, with occasional glimpses of the inmates of the castle itself; the simple life of the shopkeepers, the visits of strolling actors and actresses, who turn the heads of all the young men; the return from the wars of the hussar officers, who captivate all the maidens; the intrigues of a young baron with a simple true-hearted *fräulein*, constitute in general the shape of their tales.

* By far the best and most favorable, as well as truthful, picture of Lord Byron, is to be found in Lady Blessington's conversations with him—a work second only to Boswell's *Johnson* in fidelity and interest, and worthy of a lasting place beside it in English literature.

Another class of novels belong to the philosophical school; they are filled with abstract disquisitions, and resemble rather moral or metaphysical essays than pictures of life. As a necessary consequence, they are for the most part insupportably dull: romance may often be made the vehicle of the most exalted sentiment, the purest morality, but it must be by event, not predilection; by character, not disquisition. Even the best novels of Goethe and Wieland are not free from this defect; there are many passages which every reader is fain to pass over. It is remarkable how much more homespun and limited in conception their novels are than their poetry or their dramas; but a little reflection must show how this has come, and unavoidably come to pass. Novels are intended to paint real life, and are in general interesting in proportion as they delineate with accuracy and truth, and yet romantic interest, the manners and incidents of those with whom we are acquainted; poetry and the drama diverge into the ideal world, and bring to view the events and character of all ages. Imagination and study can find the last, but nothing can supply the want of actual observation in the first. The German authors, who almost all belong to the burgher class, and are familiar with its manners only, can paint them, and they have done so admirably; but we can expect from them nothing more; and it need not be said that they form a part only of the materials of fiction.

To these observations an exception must be made in the case of the distinguished Countess Hahn-Hahn, whose romances have excited unusual attention in Germany. The Countess HAHN-HAHN has been gifted by nature with the true genius of poetry and romance; and her position in society has enabled her to paint its highest as well as its inferior scenes. Her mind is enamored of strong emotions; like Rachel, she makes straight to them, and, passing lightly over the smiles, dwells with sympathetic interest on the tears. Her best novels have been translated into French and English, and have acquired a European reputation. There are many scenes in them, however, which to our ideas seem coarse, and the *dénouement* is often of questionable morality—a singular circumstance in an authoress who, in her beautiful little volume, *Ave Maria*, has given so many proofs of a refined mind, and of the most heartfelt and exalted piety. We see the same strange mixture, however, in several other German writers, and we need not wonder at it when we observe it also in Steele and Addison. It is want of refinement in taste more than deficiency in moral sense, which is the cause of this blemish in German literature; if their ideas were more depraved, they would, like the French novelists, be more careful to shroud them in refined and elegant language.

It is impossible, in a sketch of this brief description, to give any idea of the immense crowd of romance-writers who during the last forty years have appeared in Germany. Their name is legion, and a discussion of their separate merits would occupy many volumes; but one has recently appeared whose merits are so great and generally

acknowledged as to call for a separate notice. M. HAKLANDER unites in himself several of the most striking qualities of our greatest contemporary novelists. In graphic description of character, in all grades of society, and occasional pathetic power, he recalls Dickens; in the evolving of the story, when to all appearance hopelessly complicated, he resembles Bulwer. He has not, however, the profound knowledge of the human heart, or turn for philosophic reflection, which distinguish the works of the latter author. His most celebrated work, *Europäische Skavenleben*, is intended to exhibit a picture of all the stages of society, from the cellars, through the saloon, to the garret, in order to prove that the conventional bonds of civilized life in Europe are even more galling than the rude fetters of the African, and that many a white slave would have something to envy in the lot of Uncle Tom. It is to be feared there is too much truth in this view of the effects of civilization, and in working it out M. Haklander has evinced great dramatic power, and a thorough acquaintance with all the gradations of German society. His picture of the ballet-dancers, and their fearful subjection to the caprices of the public; of the ardent and impassioned baron, of the restraints, etiquette, and difficulties of the ducal courts, and of the licentious life of the robbers, can not be exceeded in fidelity and force of drawing. Unfortunately they are not calculated to elucidate any definite moral impression, and consequently fall short of the highest object of works of imagination, that of being at once true to nature and elevating in their tendency. The characters in the *Europäische Skavenleben*, as in *My Novel* by Bulwer, are so numerous that the two first volumes seem rather too complicated for interest; but in the last, as in the English novel, they are all made to concur in the *dénouement* with surprising skill. A translation of this highly popular novel, if done by kindred genius, would be one of the most popular works of fiction of our times.

There is one species of fiction peculiar to Germany and the northern nations, which they have cultivated with extraordinary success: this is that of supposing animals, plants, or trees, to be animated with human feeling, and to express their thoughts in human language. ANDERSEN has composed several charming tales of this description, which may be classed with any in the world for interest and simplicity. They have not the deep insight into human nature which distinguishes the somewhat similar fictions of La Fontaine, nor the amusing prattling of Gay; but in variety of fancy, richness of imagery, simplicity of thought, and versatility of imagination, they are unrivaled. Many ideas in them are entirely novel to English readers, and bespeak the chill of the hyperborean regions. The first burst of spring after the long night of an arctic winter, the frozen fields of Lapland, the Snow Queen, the return of the swallows, the migration of the storks, and many similar images, indicate the feelings and ideas awakened by the arctic regions, and have all the attractions, in some degree, of novelty to those dwelling in milder latitudes. His *Bilderbuch ohne Bilder* is one of the most charming creations of poetic fancy. His idea of the moon

recounting all the scenes on which her midnight rays fall in the wide expanse of the globe, in every country and in every clime, is not only highly poetical, but affords the richest field for graphic power and varied imagery. The Hindoo maiden who looks for an omen of the safety of her beloved in the waters of the Ganges, the iceberg of Greenland, the camel-driver shading his face from the burning sands of the Sahara with a bunch of feathers, the tragic scenes of the French Revolution, the horrors of the Moscow retreat, the simple patriarchal life of the Danish isles, the infancy of Thorwaldsen, the last hours of Napoleon, alternately employ his magic pencil, and form, with many others, a series of pictures unrivaled in the whole field of German literature for simplicity, variety, and poetic interest.

JEAN PAUL RICHTER has a prodigious reputation in Germany, but it is by no means equally great in foreign countries. The reason is that his language is too homespun; his ideas are too much localized. He has observed and painted and philosophized with great ability within a certain sphere, but his vision has not gone beyond it. Life and manners in a provincial German town, and the caustic observations of a sage upon them, constitute the staple of his productions; and though they are done with sagacious thought and witty satire, and often profound observation, they are not calculated to attract universal notice. They have neither the deep thought of Bacon, nor the admirable wit of Cervantes, nor the sagacious insight into the heart, of Scott or Bulwer, which have gained for their writings universal fame. But as pictures of a satire upon German life they have very great merit, and have made a valuable addition to European literature. A work of the size of Bacon's Essays, containing a selection of his observations and apophthegms, would be of the highest interest, and, like the maxims of La Rochefoucauld, acquire a universal reputation.

It is not to be concluded, from the great number of imaginative writers in Germany, and the large space allotted in this sketch to their consideration, that fancy is the only field of literature which the Teutonic genius has cultivated with success. The German mind, eminently contemplative, has labored also in the field of philosophy, and the works of their sages are not only noble monuments of thought, highly characteristic of the turn of their minds, but have exercised an important influence on the whole character of their literature, and the destinies of their country. Unlike the French philosophy of the same period, which is entirely founded on selfishness, the German is rested on the generous affections; unlike the philosophy of Locke, which refers all our ideas to impressions derived from the senses, it has embraced the doctrines of the idealists, who contend for the existence of innate ideas. When the realists referred to the maxim of the scholastic, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerat in sensu," Leibnitz, the father of the Teutonic philosophy, made the sublime addition, "Nisi intellectus ipse." It is perhaps impossible in this much-vexed question to come nearer the truth than is done in these words. Locke

was quite right when he maintained that our information was entirely derived from our senses, and the doctrine of innate ideas seems to have no solid foundation in what we know of human nature. But, on the other hand, it is equally clear that when certain impressions are obtained from the senses, the mind will draw conclusions and form ideas from them altogether foreign to any thing derived from the senses; and although it is doubtless true that these ideas could not have been formed but from the materials furnished by the senses, it is not the less true that all the senses in the world could not have furnished the idea but for the self-acting powers of the sentient mind.

KANT is the second father of the modern German philosophy, and he is regarded by a large class of disciples in the Fatherland rather with the veneration with which the disciples of Plato looked up to their preceptor, than with the feelings usual between pupils and their masters in modern society. It can not be denied that he was in many respects a great man. Born, bred, and living all his life to a very advanced age in Königsberg, he derived scarce any thing from the intercourse of society, and found the materials for his world of thought in his own mind, and his own mind alone. But these resources were immense. The sciences, the literature, the languages of the north, were familiar to him; and without seeking to apply these advantages to the acquisition of fame or fortune, he spent his life in solitary reflections on his own thoughts, and the laws by which mind is regulated. His great work, the *Critic of Pure Reason*, which treats of the mind alone, was for nearly twenty years after its publication without readers; but at length some adventurous students had courage to open it, and such a multitude of original and profound ideas were discovered, as speedily led to its being generally studied, and acquiring a colossal fame in Germany. It was succeeded, after a long interval, by a treatise on *Practical Reason*, and another on *Judgment*, the first of which treats of the laws of morality, and corresponds to Reid's *Active Powers*, and the last unfolds the principles of taste and beauty. Without affirming that the solitary meditation of the German sage has in every instance led to the discovery of truth, it may safely be affirmed that they are all of an elevated and ennobling character, equally removed from the selfish egotism of the French encyclopedists, and the dangerous doctrines, tending to materialism, of the English metaphysicians. What is chiefly to be regretted in the writings of Kant is the style, which in general is so involved and obscure as to render his meaning extremely difficult of comprehension even to the Germans themselves, and to a foreigner often unintelligible. This is a fault common to him with most other German metaphysicians, and it is in a great degree to be ascribed to the extraordinary length of their sentences, which often extend over half, sometimes a whole page; a strange, unaccountable practice, which can never be sufficiently condemned, and should serve as a beacon to all writers in this country.

FICHTE and SCHELLING have pushed to an extreme the doctrines of Kant, and in some re-

spects brought upon them discredit. Reversing

64. the doctrines of the materialists, they Fichte and make the soul all in all. In this respect Schelling. their doctrines are akin to those of Bishop Berkeley; and if philosophy is to run into extreme, and discard one or other of the great elements of nature, it is better to do so with matter and its attributes than mind and its attributes. It is needless to say, however, that the former speaks in so forcible a manner to the great majority of mankind, that the latter is never likely to find proselytes but among a small band of contemplative philosophers or dreamy enthusiasts. On this account no real danger to the interests of society or public morality is to be apprehended from their lucubrations: but the case is very different with those who represent the soul as consisting of a particular modification of matter, physical enjoyments as the chief end of existence, and the means of their acquisition the only object of a sensible man's pursuit. As these are the maxims to which the great bulk of mankind in every age are in practice inclined, any system of philosophy which gives them the support of principle is dangerous, and if generally received, may prove fatal to the best interests of society. Fichte's doctrines are different in a great measure from those of Schelling, inasmuch as the former rests entirely on the contemplation of the mind, which he regards as necessarily endowed, like the circles or triangles of geometry, with certain fixed qualities, discoverable, like them, by the efforts of philosophy; the latter admits largely the influence of external nature, and deduces most of our ideas from its sensations, and the charm of imagination to which its beauties give rise. In this respect his ideas border on those of the materialists; but yet with this vital difference, that the material world is regarded by him as the appliances which surround and awaken the soul, but not as the soul itself, which alone is immortal, and shall exist after the outer crust shall have melted away.

The doctrines of the German idealists bear so 65. close an affinity to those which, from Frederick the dawn of philosophy, have prevailed Schlegel. among the Orientals, and especially the inhabitants of Hindostan, that it was to be expected that ere long some one would arise who should trace the connection which subsists between them. Such a philosopher accordingly appeared in FREDERICK SCHLEGEL, brother to the great æsthetic essayist. Immense study, and a thorough acquaintance with the Oriental languages, had given this very eminent man almost as complete a knowledge of the Indian philosophy as the English scholars who had been brought into personal contact with the Brahmins; and his treatise on the *Language and Philosophy of the Indians* brings out in a very interesting manner, and with the aid of great learning, the affinity which subsists between the thoughts and languages of the two great and long-separated families of mankind, the similarity of which betrays their common origin. He agrees with Bailly in thinking that an original race of men had, anterior to the date of authentic history, inhabited the regions of Central Asia, and spread from thence, on the one hand, across the Himalaya snows into the plains of Hindostan; on the other, over the Ural Mountains into

the Sarmatian and German fields. It is curious how the researches of philosophy, from whatever quarter arising, come back to the origin of mankind in Central Asia, and the dispersion of the children of Noah to the three quarters of the ancient world.

JACOBI is one of the few men of family and fortune in Germany who, surmounting 66. the aristocratic prejudices with which they are surrounded, have devoted their talents to philosophy and literature. His principles are as elevated as those of Kant, but they differ widely from them; they exhibit the reaction of mind against the austere doctrines of that celebrated philosopher. Dissatisfied with placing morality, like mathematical propositions, in certain abstract truths apart from human sentiment and feeling, he has gone into the other extreme, and referred it altogether to the sensibility which, according to him, is the revelation to erring man of the Divine will. Every thing, in this view, which our feelings approve or admire is right, without reference to any other standard than those feelings themselves. "Yes," says he, in a fit of enthusiasm, "I would lie, like the dying Desdemona—I would deceive, like Orestes, when he strove to die in place of Pylades—I would assassinate, like Timoleon—I would commit perjury, like Epaminondas or John de Witt—I would commit suicide, like Cato—I would be sacrilegious, as David; for I have the internal conviction that in pardoning these faults, though they be according to the letter, man is only exercising the sovereign right which the majesty of his being confers upon him: he affixes the seal of his dignity, the seal of his divine nature, to the pardon which he accords." This eloquent hyperbole proves that there is something erroneous in the principles on which it is founded; nor is it difficult to see in what that error consists. It lies in supposing that there is no standard of right or wrong other than what our feelings may be interested in or admire—a doctrine which would utterly confound all ideas of morality, and substitute for the eternal dictates of conscience the effusions of a dreamy and enthusiastic sensibility.

It is often said that the character of German thought on religious matters is owing 67. to its inhabitants having, in the northern provinces, embraced the character of Protestant faith: it would be nearer the truth to say that they have embraced Protestantism because they were impressed by nature with a certain vein of religious thought. They were dreamy and abstract in the cloister before they were so in the pulpit: their natural turn of mind was nursed in the monastery ere it reached the forum. As the Reformation every where was the revolt of the human mind against the ceremonies and corruptions of the Church of Rome, so it ran into the other extreme; and in those countries in which the disposition of the people led to its being embraced with most fervor, it ended in the substitution of internal fervor, and a species of self-applauding austerity, for the external observances which had become the subject of so much abuse. This tendency is particularly observable in Germany and Scotland—two countries in which the national temperament of

mingled gravity and fervor is much the same, and in which the progress of the reformation movement has been extremely similar. The insurrection of the boors in the former country was exactly analogous to the excesses of the followers of John Knox in the latter. In both countries the triumph of the Reformation was signalized by a system of faith which substituted internal illumination and fervor for external form and observance—which embraced the dogma of election, from the charitable conviction that a certain sect is the object of Divine favor, and all others of reprobation, and invariably places itself in the former class and its opponents in the latter.

Doctrines of this sort may, during the heat of contest, or in the first fervor of innovation, prevail generally among a distracted people, and, from the usual tenacity of the human mind to error in matters of belief, long linger among the peasantry and half-educated classes. But it is impossible that they can long co-exist with general intelligence and reflection; and they speedily melt away before the light of reason. The reaction ere long begins in the most highly-educated classes and the strongest minds: the danger is that, for a time at least, it goes too far. It began first in Scotland. The principles of Blair and Robertson were the effort of intelligent men to escape from the dogmas of the Puritans, the fervor of the Covenanters, without departing from the great truths of Christianity; and Hume's *Essays* and *History* afford a proof that, when the current sets in that direction, these limits will not long be observed. The progress was the same, though a little later, in Germany. The RATIONAL SCHOOL of divines indicates the reaction of human thought against the fervor of the peasants of Münster, the sentimental dreams of the metaphysicians, the self-applauding fervor of the elect. But it is easier to see to what came these aberrations of thought are to be traced, and to find a parallel for them in the oscillations of the pendulum, than to provide an antidote to the opposite set of errors, which they inevitably induce; and great has been the alarm excited in the minds of the sincere friends of Christianity from the progress of the system of rationalism in Germany.

68. Reaction against these doctrines: rationalism.

69. Strauss's *Life of Jesus Christ* is the leading work of this school, and the one which has done most to spread its tenets through foreign lands. It is a scheme of faith which is peculiarly attractive at first sight to persons of a vigorous intellect, and masculine, independent turn of mind. Equally removed from the slavish submission to authority and unmeaning ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, and the visionary dreams and self-applauding fervor of the Puritans, it professes, without openly disputing the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, to establish them on what is deemed the solid basis of truth and reason. To effect this object it strives, so far as possible, to explain away every miraculous event, to solve every dark enigma, to elude every metaphysical difficulty connected with the Christian faith, and to reduce it to a sublime and beneficent system of morality, which reason may embrace without difficulty, and reflection adhere to without regret. According to it, our

Saviour was a wise and virtuous man, whose precepts it would be well if the world would follow; but only in a greater degree than Confucius, Socrates, or Plato, illuminated by Divine light. All the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the Trinity, the Godhead of our Saviour, the Fall of Man, the Redemption, are either denied or passed over with very little consideration, as tending only to immerse the mind in abstract and metaphysical questions, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law.

Great is the alarm which these tenets, and the writings of Strauss in particular —which have had an immense cir- 70. The alarm culation in Germany—has produced thence among divines and the friends of religion in this country. There does not appear to be any real ground for these apprehensions. A rational system of religion—that is, a religion which excludes or avoids mysteries—never will meet with a general reception among mankind, for this simple reason, that all feel the subject is wrapped in mystery, and that all attempts to penetrate it are vain. A system of faith which admits nothing but what we can understand, and which our reason approves, is universally felt to be unsatisfactory and erroneous. The slightest consideration must show that every thing connected with religion, and which no faith can avoid, is a mystery which we may believe, but can not understand. Creation, birth, death, the world to come, the growth of a plant, the formation of mind, the Supreme Being, eternity, infinity, omnipresence, omnipotence, are all mysteries which can never be explained on the principles of our reason. We speak of them, we give them names, we know they are real things, but if we analyze our thoughts we shall find that we can not form a conception of them; while at the same time our reason tells us, and their appearance in all languages proves, that they are ideas which universally and inevitably arise in the human mind. What is the mystery of the Trinity, of which so much is said, but a part, and a very small part only, of the mystery of the omnipresence of the Deity, which no faith in any age has ventured to deny? Every religion that ever prevailed generally among men has admitted the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of expiation by sacrifice—for this plain reason, that every man is conscious of so much sin in himself, that he shrinks from meeting the Divine justice without some atonement irrespective of his own deserts. For this reason there is not the slightest danger of any system which professes to explain the mysteries of nature and existence by the mere deductions of human reason ever being permanently adopted by mankind. It may be embraced by the learned during the reaction against the absurdities of particular sects, but that will be all. By the great body of the people it will be felt as utterly unsatisfactory, like attempting without wings to ascend to heaven. Revelation of mystery, belief in the incomprehensible, are indispensable for any creed which is to obtain a lasting place among men, because they alone are felt to satisfy their wants and be equal to the difficulty. And it will be found in the end that the Christian religion, which reveals enough of mystery to arrest the attention of the most reflecting, and contains enough of

precept to be level to the comprehension of the most illiterate, is the one framed by Supreme Wisdom for, and best adapted to, the combined strength and weakness, knowledge and ignorance, boldness in thought and submission in belief, which we see in man.

Such is a brief, and, of necessity, most imperfect account of German literature, 71. Reflections as it has been developed during the on German period embraced in this history. Its literature. merit and importance will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that it has been entirely the creation of eighty years, and for the most part of the last half-century. Unlike the literature of Italy, which sprang up during two hundred years on the revival of letters, or of France and England, which have slowly evolved during the mental struggles of three centuries, it has all been produced by the mental effort of one or at most two generations. No long line of illustrious men marked its progress: they all sprang up at once, as Minerva fully armed from the brain of Jupiter. This circumstance is very remarkable, when the great extent and variety of literary excellence in Germany is taken into consideration; and it is fitted to inspire the most consolatory belief in regard to the permanent nature of human progress. Goethe says that the human mind is constantly advancing, but it is in a spiral line; and it may be added, that in a spiral the curves are alternately in light and shadow. The annals of his own country afford the clearest proof of the truth of the observation. To appearance, the German mind was entirely dormant during the long winter of the Middle Ages: but on the return of spring the ceaseless progress appeared; it sprang up at once, like the burst of nature after an arctic winter. The luxuriance of intellectual vegetation which thus broke forth teaches us that, even when apparently lifeless, the human mind is incessantly acting; that it is during the long period of repose that error is forgotten and prejudice dies out; and that under circumstances where reason might despair of the fortunes of the species, the beneficent powers of nature are incessantly acting, and preparing in silence the renovation of the world.

The great characteristic of German literature, 72. General character of German literature. and that which gives it so inexpressible a charm to readers in foreign countries, is the freshness and originality of its ideas. Formed for the most part on the study of antiquity, and having in some respects attained its highest excellence when the classical authors exclusively formed the taste of all persons of cultivated minds, the literature of Italy, Spain, France, and England, of necessity is deeply imbued with its images, and regulated by its ideas. The French and Italian drama is entirely classical; not only are the characters and events almost all taken from the history of Greece or Rome, but the finest plays of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Alfieri, and Metastasio, are little more than free translations of those of Sophocles and Euripides. No scholar need be told how deeply read Milton and Tasso, and Ariosto and Dante, were in classical lore, and how much they are indebted to the genius of antiquity for many of their most captivating beauties and constant allusions. But it is otherwise with the Germans, at least

with such of their writers as are distinguished by the true national character. The Teutonic race, when they settled in the Fatherland, had patriotic feeling enough to discard not only the language, but the ideas of Greece and Rome. Their thoughts are as novel as their words are strange to foreign ears. Their finest writers, Schiller, Goethe, and Wieland, have borrowed, indeed, from ancient literature its taste and refinement, but they have engrafted them on their own thoughts and images and feelings. From this auspicious union has sprung a progeny more charming than either of the parents taken singly. In reading the great German writers, while we have not lost the charm of ancient taste, we feel that we have entered, as it were, upon a new world; a fresh soil has been turned up, and the earth teems with the luxuriance of virgin vegetation. Their ideas are often so novel, and yet so beautiful, that we are led to suspect for a moment that they had been the creation of some purer age, and after being buried for centuries, been newly turned up by modern hands—like the Grecian statues, which, after lying for fifteen hundred years under the ruins of antiquity, emerge pure, unsullied in pristine beauty, when revealed by the zeal of modern industry.

The chief reproach which is usually made against modern German literature, is 73. its romantic and sentimental character, and its inapplicability to the affairs of the world, whether in nations or individuals. It is impossible to deny that there is some truth in this observation; and certainly, when the enthusiasm of the German mind came to be applied in 1848 to political affairs, it afforded no indication of being qualified to produce a stable or practicable form of government. Probably, too, if any one were to take *Wilhelm Meister* or *Werther* for a guide in private life, he would be as effectually ruined as the cause of German freedom was in that year by the excesses of its supporters. But, all this notwithstanding, the tone of German literature, upon the whole, is of a noble and elevating character, and such as is fitted to produce the most beneficial effects on the character of mankind. It has one inestimable quality—it is for the most part unselfish; its follies and weaknesses, such as they are, are all of a generous and romantic character. As such, it is eminently fitted to combat the egotism and selfishness which is the root of nearly all the social evils that afflict mankind, and which increase in intensity and influence with the growth of riches and the progress of civilization. Beyond all question, the tone of German literature had a material influence in producing that burst of generous enthusiasm which, in the war of liberation, effected the deliverance of the Fatherland. And if it be said, What is the use of all this romance and sentiment—to what practical purpose can it be applied? the answer is, it is the antidote to the selfishness which is the bane of humanity, and the corrective of the greatest debaser of the human mind, the most prolific source of human evils. "What is the use," says Madame de Staël, "of the Apollo Belvidere, the pictures of Raphael, the poetry of Racine? What does all that is beautiful serve, if not the soul itself? It is the same

with philosophy; it is the beauty of thought: it attests the dignity of that Being which is eternal and invisible, and never ceases to strive after what is eternal and invisible, how far soever it may be removed from all that is gross in present existence."⁷⁴

The same principles which have influenced the literature and philosophy of Germany appear also in the fine arts. The imitation of nature is not the object they pursue—it is ideal beauty to which they aspire; and it is the incessant striving after that elevated shadow which is the real cause of the greatness which they have attained. It is to this that is to be ascribed the extraordinary perfection to which they have brought the art of music, the one of the fine arts which has the least relation with the wants or appliances of present existence. MOZART and BEETHOVEN stand alone in this respect; even Italian music must yield to the variety of their conceptions, the brilliancy of their expression, the pathos of their sentiment. It is the constant effort to express the ideal which has produced this excellence. "The impression," says Madame de Staël, "which we receive from the fine arts has not the smallest analogy to that which imitation, how perfect soever, produces. Man has in his soul innate feelings, which the real will never completely satisfy; and it is to these sentiments that the imagination of painters and poets has given form and life. The first of arts—music—what does it imitate? Yet of all the gifts of the Divinity it is the most magnificent, for the very reason that it is the most superfluous. The sun gives us his light; we breathe the air of a serene heaven; all the beauties of nature tend in some way to the use of man; music alone is of no utility, and it is for that reason it is so noble, and moves us so profoundly. The farther it is removed from any practical application, the nearer is it brought to that secret fountain of our thoughts, which is always only rendered more distant by its application to any practical object."⁷⁵

THORWALDSEN is a Dane by birth; but Denmark is but a promontory of Germany, and the Danes are a branch only of the great Teutonic race. Like Andersen and Tycho Brahe, though born in Denmark, he may be claimed as one of the glories of the Teutonic race. In some respects he is the greatest sculptor that modern Europe has produced. There is no imitation about him; his conceptions, like those of all his countrymen, are drawn from himself alone. He has not the vast imagination and daring genius of Michael Angelo, but neither has he his bizarre and sometimes grotesque conceptions. Not less refined in taste and delicate in execution than Canova, he is more original; he has taken from the antique their aspiration after the ideal, but not copied their forms. Canova, in his greatest works, has done little more; his "Perseus" in the Vatican is an obvious imitation of the Apollo; his "Venus" is a modernized and half-veiled Venus de Medicis. The difference between these two great artists is seen in Thorwaldsen's "Venus presenting the Apple to Paris:" not less beautiful in form than Canova's, it is en-

tirely original; the attitude is unlike any thing in the antique. His "Triumph of Alexander" is the finest series of basso-relievs that modern genius has produced. It is a singular circumstance, indicating how many exceptions must be made to the general opinion that the fine arts can flourish only in the regions of the sun, that the mighty genius of Thorwaldsen has been warmed into life on the shores of the Baltic, and only required to be matured in taste amidst the monuments of Rome.

DANNEKER is another proof that it is in the north that we are now to look for the successors of Phidias. His "Ariadne Danneker seated on the Panther" has all the delicacy and beauty of the antique, while, at the same time, it is quite original; the eternal imitation of Greek forms and attitudes has been abandoned by one who had yet inhaled to the full extent their spirit. The study of antiquity, whether in art or literature, is the best foundation for fresh excellence, if it is done in a worthy spirit—that is, by a perception of its taste, and a desire to rival, not copy, its remains. Considered as the study of achieved and impassable excellence, which is to be imitated, not emulated, it is nothing but a fetter on the human mind, and may chain it for ages to correct mediocrity. The recent sculptors of Germany have shown that they have studied the antique in the true spirit. Kiss's group of the "Amazon combating the Tiger" is worthy of being placed beside the finest Metopes of the Parthenon; for it is not merely ideal beauty, but ideal beauty in the moment of violent action—a difficult but not impossible combination, and which, when mastered, reveals the highest powers, as well as conception of art. Compare the Apollo Belvidere with the fighting gladiator, and this will at once appear. The bronze statues recently erected at Berlin and Munich, by Kiss, Rauch, and several of their countrymen, have opened, as it were, a new era in art, and showed that regeneration may in the end spring even from the conquests of barbarism, and that in art as well as nature, the "Goths have broken in and amended the puny breed."

The modern school of German painting is not less characteristic of the combined caution and daring, imitation and originality, industry and genius, which nature seems to have impressed as its signet-mark on the Teutonic race. In portrait painting it has by no means attained the level of Titian or Vandyke, of Reynolds or Raeburn; perhaps the existing society in Germany does not afford sufficient encouragement for such a school to arise in that department of art. But it is otherwise in landscape painting; in that branch the German masters have attained an eminence beyond their contemporaries in any other country of Europe, and in some respects on a level with the finest remains of ancient art. They have reached that which is the very essence of beauty in painting—combined minuteness of finishing and generality of effect. The breadth of their pieces renders them impressive at any distance, their exquisite details worthy of admiration on the closest inspection. This combination, so uniformly conspicuous in the works of nature, and so charmingly imitated in her most gifted disciples, Claude and Pouss-

sin, is the chief characteristic and chief excellence of the modern school of German painting.

The landscapes of the chief modern German artists are much in the style of their roman. Ruydael, so far as the coloring and general effect go; but the subjects are much wilder and more romantic—they savor more of Salvator's conceptions. The rugged and magnificent scenery of Norway, with its fiords, its rapids, its cataracts, its dark forests and snowy mountains, its herds of reindeer and clouds of birds, has strongly attracted the Teutonic imagination. It has flown back to the mountains of Scandinavia as to its native seats, and inhaled the spirit which, in the mighty island of the west, has inspired the kindred genius of poetry:

"Oh, lover of the desert, hail!
Say in what wild and pathless vale,
Or in what lonely mountain-side,
Midst falls of water, you reside!
Midst broken rocks—a rugged scene—
With green and grassy dales between;
Midst forests dark of aged oak,
Ne'er echoing to the woodman's stroke,
Where Nature loves to sit alone,
Majestic, on her craggy throne!"—WATSON.

Architecture has shared in the general movement of the German mind during the last half century, and many important monuments of that noble art have arisen in the German field. They differ from the stately cathedrals of the medieval ages; they have not the austere but impressive gloom of the Gothic style. They share in the brilliancy of Grecian imagination, without the passion for variety which has corrupted its style in the Italian cities. The magnificent-perstyle of the Walhalla overhangs in awful sublimity the stream of the Danube; the beautiful fronts of the Glyptothek charm the eye amidst the pillared scenery of Munich. Nowhere is to be seen a finer specimen of the masculine grandeur of the Doric style than in the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin, or of the riches of the Ionic and Corinthian, than in the palace front and some of the public edifices of that capital. Yet is it perhaps to be regretted that the vast genius of Germany has in this art in a manner forgot its proper vocation, and sought the beautiful in the refinement of imitation rather than the boldness of originality. Certainly the stately magnificence of the cathedral of Ulm, the graceful spire of Strasbourg, the exquisite beauty of that of Cologne, destined to be the most perfect Gothic edifice in the world, show that the Teutonic genius has no need to recur to the Parthenon of Athens, or St. Peter's of Rome, for the most impressive models of architectural beauty.

If it be true, as the wisest of men in every age have affirmed, that

"Music hath charms to tame the savage breast,"

there is no country which should be so civilized as Germany, for there is none where melody has so profoundly moved the hearts of the people. The taste for it is not confined, as in some other countries, to the higher or more cultivated classes, but extends to the whole inhabitants. Enter that church in Silesia, and you will hear Luther's Hymn sung in a style

which would do honor to any opera in Europe; join in the evening devotions of that cottage in Saxony, and you will see how music has softened and refined those rugged breasts; join in the enraptured circle which surrounds the magnificent assemblage of regimental bands on the Parade of Mayence, and the strong bent of German taste to the enjoyments of music will at once appear. Nothing has so much tended to advance the civilization and refine the feelings of the country as this strong and universal disposition; for alone of all the creations of human genius, music is necessarily and universally pure and ennobling in its influence. Literature may be perverted to the worst of purposes, and become the corrupter instead of the purifier of mankind; painting, by the exhibition of meretricious objects, can too powerfully inflame the senses; poetry may become the syren which lures us by the light of genius to perdition; but the influence of music can never be pernicious, or lead to any thing but the refinement of the feelings. Incapable of application to any purpose of practical utility, having no voice which reaches the other senses, it only speaks the more powerfully to the heart; and rouses, by its all-magic influence, when not indulged to such a degree as to enervate the mind, no other feelings but those which tend to deeds of heroism or thoughts of love.

BEETHOVEN is by common consent, and the universal opinion of the best judges, put at the very head of modern composers. Sublimity and variety are his great characteristics; he is the Michael Angelo of music. Like that great master of painting, his conceptions are vast and daring, and his powers equal to their full expression. He is essentially, and beyond any other composer, sublime; but, like Milton, he knows how to relieve intense emotion by the awakening of softer feelings; and none can more powerfully thrill the heart by grandeur and melt it by sympathy. Music in his hands exhibits its full powers, and takes its place at once where Madame de Staël has assigned it, as the first of the fine arts, the most ethereal in its nature, the most refining in its tendency, the most severed from the grossness of sense, and which penetrates at once, like a sunbeam from heaven, into the inmost recesses of the soul. Beethoven's pieces, however, like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Michael Angelo's frescoes, are not adapted for ordinary capacities, nor are they calculated to awaken universal admiration. They are too complicated for an uninitiated ear, which is always most powerfully attracted by simplicity and melody. Beyond any other of the fine arts, the pleasure of music is felt by the most illiterate classes; you can not see a military band go through the street without perceiving that. But a scientific education, and no small proficiency in the art, are indispensable to a perception of its highest excellences, which none feel entirely but such as are themselves capable of expressing them.

If Beethoven is the Michael Angelo of music, MOZART is its Raphael. Not less than that divine master of the sister art, his inmost soul was filled with the mysterious harmonies, the thrilling thoughts, which, emerging, as it were, through the chinks of

thought, fill the minds of all who feel this influence with sympathetic rapture. They throw the mind for a few seconds or minutes into a species of trance or reverie, too enchanting for long endurance, and which affords perhaps the nearest foretaste which this world presents of the joys of heaven. It is the peculiarity of the highest efforts and most perfect productions of the fine arts alone to produce this ephemeral reverie, and when it is awakened it is the same in all. The emotion produced by the Holy Families of Raphael is identical with that awakened by the symphonies of Mozart, and akin to that which springs from the contemplation of the Parthenon of Athens, or reflection on the *Penseroso* of Milton. Mozart had the very highest powers; but though gifted with the faculty of producing the sublime, he inclined, like Schiller, to the tender or pathetic, and never moved the heart so profoundly as when his lyre rung responsive to the wail of affection or the notes of love.

HAYDN was a very great composer, but his character was different as a whole from either Beethoven or Mozart. His conceptions were in the highest degree sublime; human imagination never conceived any thing more lofty than some bursts in the "Creation." They have rendered into sound with magic force the idea, "Let there be light; and there was light." If a continued comparison is permitted to the great masters of the pencil, he was the Anibale Caracci of music. Like him, his powers were great and various, but he aimed rather at their display than the expression of genuine heart-felt feeling. Not that he was without sentiment, and could not, when he so inclined, give it the most charming expression; no great master in any of the fine arts ever was without it. But it was not the native bent of his mind; that led him rather to the exhibition of his great and varied powers. His reputation with the world in general is perhaps greater than that of Beethoven, because there is more simplicity in his compositions; one key-note is more uniformly sounded, and a single emotion which can be shared by all is more effectively produced. But for that very reason he is less the object of impassioned admiration to the gifted few to whom the highest powers and deepest mysteries of the art are familiar, and who know how that great master could wield the former and penetrate the latter.

No Englishman need be told that HANDEL was a very great composer. In the composition of warlike music—of those strains which are to animate the soldier in the field of battle, and cause danger, and wounds, and death to be forgotten—he never was surpassed. It was not merely, however, in the composition of these animating and heart-stirring pieces that Handel was great; his powers were as various as they were transcendent, and no one has ever expressed the feelings of piety, the glow of adoration, with greater effect by the wordless but all-powerful eloquence of the ear. No musical festival can ever take place without his works occupying a prominent place, and from age to age they will continue, like the poems of Homer, to enchant successive generations, and perpetuate, in the most aerial of the fine arts, the glory of the Fatherland.

It has been the extraordinary lot of Germany to have produced, almost in a single generation, five of the greatest musical composers which the world ever knew. Little inferior to any of the three who had gone before him in the peculiar branches in which they excelled, MENDELSSOHN was superior to any in the felicity with which he wielded their varied powers. If his immortal predecessors exceeded him in separate compositions, he was superior to them in the genius of his combinations, and the bewitching manner in which he united in a single piece all the charms of melody and all the magic of harmony. Of him, as compared with Beethoven and Mozart, may be said, in the words of the poet, applied to the masters of song:

"The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
The next in tenderness—in both the last:
The force of Nature could no farther go;
To make a third, she joined the other two."

Mendelssohn's genius is of the very highest kind; there is no one capable of judging of the subject who does not regard it with the utmost enthusiasm. Beyond any other known composer—more so than either Rossini or Mozart—his compositions unite many and varied beauties, indicating a mind full of conceptions, and capable of turning its vast powers at will to the expression of any sentiment, the expression of any charm. In his "Lieder ohne Worte," of world-wide reputation, and his "Overture to the Mid-summer Night's Dream," he has shown himself as thorough a master of tenderness and brilliancy, as in his oratorios of "St. Paul" and "Elijah" he has of the lofty and sublime. This is the invariable characteristic of the highest class of genius—that which is master not less of itself than others, and can regulate, even in its wildest flights, the powers of an imagination which charms the world by a strength of mind which nothing can shake, a delicacy of taste which nothing can pervert.

SPHRE, the author of the celebrated opera of "Faust," and GLÜCK, of many famed ones, in particular "Iphigenie," Spohr and are both too celebrated in the musical Glück world not to deserve a place in the gallery, however imperfect, of German genius during the last half century. Their merits, universally appreciated by the musical world, are less so by the public in general, for a reason peculiar to music, or at least more applicable to it than to any other of the fine arts. This is, that though it is the one of the fine arts which in its simpler form is most universally felt by the whole of mankind, it is the one which, in its more complicated, is felt in its full force by the smallest circle. In truth, no one can duly appreciate, or even understand, the higher branches of music, to whom nature has not given not merely the delicacy of ear requisite for appreciating the charm of sound, but the flexibility and power of hand capable of producing it. Like the figures of Michael Angelo, he must be a thorough draughtsman who can even understand them.

Lord Bacon says that felicities are the blessings of the Old Testament, and misfortunes of the New. Never was a more striking example of the truth of this profound observation afforded than in the intellectual resurrection of Germany

during the last half century. It is sometimes well for nations as well as individuals to be in affliction. Compare the selfishness and egotism, the courtly corruption and popular indifference, the aristocratic pride and general submissiveness of the first part of this period, with the generous sacrifices and heroic struggles of the war of liberation, the intellectual activity, social amelioration, and vast stride in national energy, and in the development of the elements of future freedom which have succeeded it, and the immense impulse given to the German mind by the war of the French Revolution will at once appear. It is not in vain that their fields have been drenched in blood; that the chariot of Napoleon has rolled over their surface; that the iron of subjugation has entered their soul, its bitterness

87.
Reflections on
the influence
of recent dis-
asters on the
German mind.

been brought home to every dwelling; with those mortifications the courage was strengthened which might redress, in that agony the spirit was inhaled which might overcome them. Periods of suffering are seldom in the end lost to the cause of humanity, or the moral discipline of nations; it is the sunshine of prosperity which spreads the fatal corruption. The parallel bursts of Grecian genius after the Persian invasion; of Roman, with the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey; in Italy, after the effort of the Crusades; in England, with the Great Rebellion; in France, with the Revolution; in Germany, after the war of Liberation, prove that periods of national disaster form part of the general system of Divine administration, and are the great means by which individual selfishness is obliterated by common feeling, and energy called forth by the rude discipline of suffering.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRANCE FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE IN DECEMBER, 1831, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT IN THE CLOISTER OF ST. MÊRI IN JUNE, 1832, AND THE TREATY WITH HOLLAND IN MAY, 1833.

By the suppression of the Hereditary Peerage, and vesting the choice of the members of the Upper House for life in the executive, the French Revolutionists had carried out their principles, which were less directed against the Crown than the aristocracy, and aimed rather at equality of political rights than the establishment of security from restraint or personal freedom. But by so doing they had immensely increased the power of the executive magistrate, by whatever name he might be called, because they had rendered all the authorities in the State dependent upon his appointment, and made the Tuileries the centre from which not only all the real power, but all the lucrative patronage of the Government was to flow. To a generation thirsting for pleasure and excitement, and tormented with artificial wants, which, save from government appointments, they had no means of gratifying, this circumstance before long gave an immense preponderance to the Crown. Asiatic had been exchanged for European civilization; the prefects had come in place of the pashas; but with that change had come also the loss of that hereditary independence and fixity of purpose, which, from the influence of territorial possessions descending from father to son, has characterized European society, and in its room had been substituted the ephemeral changes of the Asiatic governments, where every thing depends on the vigor and capacity of the chief. But these effects were future: in the mean time, the result of the triumph of democracy was a vast addition to the power of the Executive; and the Citizen King, strong in the support of the army, the National Guard, the burgher Liberals, and a portion of the liberal press, all of whom were retained in his service by the influence of the immense patronage which he enjoyed, was for the present at least beyond the reach of attack.

But though the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil were beginning to germinate which were destined in the end to overturn it. The state of the working classes, especially in the great towns, which, as already shown,¹ had rapidly deteriorated since, and in consequence of, the first Revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous Reform agitation in

that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the production of luxuries—that is, the immense majority of the working classes—to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewelers or the printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty-two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nismes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, and the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such, that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. From 4 to 6 francs a day (8s. 4d. to 5s.), which they had been in the time of Charles X., the wages of skilled workmen had fallen successively to 40, 35, 25 sous; and at length, in October, 1831, matters had come to such a pass, that the most industrious workman could only earn 18 sous (8d.) a day by working eighteen hours; and even at those miserable wages numbers were out of employment altogether. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling, for even at these low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article, that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable, both threw numbers of workmen out of employment, and fearfully augmented the general consterna-¹ L. Blanc, iii. 18, 52.

The general condition of the working classes in France at this period is thus set forth by the able Republican and Socialist historian; and his description, as a picture of their circumstances after two successful revolutions, deserves a place beside that which Gibbon has transcribed from the contemporary annals of the condition of the Eternal City at the time of its capture by the Goths: "Never had society been abandoned to such disorders as those which now afflicted it under the direction of its official guides. There was an incessant strife of masters for the command of the market—of workmen for the command of employment; of the masters against the workman for the fixing of his wages—of the workman against the machine destined to destroy by superseding him; such was, under the name of free competition, the picture of the situation of France, viewed in an industrial aspect. What a picture of social disorder! The great capitalists gaining the victory in the strife, as the strong battalions in the field of battle, and the principle

1. Great increase of the power of the Crown from these changes.

2. Social dangers of the Government of France.

¹ Ante, c. xvii. † 122, 124.

of *laissez faire* leading to results as ruinous as the most odious monopolies; the great manufacturers ruining the small, and the great merchants the lesser; usury by degrees gaining possession of the soil—a *modern feudalism worse than the old*; the landed property burdened by debt to above a thousand millions (£40,000,000); independent artisans giving place to those who are mere serfs; capital ingulfing itself with shameless avidity in the most perilous undertakings; all interests armed, the one against the other! The proprietor of vines at open war with the proprietor of woods; the raisers of sugar with the raisers of beet-root; the colonies, the sea-port towns, with the manufacturers in the interior; the provinces of the north against the provinces of the south; Bordeaux against Paris; here markets overflowing to the despair of the capitalists, there work-shops shut to the despair of the workmen; commerce turned into a struggle of legalized frauds and understood falsehood; the nation advancing to the reconstruction of feudalism, by usury of a financial oligarchy, by credit; the discoveries of science turned only into instruments of oppression; the conquests of genius over nature into arms for the conflict; tyranny multiplied in some degree by the very magnitude of progress!

“Turn to the working classes: is their condition more encouraging? The *prolétaires* servant of a master workman Miserable condition of seeking, on a crisis, his bread by the working beggary or revolt; the father of the classes. workman going at sixty years of age to die in an hospital; his daughter at sixteen prostituting herself to gain a livelihood; his son doomed to breathe from seven years of age the contaminated air of great work-shops, to add to the earnings of the family; *the bed of the workman, rendered improvident by misery, becoming horribly fruitful, and the prolétaires* menacing the kingdom with an inundation of beggars! Such was the material condition of society. On the other hand, so far as their moral condition was concerned, no attachment to traditions; the spirit of inquiry, denying every thing, and yet affirming nothing, and acknowledging no other religion but the love of gain. Marriage made a matter of speculation, an object of business—a sort of industrial speculation—the cheapest way of providing a person to serve in a shop. As marriage, though contracted in that hideous fashion, was declared indissoluble by law, the want of divorce was, in Paris and all the great towns, almost always supplied by adultery. To the disorders which arose in families from the fragility of the nuptial tie, was joined the unseemly spectacle of the children disputing for the crumbs of the paternal inheritance with each other, or with their mother.

“In the working classes, the dissolution of families proceeded from a different cause, but one still more painful. Wretchedness of the Money among them was the main cause of prostitution. Marriage being among the *prolétaires* nothing but an increase of burdens, and libertinism an effort to escape from suffering, poverty came in a manner to be linked to poverty; misery engendered concubinage, and concubinage infanticide. If the children were spared, it was only to be sent at the most ten-

der age to manufactories, where the strength of the body was destroyed by premature and excessive labor, and the health of the mind destroyed by the contact of the sexes. There you see every morning at five, at the doors of the factories, a crowd of pale, sickly children, with downcast eyes and livid cheeks, walking with bent backs, like old men. The social system, founded on competition, is to such a degree cruel and insensate, that it not only stifles the intelligence and depraves the disposition of the poor man's child, but it even withers up and extinguishes in them the principle of life. Hence it was that M. Charles Dupin said in the Chamber of Peers, that out of 10,000 young men conscribed in the ten chief manufacturing districts of France, 8980 were found to be infirm or deformed; while out of a similar number in the agricultural districts there were only 4029.”¹ L. Blanc, iii. 90, 92.

Doubtless it would be unjust to impute the whole of this hideous picture to the Revolution. Many causes concurred to bring such a state of things about; and those who are familiar with the social state of our principal manufacturing cities, will find some at least of these features, with which they are too familiar. The facts, too, brought out by the last census of Great Britain, that out of one hundred children born in Manchester and Liverpool only forty-nine and a half survive the age of five years, and that in London three-fifths of the persons above twenty years of age have been born elsewhere, lead to the conclusion that the physical consequences of such employment and accumulation of human beings are nearly as formidable with us as on the other side of the Channel.* But still this striking picture of the state of France, after two successful revolutions, at least demonstrates that such social convulsions have no tendency to remove the greatest and most serious of social evils. And when it is recollected how large a portion of the darkest features in this picture is ascribed by the Republican historian to the desperate effects of the principle of competition pervading all classes, it is evident that they must very much have increased them; for the principle of revolution is to introduce absolute freedom of competition into every department of industry; and its inevitable effect, by diminishing the consumption of the rich, is to lessen the demand for labor, and increase the competition for employment.

From whatever cause they arose, the social evils of the manufacturing classes were such, in the latter months of the year 1831, that a convulsion had plainly become inevitable. Opinions differed among economists as to the causes

* In Glasgow, it appears from the admirable statistical tables prepared by my esteemed friend Dr. Strang, that in the years 1853, 1854, which were two of uncommon prosperity, the deaths of children under five years of age were 7046 and 6670 respectively, the registered births only 7597 and 6785 in these years, showing a rate of mortality much more alarming than either Manchester or Liverpool. There is reason to believe, however, that the real births were 13,000: showing still the deaths under five years of age above 50 per cent. of the whole. “Without a constant immigration from the country,” says Dr. Strang, “into the city, Glasgow, instead of continuing a city of progression, would be retrogressive in its population.”—*Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, 1856.* By Dr. STRANG. P. 7-18.

to which the inordinate distress was owing.

7. Some, among whom was the celebrated M. Say, had the courage to avow that they were mainly owing to the frantic innovations of the Constituent Assembly, which, by destroying all guilds, fraternities, and associations among the working

classes, had added tenfold force to the principle of competition, and left isolated destitute workmen, without leaders or corporate funds, to maintain a hopeless contest with their masters, resting on the resources of realized capital. Others, who were called the St. Simonians, from the Duke de St. Simon, their well-known leader, were of opinion that the capitalist was the real enemy of the workmen equally with the consumers of their produce, and that the only way to reinstate labor in the rights of which it had been defrauded was to get quit of that class of employers altogether, and thus divide among the operatives the entire profits arising from the sale of the produce of their labor. As this system, however, absolutely required an advance of capital while the work was going on, M. Enfantin, the present leader of that sect, published a prospectus of an elaborate plan, according to which, it was said, by means of an inconvertible paper money, and myriads of shares allotted to the workmen, the necessary capital might be provided in the mean time to carry on the work till the sales came in. This project, which appeared in *Le Globe* newspaper, conducted by M. Chevalier, a great advocate of these principles, appeared to Government so dangerous, that a prosecution was instituted against the responsible editor of the newspaper for permitting its insertion. In Great Britain it has experienced a much more decided check than from the penalties of the law, by having been repeatedly tried and always failed. But meanwhile the distress in Lyons became so excessive that distant remedies could no longer be thought of. Instant relief was required, and the people loudly demanded, as they generally do in such cases, a forcible interposition of the constituted authorities to fix a *minimum* below which

1 Cap. v. 409, 411; L. Blanc, whatever the prices of the produce iii. 53, 54. might be.¹

So ignorant were both the civil and military authorities in Lyons, at the time, of the principles which should regulate their conduct on such a crisis, that they went into these demands of the workmen; and a meeting of "Prudhommes," a sort of synod of workmen, called by General Roguet, the commander of the garrison, at once passed a resolution in favor of the fixing of a *minimum* for the workmen's wages.* The prefect of the city, M. Bouvier-Dumolard, a well-meaning and humane, but weak and partially instructed man, immediately adopted this principle, and on the 15th of October called a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce and mayors of Lyons and the three ad-

* "Considérant qu'il est dénotoriété publique que beaucoup de fabricants paient réellement des *saçons* trop minimes, il est utile qu'un *tarif au minimum* soit fixé pour le prix des *saçons*."—*Déclaration*, 11th Oct. 1831; L. BLANC, iii. 53.

joining suburbs, at which it was agreed that the basis of the proposed tariff should be openly debated between twenty-two workmen, elected by that class, and a like number of masters, appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, which was entirely composed of the masters. This concession to the principle contended for by the workmen excited great alarm among the master manufacturers over all France, who greatly dreaded the fixing of a tariff which the miserably low prices for every species of manufactured produce would render them unable to pay. The workmen, on the other hand, who could not be brought to see that if the *minimum* fixed was more than the masters could afford to pay, it would only lead to their own dismissal, loudly applauded the steps which had been taken; and the excitement among them had already become very great before the 25th of October, the day fixed for the discussion, arrived.¹

On that day the appearance of the population

was such as to excite the most serious disquietude. An immense multitude of workmen assembled on the heights of Croix-Rousse, where they principally resided, and silently and peaceably, but in military array, de-

scended through the town to the Place Bellecour, where the discussion was to go on. They had no arms, but a huge tricolor flag waved in the centre of the column, and a ribbon in the button-hole indicated the leaders they were respectively bound to obey. After a long discussion, a tariff was agreed on, and signed on both sides. The joy of the workmen at this victory was excessive; their houses were all illuminated in the evening, and songs of triumph and festivity were heard in all the public houses on the night of the signature. Proportionally great was the dismay among the masters, who loudly complained that the whole thing was unwarranted by law; that the concession on the part of their delegates had been extorted by threats and intimidation; and that those delegates had been appointed at a meeting of masters which a number of them had not attended, and by the proceedings of which they were not bound. All murmured against the tariff. Some refused to abide by it. They were prosecuted for their refusal before the council of "Prudhommes," and decree went against them. This only made matters worse. The general discontent among the masters went on increasing; and at length, on November 10, four hundred of the principal masters of Lyons signed a protest against the tariff, and declared they would no longer be bound by it. M. Dumolard, upon this, saw he had gone too far, and wrote a letter to the council of "Prudhommes," to say that the tariff had not the force of law, and therefore was not obligatory, except on such as chose to abide by it. At the same time, the Chamber of Commerce at Paris published a manifesto against the tariff and the conduct of M. Dumolard, and Government testified its displeasure at what had been done, and recommended that the tariff should be allowed quietly to become a dead letter.²

But it is an easier matter to excite the hopes

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 54, 55; Cap v. 417, 419, Ann. Hist. xiv. 276, 299.

² Progress of the strife between the masters and workmen.

Nov. 10.

Nov. 17.

² L. Blanc, iii. 56, 59; Moniteur, Nov. 19, 1831; Cap. v. 419, 420.

and passions of a starving multitude than to allay them when once excited. The murmurs and discontent of the workmen were now as loud as those of the masters had formerly been, and a review of the National Guard of Lyons on the

20th November brought matters to a crisis. Some, and they were the richest portion, were clothed in the splendid uniform of the Restoration; the legions from the poorer quarters were arrayed in the humbler garb prescribed in the last ordinances of Louis Philippe. This difference gave rise to sarcasms and menaces, and every thing announced a rupture on the day following. The prefect requested an interview with General Roguet; but the latter had become distrustful of him, from his leaning to the popular side, and refused to see him. The regular troops in Lyons only amounted to three thousand men, and on one of the regiments (the 66th of the line) little reliance could be placed. Bouvier-Dumolard had remonstrated with Government on the weakness of the garrison, but his representations met with no attention. General Roguet persisted in declaring that his measures were already taken, that there was nothing to fear; and the mayor of the Croix-Rousse shared his fatal security. Thus nothing was done to guard against the approaching danger but to station guards at the five gates leading from the Croix-Rousse to Lyons; while the workmen on that eminence spent the night in the most vigorous preparations for a decisive conflict on the succeeding day.¹

At seven in the morning of the 21st, some hundred silk-weavers set out from the Croix-Rousse, and, descending toward Lyons, began forcibly to eject from the work-shops those of the workmen who had agreed to take less than the tariff. They were

met by a column of grenadiers of the National Guard, composed of the masters; and as they refused to retire, the National Guard fired, and eight workmen fell severely wounded. Upon this the body retreated hastily to Croix-Rousse, where they spread, uttering cries of despair through the streets and lanes. Immediately a frightful tumult arose. Every where the cry was heard, "Aux armes! on assassine nos frères!" and with the rapidity of lightning furious combats issued from every house, armed with sticks, stones, and pitchforks. More effective weapons, however, were soon found in the muskets and two guns of the National Guard, which from the workmen's quarters of the city all joined them. Armed by this important accession of force, the workmen arrayed themselves in columns, threw up barricades, and again descended into the city, preceded by a banner, bearing the words, which are sublime from the intensity of feeling they exhibited, "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant."²

The remainder of the 20th was spent in vain endeavors on the part of M. Dumolard and General Roguet to effect an accommodation. The workmen demanded wages which the masters asserted would render sales on their part under existing circumstances impossible. The

générale beat in all quarters of the town, but not a third of the National Guard appeared, and those of the Croix-Rousse, La Guillotine, and the other suburbs, all took part with the insurgents.* More than half of the entire fire civic force of Lyons had joined the prefect them before the night of the 21st, and of such as had not, nearly the whole had disappeared and left their ranks. The prefect, in one of the parleys, when he was endeavoring to persuade the workmen to desist, was surrounded and made prisoner. General Ordonneau, who commanded the National Guard, was also made prisoner in the same manner, and the insurgents profited by that circumstance to force from him a written order to the only battalion of the National Guard which still resisted, to retire; which they, not knowing of his captivity, immediately did. Meanwhile, the fire of the national guards from the heights of Croix-Rousse on the streets below was so violent, that the regular troops were forced to retire, leaving the pavement covered with their dead. Toward night M. Dumolard and General Ordonneau were liberated by the rebels, in hopes that they might effect an accommodation; but the thing proved impossible, and both parties prepared, during the night, for a decisive conflict on the morrow.¹

The morning of the 22d was ushered in with mournful presages for the inhabitants of Lyons. The dismal clang of the tocsin was heard from the steeple of St. Paul's, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the whole inhabitants repaired to their different rallying-points, to take part on one side or another in the approaching conflict. At two in the morning the 40th regiment of the line arrived from Trévoux, but the reinforcements which the insurgents received were much more considerable. The sound of the tocsin, the discharges of the cannon, the rattle of the musketry, brought the whole population of the neighboring towns and villages into Lyons, many of whom were national guards with their arms, who forthwith joined the insurgents. The strife soon became general. General Roguet established a battery of guns to command the bridges Morand and Lafayette, from whence multitudes were pouring out of the Quartier des Brotteaux into Lyons, and for some time it had the desired effect. But meanwhile the whole city was in insurrection, and the regular troops, stationed in force on a few points, found themselves surrounded by bodies of insurgents four times their own number, for the most part composed of national guards as skillful in the use of arms as themselves. Cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard on all sides: from having been social, the insurrection had become political. The national guards on the side of Government gradually slipped away; before evening there were not thirty around their standards. The troops of the line in some

10. Commencement of the insurrection.

Nov. 20.

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 60, 61; Cap. v. 419, Ann. Hist. xiv. 280, 281.

11. The insurrection spreads, and proves successful.

Nov. 21.

² L. Blanc, iii. 64, 65; Cap. v. 419, 421; Moniteur, Nov. 22, 1831.

* "Des quatre bataillons de la Garde Nationale de Lyon, on peut à peine réunir six cents hommes—deux bataillons presque entiers, composés en majeure partie des ouvriers des quartiers de St. Georges et de St. Jean, passeront dans les rangs des insurgés, ainsi que ceux de la Guillotine et de la Croix-Rousse."—*Dépêche du Préfet*, 22 Nov., 1831; CARRÉLIER, v. 420.

instances fraternized with, and refused to act against them; in all, they opposed only a languid and reluctant resistance. They could not see how that could be wrong at Lyons which had been the object of such unbounded eulogy at Paris in the preceding year. At length, toward evening, the troops were driven back at all points to the Hôtel de Ville, which their chief rightly judged was untenable, as they had no communications or provisions. Accordingly, he resolved to evacuate the city, and take a position on some of the adjoining heights, there to await reinforcements and farther orders. The insurgents tried to bar their retreat, but a sustained fire soon dispersed the armed multitude which made the attempt. Attenuated, by fatigue, and thinned in numbers, but still maintaining their military aspect, and bearing with

them their cannons and wounded, the troops arrived at midnight at Montessuy, where they took up a position. The insurgents immediately occupied the Hôtel de Ville, and established a provisional government for the management of the city.¹

The first intelligence which the Government received of these events was by a telegraphic message, which simply announced that "an insurrection has broken out at Lyons, and the city is in the hands of the insurgents." The remainder of the telegraphic message was illegible from fog. The utmost alarm immediately seized upon both the Government and the people. In the twinkling of an eye, the most alarming rumors were in circulation; that the insurrection had spread like lightning through all the adjoining towns and villages; that the workmen of St. Etienne, Vienna, and Taras had united with those of Lyons; that insurrections had broken out at Grenoble and Toulon, and that Rouen and Bordeaux were prepared to follow the example. Such was the general panic, that the Funds fell 5 per cent. in a single day. But whatever apprehensions were felt by the Government, no vacillation or want of resolution appeared in their measures. A cabinet council was immediately held, at which M. Casimir Périer exhibited the utmost irritation at the revolt, and called for the most vigorous measures for its repression. Marshal Soult, who, as war-minister, was present, declared, "that he would engage to prevent the movement from proceeding farther, if clothed with sufficient powers. He should be authorized to assemble sufficient forces round Lyons: they should march instantly upon that city, so as not to give it time to know what it was about. An old soldier himself, he would not spare his person; he would speak to the regiments—he would restore their courage. The more force there was displayed, the less blood would be shed. In order to give an air of clemency to the proceeding, the Prince-Royal should accompany Marshal Soult, that measures of mercy might reflect their lustre on the Crown." This wise advice was unanimously agreed to: it was determined to give no terms to the rebels, but insist on unconditional surrender;² and orders were immediately dispatched by the telegraph for all the troops within fifty miles of

Lyons to converge with the utmost expedition toward that city, and join General Roguet in position before it.

Meanwhile Lyons exhibited a spectacle perhaps unique in the history of the world. The prefect had remained at the Hôtel de Ville when the troops withdrew, with the laudable design of being a check upon the insurgents, by whom he was much beloved. The real power, however, resided with them, as he had no force, civil or military, at his disposal; and to their honor be it said, no acts of outrage or disorder disgraced the victory of the people. They even went so far as to station guards and sentinels at all the important points to preserve order, and aid in transporting the wounded of both sides to the hospitals. They seemed to have no definite or ulterior object in view, but, like the Vendéans, thought the victory was gained, and nothing remained to do when the enemy was driven out of their streets. The prefect still issued his orders from the Hôtel de Ville, which were generally obeyed, though, as might be supposed, they were such as accorded with the wishes of the workmen; and he engaged to exert his influence to the utmost to obtain the restoration of the tariff, and an advance in the wages of labor.³

But this pleasing illusion was of short duration. General Roguet had already collected seven thousand men in his camp at Montessuy, when the telegraph announced to him the vigorous resolutions of the Government. Reinforcements rapidly poured in on all sides. On the evening of the 2d December, forty thousand men, with one hundred pieces of cannon, were collected round Lyons, and at midnight of the 3d a salvo of artillery announced the arrival of the Prince-Royal and Marshal Soult at the camp. The Marshal spoke in severe terms to the regiments which had failed in their duty, and published a proclamation to the citizens, ordering instant submission and the delivery of all arms. Resistance was hopeless in presence of so great a force, and on the day following the Marshal made his entrance at the head of his troops, with drums beating, matches lighted, bayonets fixed, and sabres drawn, in the midst of all the pomp and circumstance of war. Stupefied and terrified, the workmen attempted no resistance, and the most decisive measures were immediately adopted to break their power. The disarming was instantly and rigorously enforced, the National Guard disbanded, a garrison of twenty thousand men stationed in the city, and the Croix-Rousse, where the insurrection had begun, surrounded by a girdle of forts, armed with mortars. M. Dumolard was censured, and his resignation accepted, and a new prefect appointed of firm character, and entirely devoted to the existing Government.⁴

* The terrible results of the attempt on the part of M. Dumolard to interfere, by positive enactment, in regulating the wages of labor, demonstrates the extreme danger of any such interposition on the part of those invested with authority. Such dangers are by no means unknown in this country. The Author has been repeatedly urged, during strikes and periods of mercantile depression, by

14. Extreme alarm at Paris, and vigorous measures of the Government.

15. Arrival of Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, and submission of Lyons. Dec. 3.

16. L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433.

17. L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433; Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1831.

18. L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433; Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1831.

19. L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433; Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1831.

20. L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433; Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1831.

So ignorant were the most sagacious politicians in France at that period of the magnitude of the social evils which then pressed upon the country, and were destined in the end to lead to such frightful results, that the public mind was entirely relieved when it was discovered what the insurrection really was directed against. "It is nothing," said the organs of Government; "it is only a dispute between masters and workmen about their wages." "Assured," said the *Journal des Debats*, "of external peace, surrounded by a powerful army united under the tricolor flag, the Government have no cause to apprehend any thing from this insurrection but local and private suffering—very serious without doubt, but which will be lessened by the force of legal repression." The Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King, in which they said: "We hasten to lay before your majesty the unanimous wish of the deputies of France, that you should oppose to these deplorable excesses the whole power of the laws. Personal security has been violently attacked, property menaced in its principle, the liberty of industry threatened with destruction, the voice of the magistrates disregarded. These disorders must instantly cease, such attempts must be energetically repressed. Entire France is wounded in the attack made on the rights of all in the persons of some citizens; it owes them a decisive protection." There can be no doubt of the truth of these words; but it is singular that it had never occurred to the Legislature, when they overturned the government of Charles X., that the example then so generally applauded might be repeated, and under circumstances of general distress, when it might be more readily embraced by the great body of the working classes. The evils now so much condemned as a "mere dispute between masters and workmen about wages," within seventeen years afterward overturned the throne of Louis Philippe, and convulsed every monarchy in Europe! One of the most curious and instructive lessons which history teaches is the entire formation of general opinion in all ranks by present events, and the impossibility of getting the great majority of men even to reflect upon the past or anticipate the future.¹

The Republicans were much more alive to the signs of the times. Without disquieting themselves more than the burgher representatives in the Legislature with the causes of the general distress or the means of obviating it, they were content to take the existing suffering as it stood, and to make use of it as a powerful engine to overturn the Government. They ac-

the cotton-spinners, colliers, iron-miners, and iron-moulders of Lanarkshire, to interpose his authority as chief magistrate of the county to a certain rate of wages, or to accept a submission on the part of the workmen to fix what they should be. He always declined, however, upon the grounds—1. That he had no power to fix wages; 2. That if he had the power he would not exercise it, because if he fixed the rate too low, it would do the workmen no good: if too high, it would lead to their being dismissed, and the works being closed, and thus essentially injure them. The distress on which the applications were founded, has been often as great in his experience in Glasgow as it was in Lyons in 1831, when M. Dumolard sanctioned the tariff.

cordingly set themselves vigorously to work to improve their present advantages, both in the press and the Legislature. On January 2, M. ARMAND CARREL, in the *National*, openly declared for a republic; and a few days after, M. Garnier Pages entered the Chamber of Deputies avowedly to support the same principle. The former of these men bore too conspicuous a part in the disturbances which ensued in the course of the year, not to deserve a place in contemporary history. His appearance and manners, his erect stature, piercing eye, and intrepid air, bespoke rather the soldier than the civilian, and his early life had been passed in camps. An officer under the Restoration, he had been faithless to his oaths, and joined in the conspiracy of Befort; repeatedly tried before courts-martial for accession to plots, he had escaped them all; a refugee in Spain, he had borne arms there against the white flag. Upon the ruin of the Peninsular republicans by the French invasion of 1823, he came to Paris, where he gained a livelihood by writing for the most violent democratic journals, and soon acquired a reputation by the vigor of his ideas and the fearlessness of his language. Irony and sarcasm were his favorite weapons, and these he wielded with tremendous effect. He did little to defend his own principles; he took them for granted, and bent the whole force of his intellect to wither and crush his adversaries. His writings exhibit little information, and no traces of originality of thought, but great vigor and capacity in individual encounter. A political dispute with him was like a single combat, in which he freely hazarded his own life, and sought only to destroy that of his adversary. But though this turn of mind deprives his writings of all value for future times, or as a magazine of thought, they only rendered them the more attractive to the present, with which a dispute of persons is always more exciting than one of principles, and which is ever happy to step from the strife of parties into a duel of individuals.¹

GARNIER PAGES was in all these respects, the very reverse of Armand Carrel, and as well fitted to win the suffrages of an adverse Legislature as the latter was to excite the passion of concordant democracy. His youth had been spent in assiduous industry, the happy consequence often of apparently rigorous fortune, which had compelled him early in life to exertion. From the outset, however, he was set on great things; the ordinary advantages of wealth or station had for him no charm. "Do you take care of our fortune," said he to his brother; "I will labor for the glory of our name." Such energy and elevated objects were not long, as they seldom are, of meeting with their reward; and his entry into the Chamber brought him into the theatre where his peculiar talents had their most appropriate field for exertion. A long habit of close attention, great practical acquaintance with men, a temper proof against all the acerbities of strife, a ready elocution, and remarkable facility of expression, without any of the highest powers of eloquence, rendered him eminently qualified to contend in the Chamber with a hostile majority. Many men had been heard there more qualified to bear down oppo-

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 26, 1831; L. Blanc, *iii.* 85, 86.

iii. 142, 143; *Cap. vi.* 189.

¹⁰ Garnier Pages: his character.

sition by the torrent of eloquence; none more fitted to disarm opposition by the charm of manner and the tact of expression. Though a decided Republican in his ideas, and the avowed organ of that party in the Assembly, he never rose without commanding the attention of all parties; and his bland manner and moderate ideas went far to detach the cause of a commonwealth from the bloody images

¹ L. Blanc, with which it had been associated by the Reign of Terror.¹

Under the direction of those able leaders, the Republican party soon made itself felt both in the Chamber and the public press. Several journals, particularly the *Fortune*, the *Revolution*, the *Movement*, the *National*, openly advocated republican ideas, and declaimed incessantly against the extravagance of the Court, and the entire departure of the King from the principles which had placed him upon the throne. M. de Cermenin in an especial manner excelled in this guerrilla warfare, which was the more attractive to the multitude that it was leveled at individuals, not directed against principles. It must be confessed that the extravagance and insatiable demands of the courtiers afforded him too fair a subject of declamation. The civil list brought forward by Ministers proposed to settle no less than 18,585,500 francs (£748,000) a year on the King: a sum, said the Republicans, thirty-seven times as large as that settled on Napoleon as First Consul, and a hundred and forty-eight times as large as the salary of the President of the United States of America. The enormity of this grant was the more conspicuous from the circumstance that the private fortune of the King, derived from the noble restoration of it by Charles X., which he had not blended with the property of the Crown, in terms of the law of 8th November, 1814, amounted to no less than 2,500,000 francs yearly (£100,000), besides 4,000,000 (£160,000) a year from lands and forests.²

To complete the picture of the results of the rule of the Citizen King, there appeared at the same time a notice from one of the boards of charity in Paris, to the effect that "24,000 persons on the lists of the poor in the twelfth arrondissement alone were without either bread or clothing." Already the people began to contrast the extravagance of the establishment of the revolutionary with the economy of that of the legitimist monarch; and it did not escape observation that the charges of the chapel-royal were ten times greater than they had been under Charles X., though no one accused Louis Philippe of being priest-ridden; that though he enjoyed excellent health, the apothecaries' bill was stated at 80,000 francs (£3200) yearly, being quadruple that of the gouty and decrepit Louis XVIII.; that 300 horses were set down at 1000 crowns a head, being twice the salary of a member of the Privy Council or a member of the Institute; that the allowance for the personal service of the King was 3,773,000 francs (£150,000) a year, though he affected a philosophic contempt for all physical enjoyments; and that the civil list of Charles X. never exceeded 11,500,000 francs (£450,000), though it

was charged with numerous expenses thrown on the nation by his successor. So great was the clamor, that though the Ministers carried their grant to the King, no less than 180 members of the Chamber protested with Odillon Barrot against so extravagant a waste of the public money, and 107 actually voted against the grant. The truth was, that the King personally was not addicted, as many of his ancestors had been, to any great expenses, but he was surrounded by needy supporters, whose demands could not be refused: and France now began to waken to the disagreeable truth, that the more democratic an old government is, the greater become its expenses; and that a throne surrounded by republican institutions, in reality means a throne surrounded by republican mendicants.³

These extravagant charges for the royal household were the ones most likely to irritate the people; but in reality they constituted a very small part of the national expenditure. The great bulk of it was occasioned by the vast additions made to the strength of the army; and they were so considerable, that the estimated expenditure of the year was stated by the Minister of Finance at above 1,100,000,000 francs (£44,000,000), being greatly above that of the last year of Charles X., which had been 987,000,000 francs only.* M. Lafitte boasted in the Chamber, that in the first months of the year 1832 France would have 500,000 regular troops and 1,000,000 national guards under arms, besides all the fortresses armed and provisioned; and so she had, but the cost occasioned an enormous addition to the public expenditure, which greatly swelled the general discontent. In truth, the expense was unavoidable, and was the necessary consequence of the change of government. The overthrow of Charles X. had excited a spirit, both in France and the adjoining states, which the new Government, how anxious soever, was unable to control. The revolution in Belgium, the democratic movements in Switzerland, the attack of the Repub-

* The budget of the year 1832 was thus stated by the Minister of Finance:

Recevoir.		France.
Contributions directes	.....	353,135,909
Additionnelle	.....	1,077,000
Timbre et domaines	.....	196,225,000
Bois	.....	18,000,000
Douanes	.....	60,910,000
Contributions indirectes	.....	171,000,000
Postes	.....	34,290,000
Loterie	.....	8,000
Salines et mines	.....	23,185,568
Moyens extraordinaires	.....	148,498,267
		1,116,323,058 or £44,750,000
Dépenses.		France.
Dette consolidée	.....	215,768,242
Flotante pensions, etc.	.....	129,686,661
Dotations	.....	17,323,417
Justice	.....	18,374,700
Etrangères affaires	.....	6,939,700
Instruction publique	.....	36,327,863
Intérieur	.....	3,869,600
Commerces et travaux publics	.....	122,504,569
Guerre	.....	209,030,400
Marine	.....	65,173,900
Finances	.....	24,156,900
Administration du revenu public	.....	114,759,433
Remboursements	.....	42,960,445
		1,106,618,270 or £44,340,000

—Ann. Hist., xv. 96-99 (Doc. Hist.).

licans on Spain, the overthrow of the government in Hesse-Cassel, had entirely done away with the prestige in favor of Louis Philippe which at first existed at the Continental courts, from his having interposed between them and a general convulsion. They doubted now, not his inclination, but his ability to restrain the movement, and all were rapidly arming in their own defense. Prussia took up arms to defend her provinces on the Rhine, Austria to protect her possessions in Italy, Russia to overawe the malcontents on the Vistula. France was placed by its own act in a state of antagonism with all Europe: its inhabitants had already discovered that, though revolutions may be very exciting things, they are very expensive; and that a people which plays the part of knocker-down and putter-up of kings must be content to pay the charges contingent on the assumption of such a character.

So general was the discontent excited by these circumstances, that it led to various plots among the Republicans in different parts of France. One, called the conspiracy of Notre Dame, consisted in an attempt, made by a dozen desperadoes, to set fire to that venerable pile, as a signal, it was supposed, for a general insurrection in the capital. The flames took effect, and were with difficulty extinguished. One of the incendiaries, arrested on the spot, being interrogated as to his profession, answered, "an émutier." Twelve persons were seized in the cathedral under the most suspicious circumstances, but five only were convicted, and that only of the minor offense of concealing a conspiracy, which was only punishable with imprisonment. It appeared on the trial that the police had been warned, and taken no steps to prevent it.

Jan. 17. Shortly after, a more serious conspiracy was discovered, the centre of which was in the Rue Prouvaires, in which some partisans of the Royalists and leaders of the Napoleonists were engaged. The object of the conspirators, who were said to be connected with extensive ramifications in the neighboring towns, was to march on the Tuilleries and overturn the Government. The police had information all along from some traitors in the plot of what was going on, but they allowed it to proceed till the designs of the conspirators were approaching maturity. They then acted, and with such effect, that the chiefs, in number about two hundred, were arrested at their place of meeting in the Rue Prouvaires at midnight, after some resistance, in which a sergeant of police was killed, and several of the conspirators wounded. Paris was astonished next morning by the report of so considerable an arrest during the night, and the ringleaders were tried and convicted some months afterward.¹

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 17, 1832; *Cap. vi.* 72, 73; *L. Blanc*, iii. 168, 177.

These alarming symptoms in Paris were re-echoed by equally threatening notices from the provinces. At Toulouse, Strasbourg, and Grenoble, there had, during the whole winter, been repeated altercations between the military and the citizens, in which it was observed that the National Guard generally took part with the

latter. At length, in the middle of March, matters came to a crisis in the latter city. A foolish dispute had got up there between the prefect and citizens about a masquerade of children and a masked ball, which he, dreading ulterior designs, had prohibited.* Great discontent existed at this act of authority, and cries of "A bad prefect!" were heard in the streets, where groups of murmuring and threatening malcontents were soon formed. The prefect, alarmed at these appearances, called out the military, and the *général* beat to assemble the National Guard; but as usual at that time, none obeyed the summons. Upon this, orders were given to the military to clear the streets. They advanced accordingly with fixed bayonets, and several of the mob received wounds from that weapon before the assemblage was dispersed. No great mischief had been done on either side, but in the excited state of men's minds, extreme indignation arose among the people. The whole inhabitants rose, and were joined by vast multitudes from the country, and soon the prefect, whose firmness in presence of danger was not equal to his rashness in provoking it, was obliged to take refuge in his hotel, and the soldiers, to avoid a collision, were confined to their barracks. The National Guard joined the insurgents; the city for two days was in their possession. Such was the threatening aspect of affairs, that General Hulot, who arrived with a regiment of dragoons and a battery of cannon from Lyons, deemed it expedient to withdraw the obnoxious regiment from the city, which at length appeased the tumult.¹

These repeated outbreaks in so many different places soon after each other, convinced Casimir Périer both of the futility of the National Guard as any security against popular disturbances, and of the necessity of presenting some object of external interest to the French, to prevent them from perpetually brooding over their internal grievances. In Flanders, the avowed object of French predilection and ambition, any hostile expedition was coerced by the jealous alliance of England, and the open hostility of Prussia, whose battalions were assembling in warlike attitude on the banks of the Meuse. Italy, therefore, was the quarter where an exciting and interesting eruption could with least risk be made; and although it could not of course be attempted without awakening the jealousy of Austria, yet her hostility was less to be dreaded than that of England and Prussia, and her finances and military preparations were not in such a state as to render it probable that in any event she would actually draw the sword. An expedition to Italy was therefore resolved on, in the double view of presenting a distraction to French thought at home, and counteracting Austrian influence abroad; and Ancona was the place to which it was determined to send the expeditionary force.²

* Three of the figures in the masquerade were meant to represent the budget, and two supplementary budgets; a circumstance which sufficiently proved the political character of the procession, but at which any man of sense, so as matters did not go farther, would only have laughed.

¹ *L. Blanc*, ii. 193, 205; *Cap. vi.* 74, 75; *Ann. Hist. xiv.* 272, 274.

² Expedition to Ancona resolved on, and its reasons.

³ *Cap. vi.* 14, 16; *Ann. Hist. xv.* 97, 99.

The situation of Italy at this period was such, it must be confessed, as to invite, and in a manner justify, such an intervention. Its inhabitants had never recovered the shock of the revolution of July, and such had been the agitation in the Roman States in particular, that, on the requisition of the papal government, the Austrians had, in the spring of 1831, moved a body of troops into Romagna, and Marshal Firmont, with 20,000 men, occupied Bologna. The French government had remonstrated against that step; but its military preparations were at that period too incomplete to admit of any ulterior measure, and the Austrian troops remained in the Legations, where their presence, though not openly resisted, was a perpetual cause of irritation and discontent. Aware that this state of things could not long continue without inducing a rupture between them, France and Austria, with the concurrence of the other powers, by a joint note on May 21, 1831, invited his

Holiness to appease the discontents of his subjects by introducing among them some of the reforms which were most ardently desired and seemed most reasonable. These were, that provincial assemblies, elected by a certain degree of popular choice, should be established to regulate local concerns; that a central junta should be organized to revise the administrative departments of the government; that laymen should be admitted to all its offices; and a council of state appointed, composed of the most respectable and eminent men in the nation.¹

How reasonable soever these demands may appear to those who are accustomed to the actions of a constitutional government, they were far from meeting the views of the Holy See, which was desirous, above all things, of retaining the administration of affairs in the hands of the ecclesiastics, and excluding every approach to popular control. Accordingly, although the pontifical court declared its willingness to make every concession which could reasonably be desired, yet the changes made, which were expressed as done *ex proprio motu*, were far from satisfying the general wish; chiefly because, though provincial assemblies were established, their members were chosen, not by popular election, but by the governors of provinces, and laymen were excluded from the government of the Legations. The public discontent, accordingly, so far from being appeased, went on continually increasing. At length matters reached such a crisis, and the disturbances in the Legations were so threatening, that on the 10th January, 1832, the papal government announced to the ambassadors of the five powers the resolution they had taken of marching troops into the Legations, and disarming the civic guards. England strongly disapproved this step, but it was cordially approved by the other powers; and strange to say, the French ambassador, M. de St. Anlaire, expressed his entire acquiescence in it.* Not-

withstanding these unfavorable circumstances, the inhabitants of Romagna were in such a state of excitement that they resolved on resistance. A conflict took place on the plains of Cesena, which the insurgents, 8000 strong, though they had only three pieces of cannon, and the Pontifical troops were double their number, maintained with great courage; but they were at length routed, and the victorious soldiers, pursuing the fugitives, made their way into Forlì, which underwent all the horrors of a town taken by assault. Soon after Ravenna was occupied by the Pope's troops, the passage of the Bastia was forced, and the whole sea-coast of the Adriatic fell into their hands.¹

The civic guards and insurgents upon these disasters retired to Bologna, where they concentrated from all quarters. Their position and numbers were there so threatening that the Pontifical generals did not deem themselves strong enough to hazard an attack without external aid, and they applied to Count Radezky, governor of Milan, for assistance accordingly. The Austrian general, in obedience to the orders of his court, and in accordance with a secret convention previously concluded with the court of Rome, lost no time in complying with the request, and on 28th January 6000 Imperialists, under General Grabowsky, entered Bologna, where they were next day followed by 8000 of the Pontifical troops. These forces were so considerable as to render resistance hopeless, and forcibly re-establish tranquillity in the Papal States to the north of the Apennines. But in so doing it roused a new storm to the north of the Alps, and it soon appeared that the peace of Europe was put in imminent hazard by this intervention.²

Casimir Périer had long had his eye on the disturbances in Italy, both from jealousy of Austria and the wish to prevent an object of counter-irritation to of Ancona. the discontent of France; and the occupation of Bologna by the Austrians appeared to him to present a favorable opportunity for intervention. His designs were taken with decision, secrecy, and skill. The Suffrein ship of the line and two frigates were immediately fitted out for sea, and 2500 men, under Colonel Combe, embarked on board them, with orders to proceed with all possible expedition to Ancona and occupy that town; while at the same time General Cubières, who was to command the expedition, was dispatched to Rome to prepare the cabinet of the Vatican for the invasion of their territory. Some accidental delays retarded the journey of General Cubières; and on the other hand, the expedition met with so favorable a passage that it arrived first in the Roman States. On the 22d February, at daybreak, three strange vessels were descried from the

* "S'il arrivait," disait l'ambassadeur de France, M. de St. Anlaire, "que dans leur mission toute pacifique, les troupes exécutant les ordres de leur souverain rencontrassent une résistance coupable, et que quelques factieux

osassent commencer une guerre civile aussi insensée dans son but que funeste dans ses résultats, le sousigné ne fait aucune difficulté à déclarer que ces hommes seraient considérés comme les plus dangereux ennemis de la paix générale, par le gouvernement Français."—*Notes de M. de St. Anlaire*, 10th January, 1832. Louis BLANC, iii. 182.

walls of Ancona, which soon hoisted French colors, and made straight for the mole. France being a friendly power, they were admitted without suspicion into the harbor, and they instantly landed the troops, to the unbounded astonishment of the inhabitants, and made straight for the citadel, of which they required the immediate surrender. The governor in vain demanded some respite in order to ascertain whether this occupation was or was not authorized by his government. Colonel Combe, a resolute veteran of the school of Napoleon, would admit of no delay, and threatened an immediate assault if the place was not instantly surrendered. The governor, being wholly unprepared, was in no condition to resist, and he accordingly capitulated. The troops immediately entered, and the tricolor flag was hoisted from the citadel, while the Austrian standards were seen only three leagues distant in the plains.¹

No words can describe the astonishment in Italy, and the indignation of the papal government, when these events were made known. General Cuvier arrived at Rome two hours after the intelligence had been received, and he experienced the first burst of the Pope's indignation. "There has been nothing like this since the days of the Saracens," were the first words he uttered. "We have only imitated the Austrians," replied M. de St. Aulaire: "they occupied, and we occupied." Though there was much truth in this rejoinder, yet it afforded little consolation to the government of the Vatican that their territory had in this manner become the object of a double occupation by the transmontane states; and they accordingly transmitted a very angry note on the subject to the cabinet of the Tuileries, and for some time the attitude of the court of Rome as well as of the cabinet of Vienna was very hostile. The storm, however, blew over: neither state was as yet prepared for war, and the Austrians were satisfied, or feigned to be so, with the assurance that a temporary occupation by a limited number of troops was alone intended. In Italy the descent of the French, and the sight of the tricolor flag, excited the most unbounded transports. It was immediately displayed from every window in Ancona: the state prisons were forthwith thrown open, and the captives liberated; and the people, fraternizing in the coffee-houses

and the streets with the French soldiers, surrendered themselves for a brief season to the pleasing illusion of Italian independence.²

¹ L. Blanc, *iii.* 186, 189; *Cap.* vi. 30, 32; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 437, 441.

The excitement of these events, external and internal, was cut short in Paris, in the end of March, 1832, by the appearance of a domestic enemy more formidable than any foreign foe. The CHOLERA had for some months past been making strides from Asia through the east of Europe, and its regular progress, like that of civilization, from east to west, gave too certain assurance that it would soon make its appearance even in its most westerly states. This anticipation was not long of being realized. On the 29th March the commissary of police announced, in the middle of a ball at the Op-

era, the sinister intelligence—"The cholera is in Paris;" and this was shortly after followed by the publication of an official bulletin confirming the intelligence, and announcing that the cases in the hospitals already amounted to twenty-six. Indescribable was the terror which this announcement produced. The march of the terrible unknown epidemic across Russia, Poland, and Germany, had been watched with intense anxiety, and rumor had even exaggerated the terrors of its approach. In truth, they were sufficiently formidable without any addition from the power of imagination. The dreadful disease, springing apparently from the hot marshes of the Nile or the Ganges, advanced with ceaseless march through the air, unchecked either by the skill of man or the force of nature. Neither a long tract of wind blowing from the west, nor the utmost sanitary or police precautions in all the realms over which it had passed, could arrest its dreaded approach. The journals of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Constantinople were filled at the same time with the details of its devastation, the terrors of its advent. They were soon too fatally verified. A few ventured the first day to discredit the report, but it was soon ascertained to be too true. On the very next day the deaths amounted to one hundred and fifty; and the police, by whom the scourge had long been expected, and who had taken every precaution against it, issued the most urgent proclamations, enjoining implicit and instant obedience to the sanitary regulations which had been promulgated.¹

In Paris, as in all other places which it has visited, the symptoms of this terrible epidemic baffled alike the efforts of its extraordinary medical skill, the anticipations of reason, and the deductions of experience. To all appearance the poison came through the air, and was inhaled, in the first instance at least, by the lungs; yet how was this reconcilable with its constant progress from east to west, in opposition to the wind, which in all the states of western Europe blows two hundred and fifty days in the year, and nearly all the autumn and winter, from west to east? The character of the disease, and the localities in which it sometimes appeared with most virulence, led to the general belief that filth, and impurity of water or air, were most likely to aggravate it: but although many facts apparently supporting this opinion very generally occurred, yet others of a directly opposite character were not long of showing themselves; and in many places, while the filthiest and worst-aired quarters of cities escaped almost untouched, the pestilence seized with most virulence on those who dwelt in the most cleanly and well-aired.*

* In Glasgow, where cholera has broken out three times with great violence, these contradictory symptoms have been clearly evinced. In 1848, which was its second visit, while the low and ill-aired districts, abounding with filth and the lowest lodging-houses, crowded with Irish, were almost untouched, the highest, richest, and best-aired part of the city, that of Blythwood Hill, had one or more deaths in every house. The vast influence of intoxication in predisposing to the reception of the poison was clearly proved by the fact, that after having been three weeks in the city, the deaths had not risen, on 3d December, 1847, to more than 30 or 40 a day; but on 2d January, after the drunkenness of the New Year, they at

² 31. First appearance of cholera in Paris. March 30.

appearance of a domestic enemy more formidable than any foreign foe. The CHOLERA had for some months past been making strides from Asia through the east of Europe, and its regular progress, like that of civilization, from east to west, gave too certain assurance that it would soon make its appearance even in its most westerly states. This anticipation was not long of being realized. On the 29th March the commissary of police announced, in the middle of a ball at the Op-

¹ *Moniteur*, April 1, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 142, 144; *Cap.* vi. 82, 83.

³² Its extraordinary and unlooked-for symptoms

The first symptoms of the disease seemed to indicate the existence of some poisonous or deleterious matter in the system, which nature was making an effort to throw off; yet the mode of treatment which has uniformly proved most successful to arrest at least the premonitory symptoms, are laudanum, or other binding medicine, which might retain the poison in it. Its sudden advent, and its appearance among many different persons in different places at the same time, clearly demonstrates that it is at first epidemic, and not merely transmitted, like the plague, by contact: yet subsequent experience has every where brought to light many facts which lead to the conclusion that it is, in its later stages at least, contagious. It is not surprising that a pestilence attended with such strange and contradictory symptoms should for long baffle medical skill, and give rise to more than even the usual amount of difference of opinion among medical men. They have at length, however, it is believed, very generally united in the opinion that it is first induced by an atmospheric influence, though rather one connected with electricity than what is inhaled by the lungs; that it is both epidemic and contagious; that filth and insalubrious air aggravate the disease, by weakening the frames of those exposed to its influence, not producing itself; that mental depression, or the reaction of intoxication, powerfully predisposes for its reception; and that medical skill, though all-powerful in arresting it in its commencement, has very little influence in its later stages, and is efficacious rather by aiding the patient to survive the malady than by subduing itself.

When this terrible pestilence first made its appearance in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, the suddenness of its spread, and the symptoms of violent bowel-complaint with which it always commenced, gave rise to immediate suspicion of the food or water used having been poisoned, and serious disturbances took place in consequence. The same thing took place on its first appearance in Paris. To increase the panic occasioned by the natural symptoms of the disease, and pervert it to political purposes,

some abandoned wretches there were said to have put poison into the public wells and fountains, and a police magistrate in Paris had the infatuation to publish a proclamation on the subject. The consequences might easily have been foreseen. The populace rose in crowds in the thickly-peopled quarters of the city, seized upon the persons whom they suspected of being implicated in these atrocities, and proceeded to execute what they deemed justice upon them with their own hands. Two men, suspected of being poisoners, having been arrested in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and sent under a guard to the Hôtel de Ville, the mob defied the police, seized the supposed offenders, and threw one into the Seine. Two others were only rescued from death by the courageous efforts of the Municipal Guard, which extricated them out of the hands of the populace as they were stringing them up to the street lamps. The horrors of the Revolution seemed to be recommencing through the effects of one of the most awful visitations of Providence.¹

Yet were the terrors of that mournful time really so great as to require no addition at the hands of man. In the Real densely-peopled quarters of the city, where the ravages of the pestilence were greatest, the appearances which Boccaccio has immortalized in Italy, and Defoe in England, were again exhibited. The deaths increased with frightful rapidity, and by the 9th April they had risen to 864 a day, of whom nearly half were in public hospitals. So great a mortality, which was in a great part produced in limited quarters of the city, diffused universal consternation. Terror seized upon every one; the most ordinary and harmless occupations of life became suspected, and were prohibited. A rumor got up that the scavengers spread the epidemic from their frequent contact with filth; they were chased in consequence from the worst parts of the city, and the streets were choked with dunghills, which no one ventured to remove. The theatres, by public command, remained open; but the actors, a thing unheard of in Paris, played to empty benches. The usual litters for carrying patients to the public hospitals could no longer suffice, and seven hundred men were employed in constructing new ones; but none could be found to carry them. The artillery wagons upon this were put in requisition to collect the dead, and remove the living to their places of treatment; but the mournful sound of the wheels froze every heart with horror, as they passed along at night through the deserted streets, and the jolting of the wheels caused the dead bodies to burst, and a frightful line of putrid matter marked the track of the wheels. At last the terror became such that no one was to be seen in the streets but those who were engaged in tending the living or burying the dead. Funerals, even of the most respected persons, were conducted without pomp or attendants, generally at daybreak. The dead among the poor were thrown into the graves with their clothes on without ceremony of any sort, as on the field of battle. In the general danger, as in all similar emergencies, selfishness prevailed in the

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 144, 145; Cap. vi. 86, 89; L. Blanc, iii. 232, 235.

once rose to 239. The deaths in the three years of the epidemic were:

Years.	Deaths.	Population.
1832	3,005	310,000
1848	3,777	320,000
1853	4,613	400,000

—STRANO'S *Vital Statistics of Glasgow*, p. 9.
In Paris the same strange and unexpected results appeared. "A Passy, où l'air est si pur, le nombre des décès s'éleva à 25 par 1000 habitans, tandis qu'il y eut à peine 16 morts par 1000 habitans dans l'atmosphère empestée de Montfaucon. Parmi les communes rurales, si quelques villages remarquables par leur salubrité, tels que Chateaufort, Viary, Chabellon, eurent en point de cholériques, d'autres qui se trouvaient dans les mêmes conditions, tels que Saint Ouen, Fontenay, Louis-Bols, Asnières, Puteaux, comptèrent de 25 à 50 morts sur 1000 habitans. Certaines professions jugées mortelles se trouvaient privilégiées, c'est ainsi que parmi les ouvriers employés à désinfecter des animaux en putréfaction, pas un ne fut sérieusement menacé."—L. BLANC, iii. 223. Add to this, that in the epidemic of 1854, out of 2600 persons employed in cleaning out the drains and common sewers in London, not one took the cholera, while its ravages were great in some of the most salubrious parts of the metropolis.

generality of men over the generous affections; and the great majority, in terror for their own lives, became callous to the sufferings of others, or failed in the ordinary duties of humanity and domestic life.^{1*}

Yet were there some noble exceptions, and which, in the extremity of danger, vindicated the character of human nature. The King and royal family set an honorable example. Unlike too many of the higher ranks, they did not leave Paris on the outbreak of the epidemic, but remained at their post, assuaging suffering by their cares, lessening terror by their example. The Duke of Orleans, accompanied by M. Casimir Périer, visited in person the cholera hospitals, and the latter there contracted the malady of which he afterward died. Immense were the sums expended by the public bodies and the affluent classes in arresting the progress of the malady. The police expended in less than a month 19,915 francs (£796) in carriages, for the conveyance of medical men from one sick-bed to another. Five thousand rations of rice were distributed a day among the convalescent at the expense of the Duke of Orleans. Numerous splendid gifts were bestowed by individuals on the hospitals, to enable them to accommodate the sick; the medical profession of all ages evinced that generous zeal and courageous devotion which its members never fail to evince on similar occasions; and the Sisters of Charity, whose numbers seemed to multiply with the demand for their services, were every where to be seen aiding the recovery of the convalescent, or smoothing the pillow of the dying. Only two unworthy acts signalized that period of general beneficence. The Archbishop of Paris had offered his country house of Conflans as an hospital for the use of the convalescent; it was refused by the Council-General of the Department, because that prelate had said that the cholera was a visitation of Heaven on Paris for the Revolution of July. The Duchess de Berri, through M. de Chateaubriand, had sent 12,000 francs (£480) for the relief of the poor of Paris, but it was refused by order of M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior! Conscience makes cow-

ards of us all; and so did it shake the mind of Louis Philippe, that he saw a political move in the offer of an aged archbishop, worthy of St. Charles Boromeo, and in the gift of a young princess to the suffering poor of a city, where she had formerly appeared as a vision of felicity, adorned with flowers, and surrounded by admiration.^{1*}

The period of alarm felt for the cholera at Paris was signalized by the death of two very eminent men, who, however, were not carried off by that pestilence, M. Casimir Périer, and M. Cuvier, the immortal naturalist. The former of these persons, who was of a very nervous and excitable temperament, had never recovered the dolorous impression which the visit to the cholera hospital with the Duke of Orleans had produced. He had been in feeble health before; and the anxieties consequent on his situation as Prime Minister had preyed upon his mind, and, like Mr. Canning, brought on a febrile irritable state of the system, which proved fatal. Shortly before his death he had an interview with M. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador, who having made use of the expression, "The emperor, my master, does not wish—" "Tell your master," said he, interrupting him, "that France has no orders to receive, and that as long as Casimir Périer lives she will take counsel only of her honor." These words were pronounced with extreme animation and a flushed countenance. He sunk down immediately after exhausted, in his arm-chair, and, looking at his feeble limbs, he exclaimed, "Ah! I am gone; they have killed me." His malady appearing hopeless, M. de Montalivet was, by an ordonnance dated 17th April, appointed, *ad interim*, Minister of the Interior and President of the Council; and on the 16th May he breathed his last. On the same day Cuvier expired. A splendid funeral was accorded to the Prime Minister, at which M. Royer Collard pronounced an eloquent eulogy on the departed Premier. M. Cuvier sunk almost unnoticed into the grave; no political passions or selfish interests celebrated his funeral obsequies. To which tomb will pilgrims in future times resort—that of the forgotten prime minister, or of the immortal philosopher?²

But although Casimir Périer did not live long enough to engrave his name in a durable manner on the tablets of French history, yet was he a remarkable man, and worthy of a place in the gallery of historic portraits. A banker and manufacturer by profession, and in possession of a large fortune made by these means, he became a Liberal and a revolutionist, from the natural desire of persons of that description to

* The deaths in Paris, in the first fortnight of the epidemic, were as follows:

Date.	Deaths.
March 31	123
April 1	79
" 2	168
" 3	212
" 4	243
" 5	351
" 6	416
" 7	563
" 8	769
" 9	864
" 10	848
" 11	769
" 12	728
" 13	816
" 14	692
Total	7664

—CAPEFIGUE, vi. 892. *Moniteur*, April 15, 1832.

In April, 12,700 persons died. The epidemic lasted one hundred and eighty-nine days in Paris, during which the reported deaths were 18,403, but the real number was probably a half greater. The population of Paris at this period was 960,000.—L. BLANC, iii. 237; and *Statistique de la France* (Population), 87.

* M. de Chateaubriand, in an admirable pamphlet on this strange refusal, made these remarks, as just as they are eloquent: "Ce qu'a fait Madame la Duchesse de Berri est français, ce que j'ai fait en son nom est français, tout de grand jour et la tête haute. Le nom de la veuve que ses ennemis n'ont prononcé que pour le honneur de leurs calomnies, éclate enfin publiquement d'une manière digne d'elle. La première fois que la Mère du Duc de Bourdeaux fait entendre la voix depuis qu'elle est bannie ce n'est pas pour réclamer un Trône, c'est pour offrir quelques secours à des infortunés."—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Œuvres*, xviii. 397.

obtain a lead in public affairs. His mercantile interests, however, which suffered severely from the commercial crisis which ensued on the fall of Charles X., taught him the necessity of peace to the re-establishment of the mercantile interests of his country. To this object his efforts were mainly directed, this was the leading principle of his policy. The expedition to Ancona was an exceptional measure contrary to his usual system, suggested by the necessity of presenting some object of external excitement to the heated imaginations and real sufferings of the French people. His mind, however, was bold, his vision clear, his temper warm, his disposition ardent. A civilian by accident, he was a soldier by nature, and a hero in character. He made head against the serious convulsions which occurred during his administration with a vigor worthy of the highest admiration. Had he been the minister of Charles X. instead of Polignac, he would have met the revolt, as he did that at Lyons, and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon might have been still on the throne. He sunk at last under the irritation produced by the clear perception he had obtained of the vanity of all his triumphs. He died under the mournful conviction that revolutions brought about by force do nothing but retard the advance of freedom, and that the minister who is called to rule an insurgent people is speedily compelled to have recourse to more severe measures of coercion than those to the exercise of which he owed his elevation.

The divided state of opinion in France, and the open resistance in many places of the Republicans to the Government, led at this period to a very singular attempt on the part of the Legitimist party, attended by the most romantic incidents. Ever since they had been assigned Holyrood House at Edinburgh as a residence by the cold and prudent policy of the English government, the sad court of Charles X. there had been divided into two parties, such as usually in such cases are to be found in the councils of exiled princes. The one, taught by experience, was prudent, cautious, and desirous to await the course of events; the second, ardent, impetuous, and determined to lead them. At the head of the first in Holyrood were Charles X., and the Duchess d'Angoulême; and at Paris, M. de Chateaubriand, M. Berryer, and Marshal Victor. They contemplated no insurrection or violent means, deprecated all attempts to force on the current, and trusted for the hoped-for restoration to the influence of suffering, and the gradual return of the people to more rational sentiments from the experience they had had of the consequences of deviating from them. They expected that Henry V. would be recalled by a vote of the Chambers without shedding a drop blood. The second party, at the head of which was the Duchess de Berri and M. de Blacas at Holyrood, and M. Beaumont at Paris, thought that it was in vain to wait for a spontaneous ebullition of Royalist feeling on the part of the Legislature or people of the capital; and that the time had now come when, by a bold move in the southern and western provinces, it was possible to throw off the ascendancy of the rebellious capital,¹ and re-

establish the throne of the legitimate sovereigns.

Worn to death with the ennui and dullness of Holyrood, so different from the brilliant fêtes of Naples or the Tuileries, inspired with a heroic contempt of danger, and animated by a generous desire to regain the throne for her son, of which he had been deprived by the astute ingratitude of the first prince of the blood after the royal family in France, the Duchess de Berri resolved on a great effort to raise the western provinces, and to make the attempt in person. It was thought, not without some show of probability, that the spectacle of a young and charming princess throwing herself, without external aid, on the loyalty of her subjects, and braving hardship, captivity, and death, in the attempt to regain the throne for her son, would not speak in vain to a people once pre-eminent in their attachment to the royal family, and in which the chivalrous feelings were not yet wholly extinct. Charles X., seeing the Princess determined, gave a reluctant consent; and in order to give her the requisite authority, and confer a show of consistency on the expedition, he appointed her regent of the realm during the minority of her son. Various events, March 8, delayed the departure of the Princess; 1831. but at length they were all removed, and she set out from Holyrood on her perilous mission. Traveling through Germany, she crossed the Alps, and reached Naples in safety; but there she found the influence of the new dynasty so powerful that her presence was inopportune, and no assistance could be hoped for. She repaired accordingly to Massa, the little court of which was entirely at her devotion; and there, recognized as Regent of France, at least by her own subjects, and surrounded by a little court composed of a few women of the highest rank, and men of the most devoted courage, she surrendered herself to the hopes and illusions with which exiles so often beguile the weary hours of banishment from their country.¹

It was not surprising that the young and inexperienced Duchess gave credit to these flattering illusions, for her correspondents from all parts of France represented the new government as tottering, the discontent universal, and every thing ripe for a revolt. She was compelled also to try her fortune in France by the representations of Prince Metternich, who was aware of what was going on, and who, although any thing rather than a friend to usurpation, was impressed with a belief that Louis Philippe was the best barrier that could be opposed in the mean time to the revolutionary spirit, and that a Royalist attempt in France would only lead to fresh convulsions, and endanger the peace of Europe. He sent notice to the Duchess, accordingly, that her presence in Massa was inopportune, and that she had better look out for another asylum. Thus impelled alike by the entreaties of her friends and the menaces of her enemies, the Princess took counsel only of her own courage; orders were given for a general armament and rising in the provinces in the south and west of France,

30. Attempt of the Duchess de Berri to raise the west.

40. The Duchess de Berri determines on an effort in France, and repairs to Massa.

1. L. Blanc, iii. 250, 252; Cap. vi. 96, 99.

41. She leaves Massa and makes a descent on France.

1. L. Blanc, iii. 245, 247; Cap. vi. 91, 93; An. Hist. xv. 174, 176.

which were at her devotion. Though local and partial only, the preparations were far from being inconsiderable: in the country between the Sarthe and the Mayenne alone twenty-six companies had been formed, fifty men each, and well armed with their redoubtable fowling-pieces. The measures, such as they were, having been completed, several proclamations were prepared in the name of the Duchess as regent, forbidding the payment of taxes to the revolutionary Government, ordering the disbanding of the army, abolishing the *octroi* duties on wine and salt, permitting the return of the conscripts since 1828 to their homes, and promising a gratuity of three months' pay to the whole army of Africa. All things being in readiness, the Duchess embarked with a few attendants on board the Carlo-Alberto steamboat from Reggio on the 24th in the highest spirits, attended by Marshal Bourmont, his son, and a few faithful attendants, and steered for Marseilles, where a rising was expected. Though she appeared always with a joyous visage before others, the Princess was well aware in her secret heart of the perils of her enterprise: she made her will while on board.¹

It was fully expected by the Royalists that a rising in their favor was to take place at Marseilles, in which city the Princess and its environs they had numerous partisans organized for an outbreak; and various impolitic acts on the part of the Government had violently irritated the feelings of the peasants of La Vendée. Rigorous searches for arms had been made in the whole province, and in the course of these the feelings of the inhabitants had been wantonly injured. The monuments of Quiberon and Savenay had been defaced, the statue of Cathelineau mutilated, the column of Stofflet, in the court of the chateau of Maulévrier, broken by orders of the Government, and several peasants slain by the gendarmes in the course of quarrels in the searching for arms. In effect, a rising was prepared at Marseilles on the arrival of the Princess; and the rendezvous was fixed at the Pharo de Planier, in the neighborhood of Maberly. During the voyage the vessel passed several French ships of war without being discovered, and it was not till midnight on the 28th that the Carlo-Alberto came within sight of the light-house. The agreed-on signal was immediately hoisted, by the hanging of two lanterns from the rigging, and a boat came off to take the Princess ashore. At two in the morning, amidst a tempestuous sea and a stormy sky, she stepped on board the boat, then rocking violently, attended by Marshal Bourmont, MM. De Kergolay, De Mesnard, and De Brissac, dressed as fishermen. Her attendants, who remained on board, beheld with anxiety mingled with pride the courage with which she set out on her dangerous adventure, which was increased when she was seen gayly tripping up a narrow and dangerous pathway among rocks, after she landed on the shore, which the most intrepid smugglers did not ascend without apprehension.²

The intelligence of the landing of the Duchess de Berri was speedily made known to her

partisans in Marseilles, and by the imprudence of one of them it came to the ears of the constituted authorities. Preparations were immediately made on both sides; and so strong was the feeling in her favor among the people, that although all the posts had been doubled, and every precaution taken, the movement at first met with surprising success. The insurgents, to the number of above two thousand, composed chiefly of fishermen from the coast, assembled at the appointed rendezvous on La Tourette, the highest point in the city, from whence Césaire directed his attacks against it, and where the Marseillaise women gloriously defended it against the assault of Charles V. Soon the whole quarter was in their possession. Cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq*!" were heard on all sides; and from the cottage where she had passed the night, the Princess, with speechless delight, beheld the white flag waving on the summit of the steeple of St. Laurent, the highest point in the city. But her joy was of short duration. The tocsin indeed sounded loudly from the steeple, and the Royalists assembled in great numbers: but few leaders appeared; a great proportion of the crowd was composed of women. First uncertainty, then anxiety, appeared on their countenances. A body which attempted to get possession of the Palais de Justice, where a company of military was stationed, was dispersed by a charge of the bayonet, and their leaders, MM. De Candole, De Bermond, and De Lachan, seized. This proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The crowd dispersed; the Duchess had the pain of seeing the white flag pulled down and replaced by the tricolor on the steeple of St. Laurent; and at one o'clock in the afternoon she received from an unknown hand a note containing the words, "The movement has failed; you must leave France."³

The Princess was sad, but not discouraged. At Massa she had had a dream, in which she saw her husband, who said to her, "I approve of your designs; but you will not succeed in the south; you will have no success but in La Vendée." This dream took such possession of her imagination that it produced all the effect of reality: she saw in her present failure a confirmation of her vision, and the herald of her future triumph. Instantly she took her determination, and declared she would cross France to La Vendée. In vain her counselors strenuously represented that the enterprise was hopeless; that M. Kergolay had been arrested the moment he stepped ashore; and that nothing remained but to re-embark on board the Carlo-Alberto and make for Spain, where a secure asylum would be found. Nothing could shake the determination of the heroic Princess. "I am here now," she said, "and I will remain. Too many people have been compromised for me; I will not abandon them." She set out accordingly on foot, attended only by Marshal Bourmont, disguised as a peasant. Directing their course across fields and by by-paths, to elude pursuit, they lost their way before night in a wood; and the Princess, overwhelmed with fatigue, sank to the ground

¹ Proclamation of Caroline, April, 1832; Cap. vi. 103, 110; L. Blanc, iii. 260, 269; An. Hist. xv. 74.

^{43.} Abortive rising at Marseilles. April 29.

² L. Blanc, iii. 271, 273; Cap. vi. 109, 111; Ann. Hist. xv. 174, 176.

^{44.} The Duchess resolves to cross France to La Vendée.

at the foot of a tree, and fell asleep. The marshal, standing near, watched her slumbers without reposing himself; and thus passed the first night of the regent's sojourn in her dominions.¹ *

Louis Philippe, with great humanity, and not less wisdom, had given orders to his cruisers that if the Duchess de Berri was taken she should not be brought to France, but conveyed to Naples, and redelivered to her parents. He felt the same anxiety to save her life which he had done to spare those of the ministers of Charles X. at their memorable trial. This circumstance slackened the pursuit of the Duchess, and was the main cause of her reaching La Vendée in safety. The Carlo-Alberto was soon captured; and among the other attendants of the Princess was a young lady, Mademoiselle Lebesch, who was taken for her, and taken to Corsica, where ere long the error was discovered. While the delusion lasted, however, it was universally credited, and contributed very much to the safe passage of the Duchess across France. The adventures of the Princess during that long journey, from the rocks of Marseilles to the Bocage of La Vendée, exceed any thing that ever figured in romance or described in poetry. Though she lodged in general in the houses of the Royalist proprietors, where she was perfectly secure, she sometimes ran very great risks on the road, from which she was extricated only by her admirable courage and presence of mind. On one occasion, having lost her way when wandering alone in a wood, she was obliged to pass the night in a miserable shed, of which she herself forced open the door: on another, when driven by hunger to seek human habitation, she boldly presented herself to a Republican, saying, "I am the Duchess de Berri." He had the generosity not to betray the trust. The gendarmes, however, were every where on the alert, and but for the fortunate report of her seizure on board the Carlo-Alberto, she would in all probability have been taken. But that mistake stood her in good stead; and at length, after having surmounted a thousand perils, and frequently passed unknown through large bodies of gendarmes, she reached the Chateau de Plassac, near Saintes, in La Vendée, on the 17th May, and a general rising of her followers was appointed for the 24th of the same month.²

Great was the disquietude and uneasiness of the Royalists in Paris at these unexpected events. The intrepid character and unalterable resolution of the Princess were well known, as well as the ardent spirit and sanguine temperament of the *preux chevaliers* by whom she was immediately surrounded, so that no modification of her determination was to be looked for. At the same time, the Royalist committee in the capital, far better informed, and awake to the signs of the times, were painfully alive to the perils, it might be said the hopelessness, of the attempt. Not less

* What a scene for a picture! When the time comes, as come it will one day, that the free expression of feeling is permitted in France, the adventures of the Duchess de Berri during her romantic expedition to La Vendée will form a favorite subject of the painter's pencil and of melodramatic representation.

chivalrous or loyal than M. de Bourmont and M. de Kergolay, they were more aware of the difficulties it had to encounter. La Vendée was no longer what it had been during its first immortal struggle. Material interests had invaded the Bocage, and divided the feelings of its heroic inhabitants. They were not less brave or loyal than they had been in the days when they followed the standards of Henri Larochejaquelein or M. de Lescure, but they were more dependent on the capital. The great roads which Napoleon had constructed through every part of their territory had not only let in knowledge and information, but opened up to their industry the market of Paris. Their cattle, the produce of their dairies, their sheep, lambs, and wool, were bought up and sent to the metropolis. Men paused before they ventured on a contest of which the dangers were now well known, and which threatened not only to endanger their lives and families, but to deprive them of the means of subsistence. A considerable part of the richest proprietors in the country had bought the national domains, and were attached to the new order of things. Thus, though the majority retained their traditional feelings of loyalty, and the influence of the old families over their tenantry was undiminished, there was a much greater division of opinion in the country, and the same unanimity as formerly in any Royalist movement was no longer to be looked for. M. de Chateaubriand, M. Hyde de Neuville, M. Berryer, and the other enlightened leaders of the Royalists in Paris, were well aware of these changes, and earnestly dissuaded any insurrectionary attempt. Their constant doctrine was to let the Revolution work out its own fruits, the people experience the consequences of their own actions; and in the end suffering would alter their opinions, and the Citizen King would be dethroned. Cap. vi. 121, by the Chamber which had created 184; L. Blanc, iii. 276, 284.

Although there are probably few persons who will doubt that these opinions were, 47. in the circumstances, well founded, Vain attempt and that it would have been well for at an insurrection. the Princess if she had adopted them, they were far from being agreeable either to herself or the gallant, though inconsiderate, cavaliers by whom she was surrounded. They persisted in attempting a general rising; the orders to that effect were transmitted to all the Vendean chiefs; and a few days before the day appointed, the Princess, dressed in the May 21. costume of the young peasants of La Vendée, repaired on horseback to Meilliers, the rendezvous appointed for her followers. An artificial head-dress of dark hair concealed her beautiful light locks, and she had quite the look of a handsome youth, and took the name of "Petit Pierre." But few obeyed the summons, and such as did come portrayed in the strongest terms the hopelessness of the attempt. They represented respectfully, but firmly, that La Vendée had engaged to take up arms only on the occurrence of one of three events—a foreign invasion, the proclamation of a republic, or an insurrection in the south—none of which had occurred, and that it was impossible to induce the peasants to rise. The Princess, with fervent eloquence, and all the passionate earnest-

46. Disquietude, and measures of the Royalists at these events.

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 273, 275; Cap. vi. 119, 121; Ann. Hist. xv. 178, 179.

ness of her sex and country, represented how much she had risked in behalf of the cause, and conjured them to alter their resolution; but in vain. With a smile on her lips, but despair in her heart, she was obliged to dismiss them with a request for a written opinion, which they sent her next day.¹

But next day a letter arrived from Toulon, addressed to the Princess by the name of *Bernard*, which she was known by in the south, which overcame all hesitation on her part. The moment she read the letter she exclaimed,

"Oh, my God, all the south is in flames! No, I will not depart;" and immediately sitting down, she wrote to M. Berryer that she had changed her mind, and was determined to persist; and to the Baron de Charette a letter ordering the rising, which terminated with the words: "My dear friend, do not resign your situation, since *Petit Pierre* has not resigned his." With mournful resolution, the Vendean chiefs prepared to obey the summons, and assemblages of five or six hundred men took place in several quarters. But, by a strange fatality, the rising was prevented from becoming general, or acquiring any degree of consistency, by a counter-order which had been issued by Marshal Bourmont on the 19th May, which fixed the day for the 4th June. The effect of these opposite and contradictory orders proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The greater part of the chiefs got the order of M. de Bourmont first, and remained quiet; and such as did not get it, finding themselves not supported as they expected, concluded that the attempt had failed, and dismissed their followers. Some conflicts took place between bodies of the peasants and the troops of the line, in which the former displayed all their ancient valor, and in some instances proved victorious. But these detached encounters, however honorable to the Royalists, decided nothing; they were not in sufficient force in any one place to make head against the vastly superior forces of the enemy which were concentrated against them; and ere long their detached bands melted away, and the insurrection was happily terminated without any serious effusion of blood. The finishing-stroke was put to the prospects of the insurrection by the seizure, by General Dermoncourt, of a packet of papers in the Chateau de Chaslier, containing the whole details of the conspiracy, and the names of the persons engaged in it.²

But although the insurrection, considered as a public movement, was thus at an end, yet various tragic incidents occurred in the course of it which attested at once the heroic spirit of the inhabitants, and the dangers which might have threatened the throne of the Citizen King had it been more wisely conducted, or traversed by a less number of unfortunate accidents. In the Chateau de La Penissière forty-five Vendéans were stationed, and they defended themselves so resolutely that it became necessary to set it on fire in order to overcome them. The upper part of the building was soon in flames, and a circle of bayonets surrounded its base; but they still

combated, amidst the music of two trumpets, and cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" and at length, after five of their number had been slain, and when the conflagration had spread into every part of the edifice, they found their way out, and got off unconquered. Unhappily, as in the former war, deeds of heroism on the one side were marked by acts of savage barbarity on the other. A son of the famous Cathelineau was shot dead by the troops of Louis Philippe as he advanced with two companions, saying, "We are disarmed; do not fire." A chateau belonging to M. de Roberie was entered by a body of troops, who put to death the farmer and his wife who occupied it, and barbarously murdered a girl of sixteen in their family. M. Charles de Bascher was surprised by a body of national guards, and severely wounded in his attempt to escape. As they were conducting him a prisoner to Angerfeuille, he became faint from loss of blood, and could not walk as quick as his guards desired. They shot him in consequence on the road, without even according him the quarter of an hour which he requested to make his peace with Heaven.¹

Amidst these scenes of horror, the melancholy result of her rash and ill-starred enterprise, the Duchess de Berri escaped, thanks to the courage and vigilance of her attendants, her own intrepidity and presence of mind, and the unvarying fidelity of the Royalists to whom her place of retreat was known. Her hair-breadth escapes and romantic adventures recall those of Charles Edward a century before in the mountains of Scotland. Many nights she slept on the ground in the woods; at other times, on the shoulders of her guide, she passed marshes deemed impracticable, with the water up to the middle of those who bore her. On one occasion, when the pursuit was hottest, she found shelter in a ditch covered with bushes, while the soldiers in pursuit of her searched in vain, and probed with their bayonets every thicket in the wood with which it was environed. The variety, the fatigue, the dangers of her life, had inexpressible charms for a person of her ardent and romantic disposition. She often said, "Don't speak to me of suffering: I never was so happy at Naples or Paris as I am now." More than once she entered towns occupied by the hostile troops disguised as a peasant girl, with the great wooden shoes on her little feet, and conversed gayly with the gendarmes by whom the gates were guarded. Meanwhile the Government, in mortal anxiety at her continued residence in the country, made the utmost efforts to make head against the danger. The four departments of Maine-et-Loire, La Vendée, Loire-Inférieure, and Deux-Sevres, were declared in a state of siege; troops were poured in from all quarters, and soon fifty thousand regular soldiers occupied a country where they had no other foes to contend with but a fugitive Princess and two or three of her devoted cavaliers.²

External events of no light weight soon, however, occurred, which convinced the heroic Princess that her attempt, for the present at least, had permanently failed of all chance of

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 276, 277; them with a request for a written opinion, which they sent her next day.¹

^{48.} The Princess resolves on a rising, which proves abortive. May 26.

² Baron de Charette sur les Evénemens de La Vendée, 60, 56; L. Blanc, iii. 279, 281; Cap. vi. 123, 125.

^{49.} Incidents of the civil war.

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 282, 283.

^{50.} Adventures of the Duchess de Berri, and extinction of the insurrection.

^{51.} L. Blanc, iii. 283, 284; Princess and two or three of her devoted cavaliers.² 137.

^{51.} The Princess takes refuge in Nantes.

success. The *Moniteur* announced the interview of the King of the French with the King of the Belgians at Compiègne, and the approaching marriage of Leopold with the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe. Convinced now that the legitimate sovereigns had abandoned her cause, she saw the necessity of considering her own safety, and after much deliberation, finding that the roads and coasts were alike rigorously guarded, she resolved to remain in France, and selected the city of Nantes as her asylum—a place generally hostile to her cause, where her person was unknown, and where the searches of the Government authorities would not probably be so rigorous as in more suspected quarters. Thither, accordingly, she directed her steps, and she succeeded in entering the town, disguised as a peasant girl, accompanied by Mademoiselle Eulalie de Korsabice. She found an asylum in it in the house of some faithful Royalists, who re-deemed the character of human nature, by having the courage, at the hazard of their life, to afford a shelter to their sovereign in misfortune.¹

So faithfully was the secret kept, that the Princess remained for some months in this place of concealment in safety. By degrees, however, vague rumors reached the Government that the Duchess was either in Nantes, or frequently visited there, accompanied by intelligence that her situation was such that they might, by her capture, and sparing her life, determine her influence more completely than by destroying it. Orders were accordingly sent to redouble the vigilance of the authorities in Nantes. During this period of anxious suspense she still maintained a correspondence with her adherents, and from her place of concealment issued her orders as still Regent of France. She even addressed a letter to the Queen of the French in behalf of the brave Vendéans who were to be brought to trial for having taken up arms in her defense, full of generous and noble sentiments.* The Government acted with equal wisdom and humanity in the prosecution of the accused. Twenty-two were placed at the bar, but the prosecutions were so managed that the greater part escaped, and such as were convicted were sentenced to imprison-

ment only. M. Berryer was brought to trial; but such was the public admiration for his talents and exalted character, that he was acquitted, in a manner, by acclamation, almost immediately after the proceedings commenced. The Government had no need of severity: they were about to strike a blow at the chief of the conspiracy, which they felt assured would paralyze it in the whole of its ramifications.¹

At this time there was in France a renegade Jew named Deutz, who had unfortunately acquired the confidence of the Pope, and of the Duchess de Berri. This wretch had for some time been soliciting the employment of a traitor from M. Montalivet: it is one of the misfortunes of statesmanship that it brings men into contact with such characters. At length he obtained the treacherous employment he desired. He had long been in the confidence of the royal family, had traveled in the suite of the Mademoiselles Bourmont from London to Italy, and had been charged, at the Pope's recommendation, with important dispatches from the Princess to the Queen of Spain and Dom Miguel. He was even then, however, in correspondence with the opposite party, and had been sent on a secret errand to Nantes by M. Thiers. Deutz accordingly undertook, for a large reward, to discover the Princess's place of concealment at Nantes, and in this attempt he proved too successful. Arrived there, he succeeded in persuading some influential Royalists that he had important dispatches for the Duchess, which must be delivered into her own hands, and that it was necessary, therefore, that he should have a personal interview with her royal highness. This was accordingly granted: the Princess received him in the kindest manner, in a house where she usually saw visitors, conversed with him familiarly, and said to one of her attendants, "This is a good Breton, faithful and devoted without bounds."²

As he was not made acquainted at this interview with the Princess's place of retreat, Deutz solicited and obtained a second interview, which was fixed for the 6th November. Of this place of meeting he informed the police; and to enhance the value of his treachery, he endeavored, though without effect, to persuade Marshal Bourmont to accompany him, in order that they might both be taken at once. The Princess, however, came, and immediately after the house was surrounded by troops, and the police officers, with pistols in their hands, entered it. Her royal highness had only time to take refuge, with Mademoiselles de Korsabice, Mesnard, and Guebourg, in a little space formed behind her apartment, in the angle between two walls, the entrance of which was behind the chimney-piece. The police searched the house in the most rigorous manner in vain; but meanwhile the Princess was undergoing the most excruciating suffering. So small was their place of refuge, that she and her three attendants were obliged alternately to put their mouth to a little aperture, three inches across, which was the sole communication with the external air. To add to their sufferings, the gen-

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 253, 54; Cap. vi. 134, 137; Ana. Hist. xiv. 221.

² When she is at length discovered. Nov. 6.

* "Quelles que soient les conséquences qui peuvent résulter pour moi de la position dans laquelle je me suis mise en remplissant mes devoirs de mère, je ne vous parlerai jamais de mon intérêt, Madame. Mais des braves se sont compromis pour la cause de mon fils; je ne saurais me refuser à tenter pour les sauver ce qui peut se faire honorablement."

"Je prie donc ma tante, son bon cœur et sa religion me sont connus, d'employer tout son crédit pour intéresser en leur faveur. Le porteur de cette lettre donnera des détails sur leur situation; il dira que les Juges qu'on leur donne sont des hommes contre lesquels ils se sont battus."

"Malgré la différence actuelle de nos situations, un volcan est aussi sous vos pas, Madame; vous le savez. J'ai connu vos terreurs bien naturelles à une époque où j'étais en sûreté et je n'y ai pas été insensible. Dieu seul connaît ce qu'il nous destine et peut être un jour me saurez-vous gré d'avoir pris confiance dans votre bonté et de vous avoir fourni l'occasion d'en faire usage envers mes amis malheureux. Croyez à ma reconnaissance. Je vous souhaite le bonheur, Madame. Car j'ai trop bonne opinion de vous pour croire qu'il soit possible que vous soyez heureuse dans votre situation. MARIE CAROLINE."—Louis Blanc, iii. 379.

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 577, 579; Cap. vi. 135, 137, Ann. Hist. xiv. 221.

² Treachery of Deutz toward the Princess.

³ Mem. de la Duchesse de Berri, 87, 92; L. Blanc, iii. 585, 586.

⁴ Her arrest. Nov. 6.

darmes in the room lighted, on the approach of night, a fire in the grate, which converted the space behind into a burning oven. At length, after enduring tortures for sixteen hours, the sufferings of the prisoners became so great that they were obliged to come out and deliver themselves up. "Gentlemen," said the Princess,

as she emerged from her place of concealment, "you have made war on me *à la St. Laurent*. I have nothing to reproach myself with: I have only discharged the duty of a mother to regain the inheritance of her son."¹*

The Princess was treated by General Dermoencourt with the respect and courtesy due to her rank, and conducted a prisoner to the castle of Nantes. From thence she was embarked two days afterward, attended by her faithful ladies, with no other effects than

what she could carry in her handkerchief, on board a brig, and conducted to the castle of Blaye, where she was guarded, like Queen Mary in Lochleven or Fotheringay, with the most jealous care, and where, like her immortal predecessor, she bore a prolonged and tedious captivity with cheerfulness and gayety. The *dénouement*, however, of the drama, if less tragic, was more withering than that of the Scottish heroine. Unhappily, the Princess, with all the courage and chivalry of the heroic character, possessed also the ardor and *insouciance* which is so often its accompaniment. She had all the intrepidity of Clorinda, but unfortunately she had also, with the charms, the facility of Armida. It was known to the government of Louis Philippe that at this time she was *enceinte*, and with cold and calculating prudence they calmly awaited till time brought about its natural result. After an imprisonment of some

months, she herself announced her pregnancy to the Cabinet of the Tuileries.[†] The utmost pains were immediately taken to give her every assistance which her situation required, and on the 10th May 1833, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who was declared to be the issue of the Princess and Count Hector Lucchesi-Palli, count of Campo-Franco, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber of the King of the Two Sicilies. The object of the Government was now gained; the Princess was discredited; her followers were in despair. The romance had terminated in ridicule, and she was permitted by

the Government with her infant quietly to return to Italy.[‡]

Long before this *dénouement* of the romantic drama in La Vendée occurred, a great democratic movement had taken place in the capital, and Paris had been the theatre of conflicts so determined and bloody as to throw those which overturned Charles X. into the shade. The Republican party there

had long been in a state of the utmost discontent, in consequence of the entire failure of their hopes from the results of the Revolution of July, and the clear evidence which was now afforded that they had only revolted to fix chains about their necks incomparably heavier, and more irremovable, than those which were around them under the former government of Polignac and his priests. The extreme suffering which had long prevailed, especially among the working classes, from the dreadful shock to credit and vast diminution of consumption which had resulted from that convulsion, had inclined nearly the whole of them to the same sentiments, and the democratic press was unanimous in ascribing the whole to the tyrannical Government of Louis Philippe, and its departure from the principles of the Government of July. So far did the agitation proceed, that a meeting of all the Opposition was held at Lafitte's, at which it was agreed to make an appeal to the nation—in other words, commence an insurrection; and a committee was appointed, consisting of M. de Lafayette, M. Odilon Barrot, M. Mauguin, and other liberal deputies, to draw up an address to the nation. But before it could be prepared, or the requisite organization made for effecting a general insurrection, an event took place which brought on the crisis, and precipitated matters sooner than the leaders of the movement had intended.

This was the death of General Lamarque, which took place at Paris on the 1st June, at the age of sixty years.[§]

Though one of the generals of the Empire, this respectable veteran was not so much distinguished by his exploits in the field as by the celebrity he had acquired since the Restoration by his eloquence on the popular side in the tribune. In consequence of this circumstance, Napoleon, who prized that weapon as much when wielded on his side in adversity, as he detested it when directed against him in prosperity, had recommended him on his death-bed at St. Helena for a Marshal of France. Those implicated in the Hundred Days had found in him a zealous protector, a faithful friend; his efforts in behalf of the Poles had endeared him to every one of that ardent and chivalrous race; and the whole democratic party looked up to him as their guardian and future leader, when the final contest should commence. The *bourgeois* party had made a grand display on occasion of the funeral of M. Casimir Périer, and the Revolutionists resolved on a counter display on so heart-stirring an event as the obsequies of General Lamarque. The violent leaders were induced to make arrangements for rendering it the commencement of an insurrection, by the decree which appeared three days after in the columns of the *Moniteur*, declaring the four western de-

partments in a state of siege. This extreme measure, always unpopular in France, made the Revolutionists regard the disturbances in La Vendée as much more serious than they really were, and conclude, not without reason, that they should not let slip the present opportunity, never likely to recur, when a formidable Royalist insurrection in the western prov-

* Alluding to the martyrdom of St. Laurent by being roasted on a gridiron.

† "Poussée par les circonstances et par les mesures ordonnées par les Gouvernements, quoique j'eusse les motifs les plus graves pour tenir mon mariage secret, je crois devoir à moi-même ainsi qu'à mes enfants de déclarer mon mariage secrètement pendant mon séjour en Italie."—MARIE CAROLINE. 23d Feb. 1833.—CAPRIGIUS, vii. 69, note.

§ Ann. Hist. xv. 169; Cap. vi. 199; L. Blanc, iii. 288, 289.

§ 57. Death of General Lamarque. June 1-5.

June 3.

inces might be combined with a great democratic movement in the capital. Orders were therefore given by all the popular committees for an immense assemblage of people for the funeral, which was fixed for the 5th June; and

preparations were secretly made, by the distribution of arms and ammunition to the persons who could be trusted, for making it the commencement of a general insurrection against the Government.¹

The funeral procession was to set out from the house in the Rue St. Honoré, where the deceased had died, and proceed by the Madeleine and the Chateau d'Eau to the Place of the Bastille, in its way to the place of sepulture in the south of France.

Immense preparations had been made to give it all the solemnity and magnificence possible, and calculated in every way to affect the imagination of the people. A splendid car was prepared, on which the body was to be placed, and numerous deputations from all the public bodies in Paris were to follow the vehicle. At their head was a large part of the Chamber of Deputies, headed by Marshal Clausel, General Lafayette, M. Lafitte, and M. Mauguin, who bore the four corners of the pall. The car was covered with tricolor flags and *immortelles*. Nearly the whole of the popular societies, Les Amis du Peuple, La Société des Droits de l'Homme, La Société Gauloise, and La Organisation des Municipalités, came next. From daybreak an immense crowd collected all along the Rue St. Honoré, in the Place Louis XV., and the whole way along the boulevards, where the procession was to pass, in which, in addition to the numerous and sturdy Republicans of Paris, were to be seen great numbers of ardent refugees of all nations. Among them the Poles were particularly conspicuous, by their number, daring look, and the interest which they excited among the by-standers. Banners of various devices, but all of the most decided revolutionary tendency, floated over the crowd in all directions; and from the anxiety manifest in all visages, and the eager conferences which were going on in the agitated groups in every quarter, it was

evident that a great design was in contemplation, and that the huge multitude had not assembled merely to do honor to the dead, but with some dark designs against the living.²

Aware of the danger which menaced them, the Government had made preparations on the greatest scale to meet it. There was none of the infatuation and insouciance with which Prince Polignac and the priests had met the revolt of July. 18,000 infantry of the line, 4000 cavalry, and 2000 municipal guards were in Paris itself, with 80 pieces of cannon, ready equipped. In addition to these forces, there were 20,000 regular troops in the environs of the capital, who might be called in at a moment's notice, and the Government could rely on the support of at least 6000 of the National Guard, chiefly from the *banlieue* or environs of the capital. Those of Paris were for the most part not relied on, as their known disposition

rendered it more than doubtful which side they would take in the approaching conflict. Thus the Government had 60,000 men and 120 guns at their disposal, and they were disposed so as to occupy, or be ready on a short notice to occupy, all the most important posts and streets in the capital. But, on the other hand, the insurgents, or those inclined to side with them, were above 100,000, of whom a great proportion were old soldiers or national guards, well acquainted with the use of arms; and it was easy to foresee that, if any vacillation were to appear in the troops of the line, or any of them were to join the insurgents, the regular soldiers would soon have the whole working population of Paris on their hands.³

The procession set out from the Rue St. Honoré at ten o'clock, but from the very outset the disorder and excitement were so great, that it was evident it would never terminate without a serious convulsion. When it reached the corner of the Rue de la Paix, it was forcibly turned aside from the intended route, and obliged to go round the Pillar of Austerlitz, in the Place Vendôme, by a crowd of enthusiastic young men. The troops at the Hôtel de l'Etat Major in the Place withdrew when the disorderly mob approached; instantly the cry arose, "They are insulting the manes of Lamarque!" and the soldiers were forced to turn out and salute the car to avoid an immediate collision. Cries of "*Vive la République!*" were now heard, and the sombre menacing aspect of the immense crowd too surely presaged an approaching storm. The general indignation was roused to the highest point by the appearance of the Duke de Fitz-James at the balcony of his hotel, with his hat on his head, as the cortège passed; a volley of stones drove him quickly back, and broke every window in his hotel. The crowd increased at every step as they proceeded in their course along the boulevards toward the Chateau d'Eau. Several police officers, stationed along the line marked out for the procession, were desperately wounded by the people. Arms were seen in many hands, and in a transport of enthusiasm, numbers climbed up the trees in the boulevards to break off branches that might serve as weapons of offense. It was plain to every one that an insurrection was approaching; things had not looked so threatening at the commencement of the Revolution of July; the fidelity of the troops was evidently wavering, and there were few in the multitude who did not think it was all over with the Government of Louis Philippe. "Where are they leading us to?" cried a voice from a group of students in one of the most crowded parts of the boulevards. "To the Republic!" answered the leader of a division decorated with the medals of July; "rest assured, we shall sleep to-night in the Tuileries."⁴

A hundred and fifty scholars of the Polytechnic School, who had forced their way out of their establishment, joined the procession at the corner of the Rue du Temple, near the Chateau d'Eau, and their arrival, which was received with loud cries of "*Vive la liberté!*"

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 290, 291; Cap. vi. 190, 193; Ann. Hist. xv. 187, 189.

² His funeral, and commencement of the insurrection. June 5.

³ L. Blanc, iii. 291, 294; Cap. vi. 190, 199; Ann. Hist. xv. 189, 190.

⁴ Preparations of the Government.

¹ Cap. vi. 197, 199; L. Blanc, iii. 294, 296; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 192.

² 60. Commencement of the insurrection. June 5.

³ L. Blanc, iii. 296, 297; Cap. vi. 198, 200; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 192.

⁴ 61. Commencement of the insurrection.

"*Vive les élèves de l'Ecole Polytechnique!*" roused the people to a perfect climax of enthusiasm. No one doubted of victory, now that these renowned champions of July had arrived to range themselves by their side. It was only a question when the insurrection should begin; many thought it was too long delayed. They went on, however, in the utmost disorder; the huge car drawn by enthusiastic bands, shouting "*Vive la République!*" "*à bas Louis Philippe!*" "*Vive Lamarque!*" as far as the Bridge of Ansterlitz, where the funeral oration was to be pronounced, and the ceremony was to close, preparatory to the departure of the body for the place of sepulture in the Pyrenees. General Umenski and M. Mauguin pronounced the speeches. "Lamarque," said the former, "worthy representative of the people, you were ours; you belonged to the human race. All people who love freedom will shed tears at your tomb. In raising your noble voice for Poland, you served the cause of all nations as well as France. You served the cause of liberty, that of the interests dearest to humanity; you defended it against that Holy Alliance which grew up on the tomb of Poland, and which will never cease to threaten the liberties of the world till the crime which cemented it shall have been effaced by the resurrection of its unfortunate victim. You have deserved, Lamarque, the eternal gratitude of the Polish people." "Before we separate," said Marshal Clausel, "forever from the mortal remains of Lamarque, allow me to inscribe, in the name of the army, a last homage on his tomb: We will feel his want when the work, as yet imperfect, has need of all hands; and the fall of Lamarque, gifted with such prodigious powers of labor, resounds through the world like the fall of many men. Adieu, Lamarque! Adieu in the name of soldiers of all grades. I bow before your coffin."¹

It may be conceived what enthusiasm these eloquent words, addressed at the moment of separating from the mortal remains of their beloved leader, produced in the people. Such was the general agitation, that Lafayette called for his carriage, and hastily entered it. Instantly the crowd unharnessed the horses, and began to draw the vehicle, amidst cries of "*Vive Lafayette! Vive la République!*" He was urged to go at once to the Hôtel de Ville and establish a provisional government; but his habitual indecision withheld him at a moment when he might have overturned the throne. The carriage was still moving forward with difficulty through the prodigious crowd, which choked up every part of the Place, when the cry arose, "The dragoons, the dragoons!" and the glittering helmets and breast-plates of the cuirassiers were seen in dense array advancing through the throng. Instantly the cry arose, "To the barricades!" "*Vive la République!*" and the front rank of the soldiers, unable to force their way in line through the compact crowd, was broken into small bodies, and soon engaged in single combat with the most daring of the Revolutionists. Blood flowed on all sides; and so dense was the mass of the populace, and so determined the front which they presented, that the cuirassiers, after several attempts, found themselves

unable to pass through. Orders were therefore given for a retreat; and the withdrawal of the military was the signal for a general insurrection. In the twinkling of an eye, the whole of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, were in motion: the boulevards from the Place of the Bastille to the Passage du Saumon were filled with ardent multitudes preparing for the conflict; and before intelligence of what was going forward could reach the Tuileries, barricades were already erected in the narrow streets in the centre of the city, and above a third of the metropolis, embracing its most densely inhabited quarters, was in the hands of the insurgents.¹

Foreseeing that a conflict was approaching, the King had left St. Cloud in the morning, and sat in council with his ministers in the Tuileries all forenoon. At three in the afternoon, intelligence arrived that a prodigious crowd filled the boulevards, that seditious cries had been heard, and soon after that the contest had commenced, and appeared to be very serious. At Marshal Soult's suggestion, orders were in consequence immediately dispatched for all the troops within thirty miles of Paris to march upon the capital, and the whole National Guard of the city and its environs called out. Before nightfall the *générale* beat in all the streets, and all Paris was in motion, some hurrying to their rallying-points assigned by Government, some to the posts occupied in strength by the insurgents. By this means it was calculated that by noon on the following day, Government would have at its disposal 50,000 troops of the line, and an equal number of national guards; and if the latter remained faithful, it seemed impossible that the insurrection could maintain its ground against so prodigious an armed force.²

Every thing, however, depended on the fidelity of the troops of the line and the National Guard, for the capital was in such a state of effervescence that the most determined resistance from the working classes might confidently be expected, and the defection of even a few regiments might neutralize the rest, and might overturn the Government. During the evening and night of the 5th, every thing appeared to prognosticate success to the insurgents; indeed, the contest seemed well-nigh decided. Nearly half of the city was in the undisputed possession of the insurgents; barricades were rapidly rising in the centre of the city; the armorers' shops had been generally broken into and pillaged; and a considerable number of the National Guard in the suspected quarters had already joined them. At nine o'clock a mysterious meeting was held at M. Laftite's, who might truly be called, like the Last of the Barons, Warwick, "the Knocker-down and Putter-up of kings." It was not numerously attended: the majority awaited the course of events before declaring themselves; but by such as did come the most violent sentiments were uttered. The word "Dethronement" was openly pronounced; and

¹ Cap. vi. 201, 203; L. Blanc, iii. 206, 207; Ann. Hist. xv. 190, 191.

² The insurrection breaks out.

¹ Cap. vi. 203, 205; L. Blanc, iii. 498, 502; Ann. Hist. xv. 204, 206.

⁶³ Vigorous measures on the part of the Government.

² Cap. vi. 204, 206; L. Blanc, iii. 297, 300; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 193.

⁶⁴ Mysterious meeting at Laftite's at night.

to complete the resemblance to the similar meeting in the same room which had directed the movement which overthrew Charles X., M. de Lafayette arrived before midnight to "discuss the situation of affairs." These were ominous words, coming from such a quarter, and they were accordingly discussed in every view. An address to the King, a movement in the Chambers, a change of government, of dynasty, were alternately brought into review; but at length the majority ranged themselves with the opinion of M. de Lafayette, that they should await the course of events, and declare for that side which the future should prove to be in the ascendant.¹

During the night, however, the insurrection made very great progress on both sides of the Seine. Several posts were stormed, and the arms they contained distributed to the people; and in some encounters between detached parties of the military and the insurgents, the latter had proved victorious. Before ten at night the Republicans were masters of the Arsenal, of the posts of the Galiothe, and the Chateau d'Eau; they were in entire possession of the Marais and the eighth arrondissement; the manufactory of arms in the Rue Popincourt had fallen into their hands, with twelve hundred muskets; they had advanced to the Place des Victoires, and were preparing to assault the Bank, the Post-office, and the Barrack des Petits Frères. But the great centre of their strength was in the Rue St. Martin and the adjoining streets, which were all strongly fortified with barricades, and where the head-quarters of the insurgents had been established. The dragoons had been defeated by the people, in attempting to retake that post, and it remained in their hands; the Halle aux Vins had been passed, and all the southern bank of the river as far as the Pantheon had fallen into their hands. But the great points of the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville, the Post-office, and the other public offices, were still in the hands of the Government, which remained in possession of the entire city to the westward of the Place de Grève.²

While the advantages of position were thus, after the first day's encounter, so nearly balanced between the contending parties, a similar equality prevailed in the moral influences by which the struggle was still more likely in the end to be determined. The insurgents had committed what turned out to be a grievous mistake in the outset, by hoisting the *drapeau rouge* and displaying several *chapeaux rouges* in the crowd when the disturbance first began. The fatal ensign stamped its character upon the insurrection, and in most places deterred the middle ranks and National Guard from joining it. On the other hand, the working classes, especially in the centre and eastern quarters of the city, were in such extreme misery, from the effects of the Revolution of July, that it might reasonably be expected that they would, if the contest was prolonged, nearly all join the insurgents; the National Guard in many quarters were notoriously disaffected, and not a few of their uniforms were to be seen in the opposite ranks; and

the regular troops, shaken by the events of July, and the rewards then bestowed on those who had violated their oaths, were in a very vacillating state, and some of them, particularly the sappers and miners in the Rue Sainte Catherine, had openly joined the insurrection. Even where they did obey the *général*, which beat in every quarter of Paris, the national guards turned out in very small numbers, and with evident reluctance; the horrors of civil warfare were present to every mind; wives, mothers, and sisters were indefatigable in their efforts to keep them at home; and such as did appear at their rallying-points came with downcast looks and anxious visages, rather like martyrs going to the stake than the defenders of their country marching to victory.³

The measures taken at the Tuileries in this crisis were characterized by vigor, tempered by prudence. The King and Ministers sat in council all night, and at six on the morning of the 6th, when accounts had been received on all sides of the rapid progress of the insurgents, the question was proposed by the King, whether the capital should be declared in a state of siege? Many members of the council thought it should; but the King, who was always averse to decisive measures, declared that, in his opinion, so extreme a step should be reserved for the last extremity, that they should await the course of events, and in the mean time measures of repression only should be attempted. As it was known also what had taken place the preceding night at Lafayette's, several members of the council strongly urged the arrest of Lafayette and Lafayette; but this too the King opposed as too bold a measure—a sort of *coup d'état*, which was unnecessary, as the former was a vain, garrulous old man, incapable of taking a vigorous resolution, and the latter was, he knew, in secret attached to himself. Orders were, however, given for the arrest of M. Garnier Pages, M. Corbet, and M. Laboussière; and three important decrees were agreed to, which immediately appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*. By the first, the artillery of the National Guard of Paris was disbanded; by the second, the military Veterinary School of Alfort was disbanded; by the third, the Polytechnic School was dissolved, the scholars ordered to be sent to their homes, and the few who had remained faithful directed to form the nucleus of a new establishment. Orders had previously been given to the police to enter the printing-offices of the *Tribune*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, the *National*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Journal du Commerce*, and the *Corsaire*, and break their presses to pieces, lest they should be used to throw off proclamations addressed to the workmen; and this was accordingly done. This was the very thing most complained of on the part of the Polignac Administration, and which had brought on the Revolution of July; but Louis Philippe was doomed in every stage of his career to be the author of the justification of Charles X.⁴

It was not, however, by decrees on paper that the formidable insurrection which had broken out in Paris was to be put down; and in devising measures for this purpose, Marshal Soult

¹ Cap. vi. 209, 210.

^{65.} Progress and alarming aspect of the insurrection.

² Rapport du Maréchal du Camp Darnie: Ann. Hist. xv. 192, 193; L. Blanc, iii. 504, 505.

^{66.} Moral

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 505; Cap. vi. 215, 216; Ann. Hist. xv. 193.

^{67.} Measures and Government. June 6.

³ Moniteur, June 7, 1832, ordonnance du 6 Juin; Cap. vi. 210, 212; Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195.

displayed all his wonted vigor and capacity. His plan was to act as they had done at Lyons—destroy all the barricades at once, and crush the insurrection in its centre by a vast and converging attack of military force. Probably all will agree that this is the proper way to act when you have such a force: the difficulty is, what to do when you have it not, or it proves traitor in your hands. To carry out this plan, every preparation was made as for a pitched battle, as with the whole military strength of Prussia or Austria, and the force employed was equal to that which conquered at Jena or Austerlitz. The whole National Guard of Paris, except the artillery, which had been disbanded, was summoned; that of the *banlieue*, for a circuit fifteen miles round the capital, was marched in with the utmost expedition; and all the troops within twenty miles received their orders overnight, and came rapidly in on the morning and forenoon of the 6th. But the National Guard of Paris, as usual, failed at the decisive moment; many of its battalions never made their appearance at all; of those which did come, nearly two-thirds were absent. Not so the National Guard of the *banlieue*; they presented themselves early at the place of rendezvous in the Carrousel in great and unexpected strength. Not 6000, but 10,000 had obeyed the summons of the generals, and their determined looks, serried ranks, and loud cheers, as they marched past the King at the gate of the Tuileries, proved that there were men in France who could be relied on in the hour of danger. Living in the country, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, they were strangers to the passions and changes of the capital, and the opinion was universal among them that Paris was in the hands of a set of assassins and plunderers, who, after sacking it, and destroying the market for their produce, would end by imposing a *maximum* on the price of agricultural productions, as their predecessors had done in 1793. Altogether, Marshal Soult found him-
1 Cap. vi. 212, 215; Moniteur, June 7, 1832; L. Blanc, iii. 506, 507; An. Hist. xv. 195, 197.

Great as these forces were, they were by no means incommensurate to the danger which threatened, for the progress of the insurgents during the night and early in the morning had been immense. Before nightfall they had forced one of the bridges, and opened up the communications between the southern and northern quarters of the city; they had carried with great slaughter the posts of the Bastille, the Marché St. Martin, and the Blancs Manteaux; and at seven in the morning they had erected a strong barricade across the entrance of the Petit Pont de l'Hôtel Dieu, defeated a part of the 25th regiment sent to destroy it, and surrounded on all sides the prefecture of police, which was hourly expected to fall into their hands. Steadily advancing from the eastern parts and centre of the city, and fortifying every street they carried with barricades, they were rapidly approaching the Hôtel

de Ville and Post-office, and might soon be expected in the Place des Victoires around the Palais Royal, and in front of the Louvre. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost alarm at the Tuileries; consternation was painted in every visage; the throne of the Citizen King seemed to be crumbling before the very forces which had created it. The palace no longer presented its wonted crowded aspect; there was no throng in the ante-chamber; numbers were slipping away. The persons in office were already secreting their most valuable effects: it was openly proposed in the council that the Tuileries should be abandoned. Were they to remain there till a sudden panic seized the troops, or the defection of a single regiment gave them an entrance, as on the 29th July, 1830? What was most dreaded was that General Lafayette or Marshal Clausel should join the movement, and give it the weight of their military and political influence. Certain it is that Armand Carrel had a mysterious interview during the night with Marshal Clausel; but he found him undetermined, and unwilling to commit himself till some of the troops had revolted. Strange to say, the advice to abandon the Tuileries came from Marshal Soult himself, and was opposed by M. Giquet, the head of the police; and nothing is more certain than that, if either Clausel or Lafayette had joined the insurgents, a part of the troops would have gone with them, and it had been all over with the monarchy of the Citizen King.
1 L. Blanc, iii. 306, 309; 215, 216.

But although politically timid, Soult's military measures were characterized by vigor and resolution. To secure the fidelity of the national guards, he intermingled their battalions among the troops of the line, and the forces thus united were placed in enormous strength on either side of the centre of the insurrection. Thirty thousand men were stationed on the boulevards, from the Porte St. Denis to the Place of the Bastille, and an equal force along the quays, from the Bridge of Austerlitz to the Pont des Arts. Between these two arms of iron Soult hoped to crush the insurgents, who, although not inferior in number if their forces had all been concentrated, were not yet all collected, and were by no means equal to the regular troops in arms or equipment, and were entirely destitute of artillery. Finding themselves, by this immense accumulation of forces, reduced to the defensive, the insurgents strengthened themselves as much as possible in the densely-peopled part of the city which they had selected for their strong-hold, where the height of the houses, generally of five or six stories, gave every facility for a dropping fire of musketry, and the narrowness of the streets rendered easy the construction of the most formidable barricades. Their head-quarters were re-established in the CLOISTER of St. Méri, which became famous in the desperate conflict which ensued; and all the streets leading to it on either side, especially the Rue des Arcis and the Rue de la Verrerie, were barricaded in the strongest manner. There the insurgents resolved to maintain the conflict to the very last extremity,² in the hope that the national guards might refuse to assault
2 Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195, 197; Cap. vi. 216, 217; L. Blanc, iii. 308, 313.

their barricades, or that the defection of one or two regiments of the line might, as on the former revolt, open them the path to victory, the Tuileries, and empire.

The order for a general attack upon the insurgents was given at seven in the morning, and immediately commenced the troops.

71. with great vigor and immense numbers. The first assault was made on the barricades of the Bastille and of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and they were carried after an obstinate resistance. Steadily advancing as they cleared the streets of the obstructions, the victorious troops gained ground to the westward as far as the Rue St. Antoine and the Barrière du Trône, and penetrated into the narrow streets flanked on either side with lofty stone buildings, which form the centre of Paris. The Bridge of Ansterlitz was at the same time stormed, and the troops cleared the quays and narrow streets running into them. Still the central position of the insurgents in the Rue St. Martin and at the Cloister de St. Méri remained in their hands; and though the combatants there were not numerous, they held a very strong position, and they were animated with the most heroic resolution. All the houses were filled with musketeers, who kept up a deadly dropping fire upon every column which approached them, and the strength of the barricades, solidly constructed of stone, seemed to defy the discharges even of the heaviest artillery. The desperate resolution with which the insurgents had defended themselves in several quarters, particularly in a house near the Passage du Saumon, where they combated to the last man, presaged a bloody encounter in this their last strong-hold. The tocsin incessantly sounded from the summit of the church of St. Méri to call the Republicans to the decisive point, and they were not wanting to the appeal. Young women, children of twelve years of age, old men tottering on the verge of the grave, flocked to the scene of danger, and

stood side by side with the manly combatants. Never had there been in the long annals of the revolutionary conflicts such universal enthusiasm and determined resolution on the part of the Republicans.¹

The troops first brought up to assault this formidable position were some battalions of the National Guard of Paris, which, ignorant of the strength of its opponents, advanced gayly as to certain victory. Assailed by a close fire from the barricade in the Rue St. Martin, the front rank first hesitated and then recoiled: a plunging fire of surprising accuracy from the windows next threw the whole column into disorder. In wild confusion they fled back to the quays, throwing their arms and shakos away, and dispersed in all directions. Upon this Soult brought up several pieces of the heaviest field-artillery, and gave the insurgents ten minutes to surrender at discretion. When the time had elapsed, without any tender of submission, the guns opened and battered the barricades for some time with the utmost violence. When they appeared to be ruined by the fire, several battalions of the National Guard of the *banlieue* were moved forward, and formed in close column close behind the guns, while howitzers in their

rear threw bombs over their heads into the space behind the barricades. After a general discharge, and before the smoke had cleared away, the whole rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and succeeded, though with heavy loss, in scrambling over the barricades. The insurgents upon this retreated into the adjoining houses, but there with desperate courage they fought to the last. Sixty, in a corner house at the junction of the Rue de St. Méri and Rue des Arcis, maintained the contest till their last cartridge was exhausted, when nearly the whole of them perished under the bayonets of the infuriated assailants. Scarcely any quarter was either asked or given, and many savage deeds disgraced the triumph of the soldiers of order. This bloody triumph closed the contest and extinguished the revolt. In the last resort the throne of the Citizen King was saved, neither by the valor of its regular infantry, nor the chivalry of its steel-clad cuirassiers, but by the courage of the National Guard of the *banlieue*, composed of the market-gardeners and milk-hucksters of Paris, who, untainted by the passions of the capital, and exasperated by the stoppage of the sale of their humble produce in its markets, flocked to the theatre of conflict, and were hurried over the barricades almost before they knew what they were doing.*¹

Physically brave, the politically irresolute Louis Philippe acted a noble part on this occasion. He insisted on the Queen and the Princess Adelaide, who were the prey to the most dreadful apprehensions, accompanying him from St. Cloud to Paris when the insurrection began; and at mid-day on the 6th, before the firing had yet ceased in the central parts of the city, he set out on horseback, accompanied by his sons and chief officers, to review the troops. The courageous act, as is generally the case on such occasions, excited general admiration, and the cortège was loudly applauded as it proceeded along the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue de la Paix, and the boulevards, to the Place de la Bastille, and back by the quays to the Louvre. The King was not actually under fire; but in the crowded streets and excited state of the population, he ran no small risk of being assassinated by some of the political fanatics with whom the capital at that time abounded. The garrison of Paris had 55 killed and 240 wounded in this combat; the National Guard, chiefly of the *banlieue*, 18 killed and 104 wounded. The loss on the side of the insurgents was never distinctly known; but 93 dead bodies and 291 wounded persons were brought to the public hospitals—probably not more than one half of the real sufferers on the occasion, who were withdrawn as much as possible, after the revolt failed, from public sight by their relations. Fifteen hundred of the insurgents were made prisoners.²

* The Author visited the theatre of this conflict shortly after. The walls were all perforated by grape-shot or cannon-balls, the windows and doors smashed to atoms, and marks of the most desperate strife in every room. The only surprising thing appeared to be how any one, either of the assailants or defenders, survived such a dreadful conflict.

72. Storming of the cloister of St. Méri.

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195; Rapport de Darniule: L. Blanc, iii. 377; Cap. vi. 215, 217.

¹ Rapport de M. Darniule: Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195; Moniteur, June 7, 1832; L. Blanc, iii. 394, 397; Cap. vi. 215, 217, 230, 232.

73. The King rides along the boulevards: refusal of the suits of the conflict.

² Moniteur June 7, 1832, and June 12, and June 22; Ann. Hist. xv. 195, 196; Cap. vi. 217, 218.

A meeting of the liberal deputies was again held at M. Lafitte's, on the morning of the 6th, to discuss the "*eventualities*" which might occur. Beyond all doubt, they assembled to deliberate on the dethronement of the King, but the course of events induced them to alter their views. When the display of troops proved that revolt was hopeless, and the discharge of cannon told that the Cloister of St. Méri was in process of being stormed, they quietly slipped over to the other side, and sought only to mitigate the victors' wrath. A deputation, consisting of M. Arago, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Lafitte, was appointed to wait upon the King, *congratulate him on his victory*, and implore him to temper justice with mercy in the moment of triumph. The deputation, which forcibly recalled that of which the same Arago had formed a part to Marmont two years before, during the revolt of July,¹ arrived at the Tuileries immediately after the King's return from his progress through the city. They could not have arrived more inopportunistly than when the monarch had just witnessed with his own eyes the extremities to which the violence of factions had reduced his capital. In vain M. Odillon Barrot represented, with all the eloquence of which he was master, that the excesses all originated in the coercive system commenced by M. Casimir Périer and the cabinet of 13th March; that it had led to revolts within, loss of influence and consideration without; that it had induced the insurrections of Grenoble and Lyons, the putting four departments in the west in a state of siege; in fine, in a rebellion which had bathed Paris in blood. "We beseech you, Sire!" he concluded, "to shut your ears to those who would counsel measures of violence in the moment of victory. In that career, allow us to say, it is difficult to stop when you have once entered. You have triumphed in the name of the law;

¹ *Ante, c. xvii. § 78.*
² L. Blanc, *iii.* 327, 328; but the triumph is forever to be deplored, for it has been purchased by the blood of the French."³

"Who is responsible for these disorders?" interrupted the King; "who must answer for the blood which has been shed? The miserable wretches who took advantage of the funeral of General Lamarque to attack the Government by open force—to fire on the troops of the line and the National Guard? My duty was traced out in characters which can not be misunderstood. The cannon you have heard is that which has demolished the barricades of St. Méri: the revolt is terminated. I do not know what can lead you to suppose that violent measures are to be adopted, but, rely upon it, they are loudly called for. During my ride through the city I repeatedly heard the cry, 'Sire, a prompt justice.' That is enough: but I trust justice will be able to resume its course without violence of any sort. I see nothing in my conduct which should make me lose my popularity, if it is not the violence of the opposite factions. I know the press is constantly endeavoring to destroy me, but it is by the aid of falsehood. I ask you, Is there any person of whom you have ever heard against whom a greater torrent of calumny has been

poured forth than myself?" The conference broke up with no other result but increased exasperation on both sides; and it soon appeared that the King had abated nothing of his firm resolution by their endeavors. Next morning there appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* an ordonnance, dated June 6, declaring Paris in a state of siege, and the most rigorous measures were adopted by the police against the secret societies and the printing-offices of the liberal journals.⁴

How necessary soever the ordonnance of June 6th, proclaiming the state of siege, may have been in this excited state of the metropolis, it met immediately with the most impassioned resistance from all parties. Republicans, Legitimists, Carlists, Napoleonists, united in condemning it as harsh and unnecessary, seeing the revolt had already been suppressed before it was issued. It was a more extreme measure than the ordonnances of Polignac, for it superseded, in all cases connected with the insurrection, the ordinary tribunals, substituted courts-martial for juries, and, as explained by an ordonnance on the following day, applied also to delinquencies of the press.⁵ This ominous declaration excited the utmost indignation in that numerous and influential body who, in a highly civilized state of society, live by inflaming the passions of the moment, whatever they are. The storm was universal, and violent in the extreme; and it was no easy matter for Government, resting on the support only of the military and civil *employés*, to make head against it. The general excitement was increased by the cool way in which the Prefect of Police, M. Gisquet, carried into execution the intentions of Government, striking on the right and the left without distinction; multiplying arrests of suspected persons of all parties on very slight grounds, including several deputies, and breaking to pieces, without mercy, all printing-presses of the Opposition journals, whether Carlist or Republican. All that had been made the subject of such reproach to M. de Polignac, when attempted, was now done by his successor, but done with tenfold severity and vigor. It was only necessary to substitute the name of M. Montalivet for that of M. de Polignac, and the indictment against the one would apply to the other.⁶

To give an air of impartiality to their proceedings, and represent the insurrection as the combined work of the Republicans and Carlists, the Government, at the same time that it

³ "Par la déclaration de l'état de siège l'autorité militaire est de droit investie des attributions qui, dans l'état ordinaire, appartiennent aux autorités civiles tant administratives que judiciaires. Toutefois l'intention du gouvernement du Roi est que, dans cette circonstance, l'action de la Justice militaire s'applique seulement aux cas spéciaux ayant rapport à l'insurrection, au soulèvement, à l'embauchage, à la séduction des troupes, aux provocations à la révolte, et autres circonstances constituant la complicité, et enfin aux faits tendant à troubler l'Etat par la guerre civile, l'illégal emploi de la force armée, la dévastation et le pillage public. Quant à la presse, les provocations à la révolte faites par cette voie et les attributs de l'ordre public sont des crimes justiciables des conseils de guerre."—*Ordonn.*, 7th June, 1832; *Moniteur*, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ordonnance*, June 7, 1832; *Moniteur*, *ib.*; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 196, 197; L. Blanc, *iii.* 317, 329; *Cap. vi.* 220, 224.

⁵ Resistance to the state of siege, and legal decision on its effect.

⁶ *Cap. vi.* 229, 241; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 197, 199; L. Blanc, *iii.* 322, 327.

ordered the arrest of MM. Laboissière, Cabet, and Garnier Pagès on the side of the Democrats, apprehended also MM. de Chateaubriand, Fitzjames, Hyde de Neuville, and Berryer as the leaders of the Legitimists. The arrest of so many noble characters, especially on a charge of which all the world knew they were entirely innocent, excited the utmost indignation in Paris. The Government journals, in particular the *Journal des Débats*, were loud in its condemnation. M. de Chateaubriand had resigned all his appointments, and refused to take the oath to Government; but every one knew that he was incapable of engaging in a conspiracy, and least of all with the Republicans. He looked for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons by a vote of the Chambers and constitutional means, and by that alone. The dignified manner in which he bore his captivity, and the delicate railery with which he replied to the charges preferred against him, excited the admiration even of his enemies.* Nothing whatever was discovered to implicate any of them in the proceedings which had taken place either in Paris

or La Vendée; and after a detention of a few weeks, during which they experienced the utmost courtesy from M. Gisquet, the Prefect of Police, they were all liberated.¹

¹ Cap. vi. 243, 245; Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 196; L. Blanc, iii. 330, 335.

Upon the proclamation of the state of siege, two councils of war were formed, to whom the cognizance of the cases connected with the insurrection was committed. The officers

summoned, however, evinced from the first the utmost repugnance at their invidious office, and they were so strongly supported by public opinion that it was more than doubtful whether their appointment would lead to any result. Two persons brought before the first council of war were acquitted; but an artist, named Geoffroy, accused of having taken a part in the insurrection of the 5th, and borne the *chapeau rouge* on that occasion, was convicted, and condemned to death. This sentence, however, was

brought under the review of the Court of Cassation, by which it was set aside

on the ground of the illegality of the constitution of the court by the ordonnance of June 6th. This decision made an immense sensation as a victory over the Government; and it was so entirely supported by public opinion that Louis Philippe bent before the storm. By an ordonnance of June 30th the courts-martial, June 30. were declared dissolved in the capital, and retained only in the western provinces, where the Royalists were to be prosecuted. Nothing remained now but to bring the accused before the ordinary courts, where they fell under the cognizance of juries, and twenty-two of the leaders of the conspiracy were put to the bar in July. Sixteen were acquitted, including a young heroine named Louise Antoinette, whose courage had been signalized at the barricades; and six were convicted, and sentenced to various periods of transportation and imprisonment. They evinced the greatest heroism and intrepidity during the trial, and on receiving sentence: most of them bore the medal of July on their bosoms.* To the honor of the Government, it must be added that no capital sentence was pronounced, and that

¹ L. Blanc, iii. 337, 339; Ann. Hist. xv. 199, 202; Cap. vi. 240, 245.

Disappointed in their expectations of crushing the spirit of insubordination in Paris by the rude, though effective, method of military commissions, the Government had recourse to the slower but not less efficacious methods of continued detentions of accused persons in prison, and multiplied prosecutions against the press. Strange to say, amidst all their declamations in favor of freedom, the French had never thought of laying the first foundation for it in the limiting the power of imprisonment at the instance of the Government; and Louis Philippe took advantage of this omission to detain the persons arrested for the insurrection of June, eighteen hundred in number, for the most part eighteen months or two years in prison, without bringing them to trial. Nor was the war against the press, by means of prosecutions, less active.

* "In a letter written from prison to M. Bertin, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, M. de Chateaubriand said: "J'attendais là, mon cher Bertin, votre vieille amitié, elle s'est trouvée à point nommé à l'heure de l'infortune. Les compagnons d'exil et de prison, sont comme des camarades de collège, à jamais liés par le souvenir des joies et des leçons en commun. Je voudrais bien vous voir et vous aller remercier. Je voudrais bien aussi remercier tous les journaux qui m'ont témoigné tant d'intérêt, et se sont souvenus du défenseur de la liberté de la presse; mais vous savez que je suis captif, captivé d'ailleurs adouci par la politesse de mes hôtes. Je ne saurais trop me louer de la bienveillance de M. le Préfet de Police. J'ai refusé tout serment à l'ordre politique actuel: j'ai envoyé ma démission de Ministre d'Etat, et renoncé à ma pension."

"Je ne puis donc être un traître ni un ingrat envers le Gouvernement de Louis Philippe. Veut-on me prendre pour un ennemi? Mais alors je suis un ennemi loyal, désarmé, un vaincu qui supporte la nécessité d'un fait sans demander grâce. J'ai fondé mon refus de serment sur deux raisons: 1. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit par succession de l'ancienne Monarchie. 2. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit de la souveraineté populaire, puisqu'un congrès national exprès a été assemblé pour décider de la forme du gouvernement."—M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND à M. BERTIN, June 10, 1832; CAPEFIGUE, *Dis Ans de Louis Philippe*, vi. 246, 247.

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* The following *procès verbal* of the examination of Jeanne, one of the leading conspirators, will illustrate the indomitable spirit with which they were animated: "Le 5 Juin vous assistiez au convoi? Oui, monsieur. Sur les cinq heures n'étiez-vous pas au carrefour St. Mary? Oui, avec l'arme que j'étais allé prendre chez moi. Vous avez travaillé à la barricade? Oui, deux gardes nationaux ont été tués pres de moi sur le boulevard; on avait tiré sur nous sans provocation; je courus à mes armes. N'avez-vous pas le premier commandé le feu? Non, une balle venait de m'atteindre au milieu des reins et m'avait renversé. Je me suis levé toutefois et j'ai tiré un coup de fusil, un seul, car ils avaient fui. N'étiez-vous pas resté toute la nuit sur la barricade? Oui, et je faisais feu. Ne distribuez-vous pas des cartouches? Oui, quand ils en avaient besoin. Le lendemain vous avez tiré toute la journée? Toute la journée. N'étiez-vous pas un de ceux qui tiraient des croisées de la maison No. 5 à la fin de l'attaque? Oui, quand on se rendit maître de la barricade nous n'avions plus de cartouches, sans cela nous y serions restés. Nous nous sommes retirés en traversant à la baïonnette la troupe de ligne." He was sentenced to transportation. It is difficult to say whether, in this interrogatory, the leading feature of the questions put by the presiding judge is most to be condemned, or the courage and candor of the accused in answering them is to be admired. Jeanne's mother, a Spartan matron, sat by her son the whole time of the trial, encouraging him by her words and example to persevere in his heroic demeanor.—L. BLANC, iii. 338, 339.

The number of these prosecutions, and the anxiety with which they were conducted, exceeded any thing previously witnessed, not merely in French, but in European history. The restrictions so much complained of during the Restoration were as nothing compared to it. From the accession of Louis Philippe to the 1st October, 1832, a period of little more than two years, there occurred in France 281 seizures of journals, and 251 judgments on them. No less than eighty-one journals had been condemned, of which forty-one were in Paris alone. The total number of months of imprisonment inflicted on editors of journals during this period was 1226; and the amount of fines levied, 347,550 francs (£14,000). This is perhaps the hottest warfare, without the aid of the censorship, ever yet waged, during so short a period, against the liberty of the press. The system of Louis Philippe was, to bring incessant prosecutions against the parties responsible for journals, without caring much whether they were successful or not, hoping that he would wear them out by the trouble and expense of conducting their defenses, whether the prosecutions terminated one way or the other—an astute and sagacious policy, and perhaps the only one which promised any prospect of success, when the passions on all sides were so strongly excited, that the voice of reason or truth had not a chance of being heard. But it appeared not a little strange when coming from the councils of the Citizen King, the monarch of the

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 205, 207; Barricades, and showed how little Cap. vi. 252, the cause of real freedom had gained by the success of that convulsion.¹

The Government of Louis Philippe was both greatly strengthened within, and acquired great additional consideration without, by the suppression of the revolts of May in La Vendée, and June in Paris. His Government had at length met its most formidable antagonists face to face, and proved victorious in the strife. The heroism of Marie Caroline and the chivalry of the Royalists had not succeeded in rousing a general insurrection in the western provinces; the intrepidity and enthusiasm of the Republicans had failed in sustaining one, when commenced under the most favorable circumstances, in the metropolis. This double victory produced a great impression on men's minds, both in France and the adjoining States. The capitalists and manufacturers of Paris and the chief towns of France began to feel confidence in the stability of a Government which had withstood so rude a shock: the sovereigns and diplomatists of foreign States came to think the dynasty of the Citizen King might remain permanent, and that it would be well to conciliate by negotiation a power which might yet acquire a lead in Europe. The effects of this change of opinion, externally and internally, were immediately conspicuous. Capital began to reappear from its hiding-places, industry to resume its labors in the work-shops, purchases to be made in the bazars. The day after the insurrection had been put down, all the shops in Paris were open,² the streets were perfectly quiet, and a confidence un-

² Ann. Hist. xv. 208, 210; tion had been put down, all the shops Cap. vi. 254, in Paris were open,² the streets were 256.

known for months before was felt. All men had previously been aware that a conflict was approaching; all now saw it was over.

The effect of the King's victory appeared soon in the increased returns of the revenue, and the improved condition of the people. The public funds rapidly rose: the Five per Cents, which had been ninety-two in January, rose in the end of June to ninety-seven, in July to ninety-eight, and in August to ninety-nine, at which high level they remained for the remainder of the year. The produce of the taxes, though still below what it had been before the Revolution of 1830, rose considerably, and exhibited for the last six months of 1832 an increase of 28,000,000 francs over the corresponding months of the preceding year. The loan of 150,000,000 (£6,000,000), authorized by the vote of the Chambers to be raised for the public service, was contracted for on August 8, at 98.50, for a rent of 5 francs, or somewhat above 5 per cent.; a very favorable contract for the public, for in the preceding year a loan of 120,000,000 had only been got at 84 francs. Industry sensibly revived in the metropolis; many work-shops which had been closed since the Revolution of July were reopened. Sales were more frequent in the shops, and the symptoms of general prosperity began to reappear. The working classes had been ruined by their victory; the first dawn of hope opened to them from their defeat.¹

¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 9, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 206, 209, and Dec. Hist. 101.

An auspicious event at the same time took place in the family of the Citizen King, of much importance, both as extending his connections and influence, and demonstrating the good understanding which existed between the Cabinets of the Tuileries and St. James's. On the 9th August, Leopold, the new King of Belgium, was married to the Princess Louise-Marie, daughter of Louis Philippe. The marriage ceremony was performed according to the forms of the Lutheran Church, to which Leopold belonged, by the Protestant minister, and by the Bishop of Meaux, with royal pomp and magnificence, according to the Catholic ritual. After the ceremony was over, the royal pair set out for Brussels, and Louis Philippe and his family returned to St. Cloud, amidst tears and lamentations on both sides; for the royal family were sincerely attached to each other—the more so, as the peril in which they were all involved since his accession to the throne had drawn closer the bonds of domestic love.²

² Ann. Hist. xv. 211; *Moniteur*, Aug. 10, 1832; Cap. vi. 263, 264.

The double shock which the Government had undergone from the Carlist and Republican insurrections, and the narrow escape it had made from total shipwreck on occasion of the last, had, however, been too severe to pass over without a change in the Ministry. The leading part which Marshal Soult had played in that crisis, and the necessity of military vigor and capacity to secure a Government now resting almost entirely on military force, pointed him out as the proper head of the Administration. By an ordonnance, ac-

³ *Ann. Hist.* xv. 211; *Moniteur*, Aug. 10, 1832; Cap. vi. 263, 264.

cordingly, of October 11, he was appointed President of the Council; the Duke de Broglie, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, of Finance; M. Thiers, of the Interior; M. Guizot, of Public Instruction. This Cabinet, with the exception of its military head, was entirely composed of the Doctrinaire party. M. Montalivet was removed from the Ministry of the Interior to the head of the Civil List. A far more exceptional step was taken two days after Oct. 11. by the creation of SIXTY-THREE new peers, making in all NINETY-NINE since the accession of Louis Philippe. The predictions of the Royalists were already verified; the Revolution of July, 1830, and the subsequent abolition of the hereditary peerage to which it had led, had destroyed the independence and influence of the Upper House, and reduced it to a crowd of titled and salaried partisans of a Ministry, holding their dignities only for life, and pledged to its support.¹²

¹ *Moniteur*, Oct. 9, and 11, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. 213, 215.

It soon appeared that the marriage of the widow of the Princess Charlotte of England to a daughter of France was not to be the only result of the intimate alliance, or *entente cordiale*, as it was called, which had now grown up between the two nations.

Political consequences, also, of the strangest and most unexpected kind, followed the alliance, and the prodigy was presented to the astonished world of an English fleet and a French army combining to wrest the great fortress, which Napoleon had erected for our subjugation, from its lawful sovereign, and restore it to revolutionary influence and the sway of the tricolor flag. ANTWERP was the point from whence, for centuries, the independence of Great Britain had been most seriously menaced. When the Duke of Parma received orders to co-operate in the invasion of England by the Armada, it was there he collected the fleet which was to convey the veterans of Spain to the British shores. The first efforts of Marlborough after the victory of Ramilies were directed to wresting it from France. When Napoleon arrived at supreme power in 1800, his first care was to make a journey to the Scheldt to examine its capabilities. His eagle eye soon discerned its vast importance as the outwork of France against England. He gave orders immediately for the construction of magnificent docks under its guns, and a fleet of forty sail of the line. The right wing of the Army of England was to have embarked, when the invasion was attempted, from its quays; and so strongly was the danger to Britain felt from so great a naval and military establishment being formed in its close vicinity, that the greatest armament which ever left the British shores was in 1809 directed for its subjugation. Napoleon every day felt more strongly the inestimable importance of this great strong-hold for the prosecution of his designs against this country; he often said Antwerp was worth to him a kingdom;¹³ amidst all his misfortunes he clung to it with invincible tenacity;¹⁴ he refused peace at Chatillon rather

¹² *History of Europe*, c. lxxvii. § 109.

¹³ The peers were now 289 in number, of whom 90, or above a third, had been created by Louis Philippe. Four more were created on 8th November, making his creations 103 in two years and a quarter.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 215.

than consent to its relinquishment; and when the mighty conqueror was struck to the earth, his right hand still held the citadel of Antwerp.*

It is one of the most extraordinary circumstances recorded in history, that after having twice over, as the fruit of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, wrested this great and menacing fortress from France, and after having been fully taught by her inveterate enemy its paramount importance, England should have entered into a compact with France for its restoration to the dependent of that power, and rendered it again the advanced work of the tricolor flag! Were Great Britain now, after having wrested Sebastopol from Russia, to enter into a convention with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg to restore it to the arms of the Czar, it would be a less act of suicidal folly, in proportion as the Crimea is farther from the British shores than the Scheldt, and the command of the Black Sea less vital to our independence than that of the British Channel. So it was, however; the thing was done, and is not now likely to be ever undone. On 22d October, 1832, a convention was signed at London between M. de Talleyrand and Lord Palmerston, to the effect "that the Kings of Holland and Belgium should be summoned to take, before the 2d November, measures for withdrawing their troops from the places which they respectively held within each other's territories, as fixed by the treaty of 15th November, 1831. In the event of this evacuation not being agreed to by King William on the part of Holland, an embargo was immediately to be placed on all Dutch vessels in the harbors of France and England, and an English and French squadron was to be fitted out, which was to arrest all Dutch vessels on the seas. Should Dutch troops still be found on the Belgian territory on the 15th November, a French army was to enter Belgium to expel the Dutch troops from the citadel of Antwerp and the neighboring forts." Though ostensibly directed against both the contending powers in Flanders, this convention was in reality leveled at Holland alone, since the Belgian troops occupied no part of the Dutch territory. And in order to carry it into immediate effect, a powerful French army, under Marshal Gérard, was ordered to be in readiness on the frontier of Flanders, while a strong English squadron was collected at Spithead. This decisive resolution was taken by the Cabinets of London and Paris alone; the northern powers declined to be parties to it; and as it brought the five powers to the very edge of a general war, it in a manner broke up the London conference.¹

As might have been expected, the King of Holland returned an answer in the negative to the summons to evacuate the most important fortress in his dominions; and this, to all appearance, brought matters to a general war—France and England on the one side, Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the other. Again, as in 1798, the advance of the French to the Scheldt was to be

¹ "If I could have made up my mind to abandon Antwerp, I might have had peace at Chatillon."—*NAPOLÉON in O'MEARA*, i. 247.

^{85.} Convention between France and England for cession of Antwerp to Belgium.

¹ Convention, Oct. 22, 1832; *Ann. Hist.* xv. app. 49, 519, 290; *Cap. vi.* 409, 410.

^{86.}

Negotiations on the subject.

the signal for a universal conflagration; but this time England was on the opposite side to that she had formerly espoused: she interfered now to give Antwerp to France, not to keep it from that power. Such marvels had the Revolution of July in France and the Reform Bill in England already achieved! The danger was imminent that this alliance would produce a corresponding counter-league among the northern powers, and that Prussia in particular would take the alarm at the close approach of danger to her Rhenish provinces. Every effort, accordingly, was made by the French and English diplomatists to calm the apprehensions of the Cabinet of Berlin, and prevent the cannonade of Antwerp from lighting up the flames of a general war. To the Prussian minister in London they confidentially represented, "That Prussia had nothing to fear from the aggressive movement of France in the Low Country—that it had been stipulated in secret articles that the French troops should not remain in Belgium—that the Cabinet of London would confine their operations to the siege of Antwerp—that there was a precise engagement to that effect—and that England was as much interested as Prussia in the faithful execution of that convention." The Cabinet of Berlin, however, was far from being satisfied with these assurances, and, regarding England and France as now united in a league to revolutionize the other states in Europe, they haughtily announced, "that not only would they be no parties to the attack on Holland, but they would oppose it by all the military means in their power." At the same time, orders were given to form an army of 70,000 men on the Meuse, and the landwehr of the whole kingdom was called out. It was well known that in this language and these measures Prussia was entirely supported by Russia and Austria, and she openly spoke in the name of the German Diet; so that if the western powers persevered, there did not appear a chance of preserving the peace of Europe.¹

* "Ainsi qu'il est déjà à la connaissance de la sérénissime diète, la Grande Bretagne et la France ont l'intention d'employer des mesures coercitives contre la Hollande, pour faire exécuter les 34 articles adoptés par le traité de Londres du 15 Nov. de l'année dernière, tels que ceux qui ont été modifiés par des négociations postérieures. Quoique ces mesures coercitives soient limitées à la prise de la citadelle d'Anvers, il est impossible en cas de résistance de la part de la Hollande, de concevoir cet état de choses comme n'étant pas la guerre, et de considérer cette guerre entre la Hollande et ces deux puissances comme n'étant pas dans le cours des événements, et d'un extrême danger pour la paix de l'Europe.

"L'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie n'ont pas manqué de prendre des moyens pour s'opposer à ces mesures de coercition contre un Etat indépendant, et en même temps ces trois puissances ont refusé d'y prendre part ou de les approuver. Néanmoins comme la Grande Bretagne et la France d'après leur position et leurs relations avec la Belgique croient avoir des motifs de persister dans leur résolution, le sousigné représentant de la Prusse a été autorisé à faire inscrire dans le protocole de la Diète, que des ordres ont été donnés par le roi son maître afin que le septième corps d'armée, qui jusqu'ici a été stationné en Westphalie, passe le Rhin et prenne position entre Aix-la-Chapelle et Guelldres, dans le but de couvrir ses frontières sur la rive droite de la Meuse, vis-à-vis la Belgique et la Hollande, et en même temps que le huitième corps stationné sur le Rhin serve de corps de réserve à l'autre."
—*Protocole de la 4^{te} Année de la Diète Germanique du 6 Dec., 1833; Ann. Hist., xv. 177; Doc. Hist.* To this protocol Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and all the other German powers, gave in their adhesion.—*Ibid.*

When the two western powers in this manner threw down the gauntlet to the rest of continental Europe, England was, as usual after a long peace, wholly unprepared for war. No preparations whatever had been made for it; her forces by sea and land had been brought down by the incessant clamor of the House of Commons for economy to the lowest point, and it is impossible to over-estimate the disasters which might have ensued if, in this unprotected state, she had been suddenly precipitated into hostilities with the whole of Germany and Russia. But it was far otherwise in France. Separated only by the waters of the Rhine from the Germanic Confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men into the field, and aware that it was the object of general continental jealousy and distrust from its revolutionary origin, the new Government of France had made the most herculean efforts to increase its war establishment, and it had now attained a most formidable degree of magnitude and consistency. Never, not even in the memorable years 1798 and 1813, had so great a number of men been enrolled in so short a time under the national standards, and never was a more powerful army ready to commence operations. From an official statement published in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that in the beginning of December in this year, when the siege of the citadel of Antwerp was going on, France had 396,000 regular troops ready to take the field, besides 1,231,000 national guards, armed, disciplined, and equipped, of whom more than half might be immediately rendered movable, and put in a condition to take the field. This immense force was armed with 908,000 muskets and bayonets, and 240,000 sabres, and it was provided with 185 companies of artillery, besides 680 pieces of cannon, and placed on the ramparts of the principal fortresses of the kingdom.¹

Self-confident in their resources and strength, France, from the immensity of the military means at its disposal, and England, from its insular situation, naval power, and former fame, the western powers resolved, notwithstanding these alarming appearances, to prosecute the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. Great preparations were made by both powers for the approaching conflict. An army of 48,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 6000 artillery and engineers, was assembled on the Belgian frontier, under Marshal Gérard, forming above 60,000 effective combatants, while 40,000 more were stationed on the Moselle, to watch the Prussian army, which was grouped on the right bank of the Meuse. At the same time, a British squadron of five ships of the line, accompanied by a French one of three, with five frigates, made sail from the Downs to blockade the Scheldt, and join in any warlike operations where they could be rendered serviceable.²

Ever since the rupture between Belgium and Holland, the town of Antwerp had been in the hands of the Belgian troops, but the citadel remained in the possession of the Dutch, who, to

Want of preparations in England, and great preparations for war in France.

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 24, Dec. 3, 1833, and *Ann. Hist.* xv. 285.

² *Preparations of England and France for the siege of Antwerp.*

³ *Ann. Hist.* xv. 285, 286; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 368; *Cap. vi.* 412, 413.

⁴ *Description of the citadel of Antwerp.*

the number of 5000 men, under General Chassé, held its formidable ramparts. This celebrated strong-hold, which is separated from the town by an esplanade, is situated on the right bank of the Scheldt, above the town, but commanding the harbor, and has always been considered as one of the strongest places in Europe. It was built by the Duke of Alva during the war between Spain and the United Provinces in the sixteenth century, to command the navigation of the Scheldt, and be the chief frontier fortress toward Holland. Its strength was largely added to by Napoleon when he made Antwerp the great pivot on which his designs against Great Britain were to be rested. To the west it is protected by the river, which is very deep there, and by an advanced work, called the "Tête de Flandre," which effectually bars all progress up the river. The ditches of the citadel are on the same level as the Scheldt, and kept constantly full from its waters, which are prevented from escaping with the receding tide by means of flood-gates, which are opened when it rises and shut when it falls. On the western or land side, the fortress is covered by several strong outworks, of which the lunette of St. Laurent, the fort of Montebello, and the fort of Keil, are the most considerable; and the rampart is strengthened by immense bastions, among which the bastion of Toledo stands conspicuous. The garrison, which consisted of 5000 men, under the resolute veteran General Chassé, was composed of brave and experienced soldiers; 180 guns, most of them of very heavy calibre, armed the works; and ample casemates and covered lodgings were constructed behind them, to protect the troops from the effect of a bombardment. In addition to this, the King of Holland had raised his army to 120,000 men, and called out the whole landwehr, so that every thing presaged a desperate conflict.¹

The French troops, to the number of 60,000, with an immense siege equipage, crossed the frontier of Belgium at Charleroi on the 18th November, and directed their steps in the first instance to Brussels. In doing so, they of necessity passed over the very centre of the field of Waterloo. The streets of Genappe, the hamlet of La Belle Alliance, the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, the Church of Waterloo, the Forest of Soignies, were successively passed by armed multitudes in the pride of apparently irresistible strength, and burning with the desire to efface by victory the defeat there inflicted on their arms. Such was the excitement produced by the scene, that several of the battalions could not be restrained by their officers from discharging volleys at the artificial hill surmounted by the lion, erected by the King of the Netherlands to commemorate that immortal triumph. In the end of Nov. 30. November, the French troops, in great strength, arrived before the citadel of Antwerp, and the preliminary work of getting up gabions and fascines having been accomplished, a curious correspondence ensued between Marshal Gérard and the Dutch governor, as to the mode in which, and the limits within which, the siege operations were to be carried on. General Chassé insisted that the French should not

make use of the works of the city against the citadel, expressing his determination, if this was attempted, to consider the town as taking part in the siege, and bombard it accordingly. Both the Belgian government and those of their allies were anxious to avoid an alternative so obviously fraught with ruin to the interests of commerce, and those of the infant kingdom of Belgium. At first, however, the negotiations wore a very unpromising aspect; and every preparation was made in Antwerp for hostilities, by barricading and unpaving the streets, which diffused universal consternation among the inhabitants, and led to great numbers of the more affluent leaving the city. At length the voice of reason and humanity prevailed, and it was agreed that the town, with all its outworks, was to be regarded by both parties as neutral; that the approaches of the besiegers should be confined to the open country to the south-east of the citadel, and the fire of the besieged be turned only in that direction.¹

Ground was broken on the night of the 30th November, and the approaches were pushed forward with the greatest activity. It could not be called war, for peace reigned around the combatants in every direction; and even when hostilities were going forward, they were on a single front of the fortress only. It was rather a *besieging tournament* for the amusement of Europe. Although the weather was very unfavorable, and storms of wind and rain prevailed, the approaches, under the direction of the Duke of Orleans, made rapid progress, the great numbers of the besiegers enabling them to supply the trenches with perpetual fresh relays of laborers. The second parallel was commenced on the night of the 8d, under a heavy fire of canister and grape from the ramparts, and on the 4th the bombardment commenced from eighty-two pieces of heavy artillery and twenty-two mortars, against the lunette St. Laurent. Despite an incessant and well-sustained fire from the citadel, the besiegers made sensible progress; the third and fourth parallels were completed against fort St. Laurent, and a mine having been run under one of its principal bastions, it was sprung on the night of the 14th December, which made a practicable breach in the walls. Three French companies of the 65th regiment immediately advanced to the assault, passed the ditch without firing a shot, and with fixed bayonets carried the breach. At the same time, a corps of grenadiers, during the tumult consequent on springing the mine, got in by escalade on the opposite side; and the small garrison of two hundred and eighty men, finding themselves beset on all sides, drew into the citadel, with the loss of sixty prisoners, after having made a gallant defense.²

This was a very important success, for it gave the besiegers a solid foundation near the ramparts, and enabled them to bring their approaches to the very edge of the ditch, on the summit of the counterscarp. The Dutch, under their resolute general, made a gallant defense, but the superiority of the resources and fire of

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 285, 286; Cap. vi. 416, 418.

² Commencement of the siege. Nov. 1832.

¹ Cap. 41. Ann. Hist. xv. 287, 288.

² Progress of the siege, and capture of the lunette St. Laurent. Dec. 14.

³ Dépêche du Maréchal Gérard, Dec. 15, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 290; Cap. xv. 422, 424.

⁴ Gallant defense, and fall of the citadel.

the besiegers became every day more conspicuous. Night and day the bombardment was continued with indefatigable activity, and with such vigor were the destructive projectiles poured into the fortress, that as many as fourteen bombs at once were frequently seen traversing the air from the besiegers' lines. Nothing could afford a secure shelter against the flaming tempest; the casemates were broken through by the weight of the falling bombs; and some even penetrated into the hospital, constructed in the strongest manner to guard against them, with six feet of earth placed above transverse beams of immense thickness, strongly supported, and exploded in the midst of the unfortunate inmates. The garrison, daily diminishing in number from the effects of the fire, were worn out by incessant toil: night and day they were obliged to stand to their guns, many of which were dismounted, and the embrasures injured; while forty heavy guns, mounted on the edge of the counterscarp, battered across the ditch at the bastion of Toledo, against which their converging fire was directed with unerring precision. The brick walls, though of great height, speedily gave way before the ceaseless crash of the bullets, and soon the bastion was so shaken that it became little more than a heap of ruins, upon the summit of which the Dutch gunners, with heroic perseverance, still maintained an indomitable defense. General Chassé, however, now wisely judged that the defense could no longer be maintained. Every thing was prepared for an assault, which the wearied and weakened garrison were in no condition to resist; and on the morning of the 28d, having prolonged the defense as long as military honor or state policy required, the white flag was hoisted. The fire immediately ceased, and the terms accorded to the garrison were without difficulty arranged. They were to surrender the citadel, with the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which, some miles farther down, commanded the navigation of the Scheldt, and to be permitted to retire into Holland with their colors and arms. When this capitulation came to be submitted to the King of Holland for his ratification, he refused to give up the forts, on the ground that they were not under Chassé's orders at the time of the capitulation. Marshal Gérard, upon this, offered to allow the garrison to retire into Holland upon the simple obligation not to serve against France or Belgium during the continuance of hostilities; but Chassé, not feeling himself able to implement the terms

¹ Ann. Hist. of the original capitulation, prev. xv. 291, 292; ferred retiring with his gallant army Cap. vi. 427, into France, were they were followed by the admiration of all Europe.¹²

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp, in a military point of view, is one of the reflections on most memorable of which the annals of Europe make mention. Such had been the intrepidity of the governor and the courage of the garrison, that five thousand men kept sixty thousand at bay during twenty-four days of open trenches, during which the fire, both of artillery and small-arms, was incessant, and besiegers and besieged were alike standing

to their guns day and night during the severities of a rude season, in the depth of winter. It is hard to say whether, in such circumstances, there is most to admire in the vigor and perseverance of the besiegers, or the devotion and constancy of the besieged. Both sides made the utmost efforts during the continuance of the operations. The besieged opened up 14,000 fathoms of trenches, the artillery discharged 63,000 shots, and they took 5000 men by

¹ Chassé's Official Report, Dec. 24, 1832; St. Cyr's Report, Dec. 31, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 291, 292, and 93, 94 (Doc. Hist.).

The capture of the citadel of Antwerp made an immense sensation in France, and went far to reconcile the Republican party to the government of Louis Philippe. They took it as an earnest that a new system was to be pursued; that submission to despotic tyrants was to be exchanged for revolutionary propagandism, and that France was to seek its natural allies among all people disposed to throw off the yoke of legitimate monarchs. They said, with truth, that the cannon-balls of Marshal Gérard were directed more against the Holy Alliance than the citadel of Antwerp; and that they had made a wider breach in the defenses of the conservative system than in the bastion of Toledo. Visions of the restored frontier of the Rhine, and of the renewed glories of the Empire, flitted before their excited imaginations. In England, strange to say, this important event excited very little attention. Intoxicated with their Reform triumph, and dreaming only of the unbounded social and individual advantages which they expected to realize from its acquisition, the people of Great Britain could not be prevailed on to bestow even a passing thought on the events of the Continent, and turned a deaf ear to the thoughtful few, who in vain represented that they had lent the aid of their arms to undo the work of Marlborough and Wellington, and restore to the son-in-law of France, and the sway of the tricolor flag, the great outwork which Napoleon had created at so vast a cost for our subjugation, and which he deemed so vital to that object, that he lost his crown rather than abandon it.²

The Continental powers were by no means so blind as the people of England to the vital importance and probable ultimate effects of this entire change of policy; but circumstances obliged them to remain passive, and devour their mortification in silence. The moment for successful action had passed away. "England and France," says Chateaubriand, "like two enormous battering-rams, shook all the adjoining states, and the monarchs of Europe were afraid to come within the reach of their strokes." The strength developed among the warlike inhabitants of France had been prodigious; and though England was in a military point of view still unarmed, yet the prestige of her name was great, and her navy could soon be brought into a condition to blockade those of

² The Author hurried over to Antwerp on occasion of this siege, and many of the foregoing details are given from his own observation.

^{94.} Effect of this success in France and England.

^{95.} Causes which forced the Continental powers to remain quiet.

all the other powers in Europe. Austria, disquieted about her Italian possessions, and seriously alarmed at the disposition evinced in Hungary in favor of the Polish insurgents, was in no hurry to commence hostilities; Prussia, doubtful of the support of Russia, and in a great measure dependent on her foreign trade, was fearful of throwing down the gauntlet to two powers, the one of which might blockade her harbors, and the other endanger her Rhenish provinces; and Russia herself, exhausted by the Polish war, which had both deranged her finances and occasioned a prodigious loss of men, was not in a condition to undertake a distant crusade for the extinction of the revolutionary principle in western Europe. Then the Dutch government, how firm and resolute soever, felt that they could not rely on the active support of the northern powers; and as the French army, after the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, made it over to the Belgian troops, and immediately returned into France without attempting any further hostilities, the main cause both of alarm and prolonged warfare was at an end. They were no longer threatened in their own country; to regain Antwerp or Belgium single-handed, in the face of the combined forces of France and England, was obviously out of the question. On the other hand, Belgium was not less interested in coming to an accommodation; for as long as hostilities continued, its commerce was almost entirely interrupted in Holland, which had the command of the mouths of the Scheldt, and lower parts of the Scheldt and the Meuse, the principal arteries of the State.¹

From these circumstances arose a greater facility in the negotiations relative to the Belgian question. It had in effect been resolved in all substantial points by the French invasion, which prevented the King of Holland from regaining the throne in 1831, and the capture of Antwerp in 1832. The negotiations accordingly were resumed, and came to turn chiefly on the lesser points of trade and commerce, in which the Dutch government evinced great determination. At length, however, all the difficulties were overcome, and on May 19, 1833; the 19th May, 1833, a convention was agreed to, and signed by all the parties, which brought this protracted and anxious dispute to a termination.

Without going back on the separation of Belgium and Holland, and the limits of the two kingdoms, which it assumed as definitively settled by the treaty between the five powers signed at London on the 15th November, 1831, this convention was directed to the adjustment of the differences still existing between the contending parties, and this it did in a manner extremely favorable to Belgium. It was provided that all the Dutch vessels which had been seized by English or French cruisers should be forthwith released, and restored, with their cargoes, to their respective owners, and that all Dutch prisoners, either by land or sea, should be immediately set at liberty. On the other hand, Holland engaged not to recommence hostilities against Belgium, and to leave the navigation of the Scheldt open, as it had been prior to November 1, 1832. The commercial navigation of the

Meuse, of which Holland commanded the lower part, was also opened to vessels bearing the Belgian flag, on condition of paying the duties fixed by the tariff of Mayence for the states of the German Confederation. The contracting parties engaged immediately to commence negotiations for the conclusion of a definitive treaty, which could not be a matter of any difficulty, as the whole matters of importance in dispute between them were already adjusted.¹

When the new kingdom of Belgium was in this manner so completely brought under French influence, and made in fact to owe its existence to French protection, the importance of the barrier-fortresses against that power was no longer felt. Flanders having become, not the barrier of Europe against France, but the outwork of France against Europe, the gigantic fortresses in its territory, which had been erected to act as a curb upon the ambition of that power, were no longer felt as necessary on either side. They had ceased to be a protection to Europe; they were not required as a protection for France. Her own triple line of fortresses was sufficient for her defense; and such was the strength of the German Confederation, that the states belonging to it did not feel the want of any extraneous protection. Thus, by common consent, the famous barrier against France, which England and Holland had so earnestly contended for in former days, and which had been the object of such costly war, was abandoned, and the treaty for its preservation was rescinded. By a convention concluded at London between France, England, and Belgium, on 6th March, 1832, the latter power was relieved from the burden of upholding five of the principal barrier-fortresses on the frontier toward France, and the two former powers agreed to their demolition. Stronger evidence of the immensity of the change produced by the Revolution of 1830, and the Reform Bill, could not be conceived, for the barrier thus abandoned had been constructed by the Whig government of Queen Anne and the Tory government of George IV., and it had been won by the victories of Marlborough and Wellington.²

This convention closed the convulsions in northern and central Europe which had arisen from the Revolution of July, and the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon in France. Immense had been the effect it had produced, both externally and internally, and it is only on a calm retrospect at this distance of time that its vast importance can be appreciated. The shocks of the earthquake still continued to be felt beyond the Pyrenees and in the Levant; but in central Europe, where alone a serious conflict was to be apprehended, the concussion was at an end. Great beyond all anticipation had been the addition which they made to the power of France. The revolution of Belgium and capture of Antwerp, followed by the marriage of Leopold to the daughter of Louis Philippe, restored Flanders to French influence nearly as completely as Poland

^{90.}
Treaty of May 19, 1833, between Holland and Belgium.

^{91.}
May 19, 1833; the 19th May, 1833, a convention was agreed to, and signed by all the parties, which brought this protracted and anxious dispute to a termination.

^{92.}
Convention, May 19, 1833; *Moniteur*, May 25; *An. Hist.* xvi. 133, and 339, 340 (*Doc. Hist.*).

^{93.}
Abandonment of the barrier treaty, March 6, 1832.

^{94.}
Treaty, March 6, 1832; *An. Hist.* xv. 497 (*Doc. Hist.*).

^{95.}
Great addition to the power of France by these events.

was subjected to that of Russia. A revolutionary state, it could only look for support in a dynasty having a similar origin. The siege of Antwerp had restored that great outwork against England to its service; and the general excitement and real danger to the national independence, from a revolution which placed it in a state of antagonism with Europe, had enabled the Government to augment enormously the national armaments. Four hundred thousand regular soldiers were prepared to carry the tricolor flag into Germany or Italy, while a million of national guards protected the soil of the great nation from invasion. Single-handed she had braved Austria in Italy, and by the occupation of Ancona she held that power in check beyond the Alps; with the support of England she had thrown down the gauntlet at Antwerp to Prussia and Russia, and they had not ventured to take it up. The French, who expected an immediate restoration of the splendors of the Empire from a revolution which freed them from the sway of the Bourbons and the trammels of the Holy Alliance, were dissatisfied because greater external advantages had not been gained; but whoever considers the matter impartially, must see that they were great and lasting, and Europe is still experiencing their effects.

The addition made to the power of Russia, by the effects of the same convulsion, was still more considerable. As on every previous and subsequent occasion, an outbreak of the revolutionary spirit added to the weight, and put additional arms into the hands of the Colossus of the North. Hardly had the national acclamations at the defeat of Turkey and Treaty of Adrianople subsided, when the Russian arms achieved the entire subjugation of Poland, and annexed the last remnant of Sarmatian nationality to their mighty dominions. The addition thus made to the unity and physical resources of the empire, though by no means inconsiderable, was the least part of the advantage gained. The addition to the moral influence of, and terror inspired by, the Czar, was a much more material advantage. Russia had now, since England had gone over to the other side, openly taken her place at the head of the conservative powers of Europe, and the uniform success which had attended her arms spread a halo round her name, which added immensely to her political influence. Men despaired of resisting a power which had defeated Napoleon at the head of five hundred thousand men; and the German states in particular, who lay nearest to the Muscovite frontier, and would be the first to be reached by her arms, hastened, by secret alliances or proffered submission, to avert the hostility of a power which they felt themselves unable to resist.

Had England not been convulsed by a revolution in her own bosom—in consequence, in some degree, of the fall of Charles X.—there was no reason why her political weight or influence should have been materially affected by that event. She might change sides, indeed, and be more exposed to danger; but she might have been as much dreaded and respected as the head of the movement, as she had been as the bulwark of the Conservative party in Europe. But the Reform Bill having invested a new

party in Great Britain—the holders of shops or houses rented from £10 to £20—with the government of the State, the result was very different, and such as soon exposed the very existence of the nation to the greatest hazard. The influence of that class of men was incessantly and perseveringly exerted in one direction, and that was to *reduce the national expenditure and diminish taxation*, without any regard to the ultimate effect of their reduction. This was done to such an extent, that the forces of the State by sea and land became wholly inadequate to the defense of the empire, or the assertion of its due weight in public affairs; while, at the same time, the recollection of its past and recent greatness would permit of no abatement in the tone its Ministers took in diplomatic intercourse. Thence several narrow escapes in the next quarter of a century, and disasters, when hostilities did break out, of mournful magnitude, redeemed only in a glorious way by the unflinching courage of her soldiers and the heroic leading of their officers.

Whatever difference of opinion might have existed at first as to the necessity of the *coup d'état* which proved fatal to Charles X., no doubt can remain on the subject when the annals of the next two years are taken into consideration. The Citizen King vindicated, without intending it, the memory of the legitimate monarch; the revolt of the Cloister of St. Méri and state of siege of 1832, justified the ordonnances of 1830. It is not to be supposed from this that these ordonnances were not a violation of the constitution, as the people of this country would have understood it, or that the citizens who opposed them had not a good ground for their resistance. The conclusion to be drawn is, that the constitution, such as it was, was not adapted for the French people, at least after revolutionary confiscation had destroyed the mediating power of the nobles; and that the sovereign and popular power left alone in the country, and in a state of continual antagonism, could not coexist. One or other of them must be destroyed. It was like a legal submission, in which the two arbiters differed in opinion, and no power of choosing an overman was given: the arbitration would necessarily fall to pieces. "To attempt to construct a constitutional monarchy," said Napoleon, "without an aristocracy, is a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons." Experience has since abundantly proved that the observation of this great man is well founded, and that the fourteenth clause of the charter, which gave the sovereign a sort of dictatorial power, in extreme cases, at variance with the ordinary working of the constitution, was indispensable for its occasional extrication from the dead lock arising from the collision of opposite and irreconcilable powers. Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon have successively found it so: their reigns are the best vindication of the attempt of Charles X. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the French are by nature unfitted for freedom, but that the sins of the Revolution have been such that they have rendered them, as matters now stand, incapable of enjoying that blessing; and that if we would avoid a similar penalty, we must eschew the like transgression.

100.

Influence on England's power.

CHAPTER XXX.

FRANCE FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE CLOISTER OF ST. MÉRIS, IN JUNE, 1831, TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE BY THE ELECTIONS OF JUNE, 1834.

THE great strife of parties which had distracted France since 1814, and one of the convulsions of which had overthrown the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, was for the time closed by the double victory of the Royalists and Republicans. Louis Philippe in 1832. The suppression of the Royalist movement in La Vendée, headed by the Duchess de Berri, had extinguished the hopes of the Legitimists, the victory over the revolt in the streets of Paris had proved the weakness of the Republicans. The liberal Revolution which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, had led to no other result but a vast augmentation of the power of the Crown, and a proportionate increase of the burdens of the people. Placed now in a state of sullen and ill-disguised hostility with the Continental powers, the necessity of a great increase to the standing army was so apparent that its duplication had been not only acquiesced in, but called for by all classes of the people. The Republicans loudly demanded it, in the hope of realizing their dreams of universal revolution, regaining the frontier of the Rhine, and re-establishing their ascendancy in Germany: the Royalists acquiesced in it, in the hope that the vast armament would ere long pass out of the hands which had raised it, and restore the power of the Crown to the possession of its lawful owner: the bargainers submitted to the burdens which it entailed upon the country, in the hope that it would secure them from the spoliation of the Jacobins, and in the mean time provide for their sons by commissions in its ranks. Thus these different classes, though from opposite motives, concurred in the great increase of the regular troops; and when the crisis which they all looked for in calling for it arose, all, save the adherents of the Citizen King, were disappointed. The Royalists in La Vendée, and the Republicans in Paris, alike found determined foes in the regular soldiers, and experienced to their cost that their strength was now wielded by very different hands from the "feeble arms of confessors and kings." Strengthened by the vast addition to the military force of the nation, protected by its fidelity, and strong in the double victory which it had gained, the throne of Louis Philippe now seemed established on a solid foundation, and the hopes of the Royalists and Republicans alike melted away from the consequences of the very measures which they had recommended.

The Government of France, however, notwithstanding this seeming security, in reality rested on a very insecure foundation, and the causes of future ruin were beginning to operate even in the very moment of its triumph. The basis on which it of necessity

rested was rotten. The generous feelings on all sides had burned out or been exhausted. The noble chivalry of loyalty had perished, and was reduced to a few powerless cavaliers; the lofty spirit of freedom had been overthrown, or retired in despair from a hopeless contest. What then remained to form the moral basis of a Government wielding such vast material powers? Much remained. — SELFISHNESS REMAINED; and this indelible principle, which invariably rises into supremacy when a crisis, political or military, has passed, was skillfully appealed to by the Government, and formed the basis on which it rested for the next sixteen years. It is so after all revolutions: the selfish and cautions invariably in the end obtain the command; and they do so for this plain reason, that the ardent and generous on all sides have disappeared from the effects of their own devotion, as the brave perish in the front rank of battle, and the dastardly camp-followers emerge from the dark to gather its ensanguined spoils. Guizot admits that selfishness was the principle appealed to by the Government of Louis Philippe, and that force and corruption were the means by which its authority was maintained, and he defends it on the ground of absolute and overbearing necessity. There was no other basis left on which the Government could be established.

The manner in which, in practice, this principle was worked out, was this: the middle class, by whose efforts the General throne of the Citizen King had been established, were retained in their allegiance by a sedulous attention to their material interests, incessant praises of their patriotism and virtue, and constant appeals to their public spirit to avert the dangers with which society was threatened from the machinations of the anarchical faction. The army was held together, even without the excitement of war, by the substantial benefits of good quarters and rations, frequent and magnificent military pageants, and the opening the path of promotion to non-commissioned officers of every grade, and privates from the ranks. The utmost efforts were made to secure a majority in the Chambers by a lavish distribution of the immense patronage of Government, not only among the members of the Legislature, but among the constituents by whom they were returned. The democratic press, how violent soever, was to be worn out and subdued by incessant prosecutions, which, whether successful or not, would always be attended with expense and trouble to the parties concerned, and might come to exhaust the profits which constituted its main principle of action. The populace in Paris and the great towns were to be kept in employment by continuing all the public works set on foot by pre-

2.
Force and corruption the principle of the Government.

ceding governments, and commencing new ones, and in good humor by splendid spectacles at the theatres, the more licentious the better, supported by large contributions from the public purse. The vast expense with which these internal measures were attended was to be provided for by preserving external peace, and the good-will of the Continental sovereigns to be secured by cautiously repressing the spirit of propagandism which had been so powerfully excited by the Revolution of July, and diffused such universal consternation in the neighboring governments. And in the midst of all this policy, so adverse to the principles which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, those principles were to be constantly announced and loudly proclaimed in public acts and by the members of Government—proceeding thus on the maxim of Augustus, that men will willingly submit to the reality of slavery, provided they are deluded by the language of freedom.

It was said by a minister well versed in the ways of the world, that "every office he gave away made one ungrateful and three discontented." The maxim is true, and of general application; and it unfolds the real reason why, in popular governments, which must always in the long run more or less rest on the influence of patronage, discontent generally succeeds popularity, and the sway even of the most powerful administration is short-lived. How great soever may be the number of offices at the disposal of government, it can not for a length of time keep pace with the demands of its supporters, far less disarm the hostility of its opponents. If it limits itself to the first, the basis of influence is never extended, and ere long it contracts; if it attempts the last, discontent is generally produced among its friends, and gratitude is seldom awakened among its enemies. Envy is sure to fasten upon those who bask in the sunshine of government favor, discontent to spread among those who are excluded from its rays. The greater the intelligence and intellectual activity of the people, the greater is the difficulty with which government has to contend from this cause, because the greater is the number of aspirants who must be disappointed, of conscious ability which must be kept in the shade. Whoever considers the influence of these causes, will cease to wonder at the practical difficulty of establishing a stable authority in highly educated communities, or the frequent changes of administration which in them paralyze the action of government, and imprint a character of vacillation and inconsistency on its measures.

A gracious and well-judged act first signalized the confidence felt by Government from the victory of June 6 in the Duchesse de Berri. On the 9th June the *Moniteur* announced that the Duchesse de Berri had, on the 8th, been liberated by order of the Government from the Chateau of Blaye, and embarked for Palermo. Upon being questioned in the Chamber whether this had been done in consequence of any foreign interposition, the Ministers answered that it had not, and that any such interference would only have prolonged the Princess's captivity. She arrived in safety at Palermo shortly after. Government acted wisely in this act. They did ex-

actly what Napoleon said the Convention should have done when Louis made the attempt at evasion by the journey to Varennes. The heroic but frail Princess had been morally slaughtered by what had occurred in the Chateau of Blaye; it would have been the worst policy to have restored her fame, as that of Queen Mary had been, by the scaffold of Fotheringay.¹

The Duke of Orleans returned soon after from an extensive tour through the south of France. His partialities and prepossessions were all for the liberal side, and his words on all occasions bespoke the ardor of his patriotic feelings. In giving a standard to the artillery of the National Guard of Marseilles, he said, "On the 30th April* you have trampled under foot the white flag, the standard of ignominy; here is the standard of honor. I have come to Marseilles to make a paction with the patriots. I should be glad to shed the last drop of my blood for freedom." Strange words in the mouth of a descendant of Henry IV., and the inheritor of his throne! In addressing many of the municipalities, however, he received rude and even insolent answers; and he returned to Paris deeply impressed with the republican spirit which even in the south had infected the middle class, which in the towns had got possession of the municipalities. "Two years," said the magistrates of Aix, "have destroyed all our illusions: the patriots imprisoned, the Carlists flattered, caressed, filling the offices of administration. The conduct of all local authorities has produced its wonted fruits: our souls are divided, our enemies are united." "We owe the truth to princes," said the Council of Draguignan, "and you are worthy to hear it. We say with all the fervor of our hearts, that there is *not one man faithful to the Revolution of July*, or who has courage enough to repudiate that false system under which we live, and of which the happiness of France, so dear to your heart, absolutely requires the change." So violent were the addresses he received, that the young Prince had no small difficulty in answering them without compromising the Government; and in truth he could not have done so were it not that he bore no ostensible part in the Administration, and that, in Bossuet's words, "the heir-apparent is separated from the crown by the whole breadth of the kingdom."²

The theatres and romances of Paris, during the lull of political excitement which followed the victory of June, gave a melancholy proof of the extent to which the public mind had become depraved, and the strength of that craving for excitement which, deprived of its former vent, now sought one in private licentiousness. The Opera was crowded nightly to see the splendid exhibitions of "La Tentation" and "Robert le Diable," in the first of which a beautiful female was exhibited on the stage, at first in a state of absolute nudity, and latterly with a thin gauze only, to enhance the charms of nature; while, in the last, a choir of nuns are represented in a ruined

* The day when the Duchesse de Berri landed.

church rising from their tombs, who immediately began walking in their transparent *coi-déant* grave-clothes. The dramatized romance of Victor Hugo, *La Tour de Nesle*, founded on the most frightful tales of systematic profligacy and subsequent murder which the Middle Ages had transmitted to our times, attracted prodigious crowds to one of the minor theatres. Such was the temper of the times that ladies of the highest rank went to see these extraordinary exhibitions, affording thus the clearest proof of general licen-

Personal observation at Paris in 1832. tiousness in the oblivion of the safeguards of virtue even by those who had never transgressed its bounds.¹

These feelings produced in one extreme sect such extraordinary results as led to a prosecution by Government, however little inclined to interfere with excesses which did not threaten itself.

The leaders of the St. Simonians, MM. Enfantin, Rodrigues, and Michel Chevalier, were indicted for having formed a society of more than twenty persons, professedly for literary purposes, but which had propagated doctrines subversive of morality. The accused, accompanied by their friends of the same persuasion, marched to the place of trial in the Palais de Justice, clothed in the theatrical costume of the order. Among their attendants were a number of women elegantly dressed in blue, the distinctive mark of the association, and whom the accused requested might be permitted to sit near them at the trial, to aid them by their counsels "in a matter peculiarly affecting the rights of women." The principal matter of accusation against them was, that they inculcated the abolition of marriage, and general establishment of a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes. The prisoners did not deny the charge, but they justified it. Casting his eyes on the galaxy of beauty which surrounded him, M. Enfantin exclaimed, "I tell you, gentlemen, what importance we attach to the forms, to the looks of beauty. It is in their eyes that we seek the inspiration which is to defend us. It is not in solitary meditation, but in the enthusiasm which they awaken that we seek for wisdom. If an army is to be formed, every one exclaims, 'The carabineers must be fine men!' It is to love, and be loved, and introduce order into things now abandoned to disorder, that we are associated. It is the fair whom I would free from their fetters—beauty from its stains. The emancipation of woman is our main object. *Marriage is the prison in which the jealousy of man has confined her.* Can you deny this, you who boast of your '*bonnes fortunes*,' which is just an effort to back it, and a secret admission of the necessity of adultery? Like you, we wish a period to be put to these scandals: but a different method must be adopted from that which has hitherto been practiced." In the close of these strange discussions, which, as an index to general feeling so strangely perverted, are more deserving of serious thought than ridicule, the accused were sentenced to a year's imprisonment; a result which, with the revelations made at the trial, had a material effect in checking these disorders. It is a curious proof of the tendency of extravagance in political thought to produce corresponding wildness in public morals, that doctrines of precisely the same kind emanated from the enthusiasm of the first

Revolution, and induced the frightful laxity of manners which characterized the periods of the Convention and the Directory.¹

No sooner had the Government recovered from the shocks by which it had been assailed in the beginning of summer, than Louis Philippe began to look around him for a new combination, to give greater strength and consideration to the Administration of Marshal Soult, which had been constructed in haste to meet the exigencies of the past crisis. To effect this object he endeavored to form a Ministry embracing persons of all shades of political opinion, but vesting the majority in the Doctrinaires, whose political opinions were more especially in accordance with those which had placed and could alone retain him upon the throne. Soult was President of the Council, Minister at War, and Prime Minister; the Duke de Broglie received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, that of the Finances; M. Thiers, of the Interior; and M. Guizot, that of Public Instruction. M. de Montalivet, the former Minister of the Interior, was degraded to the position of Administrator-General of the Civil List, a very subordinate situation. Finally, an ordonnance appeared next day creating *sixty new peers*, besides seven nominated since the close of the last session—a fresh inundation, which completed the degradation of the dignified portion of the Legislature. These repeated creations, which so effectually destroyed the consideration and weight of the peerage in the sister kingdom, leave no room for doubt that if the same measure, which was so anxiously pressed upon the King of Great Britain by the Liberal party, had been carried into effect, it would have effectually destroyed our mixed constitution, and forced us either into a despotic monarchy or an elective republic.²

The accession of the new Ministry was followed by a remarkable circular, drawn up by M. Thiers, but addressed by Marshal Soult to the prefects, explanatory of the principles on which his Government was formed. "The political system of my predecessor," said he, "shall be mine; it is the national system; the Chambers have declared it. The maintenance of the monarchy and of the charter is the first condition of public liberty; but that liberty can not be secured till it is regular. It honors and secures itself by respect for the laws. Order within and peace without will be the best guarantees for its duration. France, therefore, may rely on my efforts to maintain order and peace. Within, the Government has need of all your courage and wisdom. Every attempt at disorder should be energetically repressed. Measures are in progress which will effectually efface every trace of disorder in the western departments. Anarchy has been conquered in Paris, on the 5th and 6th of June, by the courage and devotion of the troops of the line, and of the National Guard. The factions in those deplorable days have unveiled at once their audacity and their weakness. None of their projects are either unknown to the Gov-

¹ Cap. vi. 278, 281.

² Changes in the Ministry, and creation of peers. Oct. 11.

³ Moniteur, Oct. 12 and 13, 1832; An. Hist. xv. 214; Cap. vi. 281, 282.

⁴ Marshal Soult's circular to the prefects. Oct. 13.

ernment or feared by it. Sedition will find the country unanimous in the desire to give to Government all the support of which it stands in need. In concert with the powers in alliance with us, we will press forward the solution of the great European questions. Our armies, ardent but docile, lend to moderation the support of force. Europe knows it; but it knows, at the same time, our fidelity to our engagements, and our firm determination to preserve the peace of the world. Government will not be wanting to its duty; but it is in the country above all that it has confidence. If success crown our efforts, it will be owing to its patriotism. It is my old custom to refer every thing to the honor of France."¹

The Republicans meanwhile, though defeated, were not subdued, but the disaster they had met with induced, as usual in such circumstances, a change in their system of attack. Conquered in the public streets, they took refuge in secret societies and the affiliation of clubs. Republicanism had then its catacombs, as Christianity, from the same cause, had had during the persecutions of the Roman emperors. These secret societies had existed both in France and the neighboring states during the Restoration; but they had fallen into comparative disuse during the license of open hostility which followed the Revolution of July. Now, however, that the strength of the Government had been felt, and its existence seemed likely to be prolonged, the democrats resumed their efforts by means of these affiliated societies; and it was by means of them that the contest was chiefly conducted during the remainder of the reign of Louis Philippe. Their efforts, however, were now less shrouded in secrecy than formerly; they included a greater number of persons, and were directed chiefly to extend in the manufactories and work-shops their principles, and gain there the supporters who might overturn the Government. The great organ of these secret societies was the Liberal press; and every Sunday it spoke in language sufficiently intelligible, but not cognizable by the law—the language of measured agitation and legal treason.²

Every thing at this period seemed to favor Louis Philippe, and promised stability to his reign. Hardly had the catastrophe of the Chateau of Blaye confounded the Legitimists, and the suppression of the insurrection in Paris dashed the hopes of the Republicans, when a new event occurred, which deprived the third great party in the State of its natural head and most formidable prestige. On the 30th July the telegraph announced that the Duke of Reichstadt, only legitimate son of Napoleon, had expired at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, on the 22d of that month. This amiable and interesting young man, born to such destinies, involved in such a fall, had, since his transference on the removal of the French Emperor to Elba, been under the care of his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, by whom his youthful years had been kindly and sedulously tended. He retained, however, a faint recol-

lection of the scenes of his infancy, and the catastrophe which had precipitated his father from the throne; and when he reached the years of adolescence, and read the story of the immortal hero whose blood ran in his veins, much of his father's spirit reappeared in his character, despite all the prudence and precautions of his Austrian educator. He had already received a regiment from his grandfather, and had worn the *Austrian* uniform; but his heart was with the French; and his youthful cheek fired with enthusiasm when he read the accounts of their glorious achievements, when led by his father's genius. He early evinced a strong predilection for military operations, and no small amount of military talent and enthusiasm; but these very qualities, coinciding with a feeble and consumptive constitution, shortened his life. In the end of 1831 the symptoms became so alarming that he was removed from Vienna to Schoenbrunn, and during the spring of the following year he was so weak that he could only enjoy the fresh air by being drawn in a garden-chair through its charming pleasure-grounds. When the last hour approached, he received the sacrament, according to the custom of the imperial family, with his mother and all his relations, dressed in white as for a bridal day; and on the 22d July he calmly breathed his last, amidst his weeping relatives, with a smile, even in death, still on his features. He carried with him to the tomb the greatest inheritance of modern times, and was interred in the family vault of the house of Hapsburg, in the convent of the Capuchins at Vienna. A simple Latin inscription on his tomb records his glorious destiny, striking qualities, and premature end;³ but they would perhaps be better expressed in the brief and plaintive inscription of the Courtenay family:

"Quomodo lapsus! quid feci!"

The session of the Chambers opened on the 19th November, and the King, who presided in person, was loudly applauded in going and returning from the hall. An attempt at assassination was, however, made by a desperado at the extremity of the Pont Royal, who fired at the King. Happily the shot did not take effect; and the King said calmly, "It is nothing; there is no mischief done," and continued his progress as if nothing had occurred. In the speech from the throne, after alluding to the Legitimist insurrection in the west, and the Republican in Paris, he observed, "A recent event, decisive for the public peace, has destroyed the hopes of the former party." He dwelt with just pride on the brilliant display at Antwerp, where the flags of England and France floated together at the mouth of the Scheldt, and in which his two sons bore a part; and concluded with these words, entirely in harmony with the circular of the Prime Minister: "Yet a few efforts, and the last traces of disquietude, inseparable from a great revolution, will be effaced. The feeling of *stability* will re-enter all minds; France will regain confidence in its future," and then will be realized the dearest wish of my heart—that of seeing my country raised to the pitch of prosperity to which it is

¹ Circulaire du M. Soult, Oct. 13, 1832; Cap. vi. 268, 270.

² See, in particular, Le Bon Sens, Sept. and Oct. 1832.

³ Death of the Duke of Reichstadt, July 22, 1832.

¹ Moniteur, July 30, 1832; Cap. vi. 256, 257; An. Hist. xv. 343, 344.

² Opening of the Chambers, and the King's speech, Nov. 19.

³ Moniteur, Nov. 30, 1832; An. Hist. xv. 225.

entitled to aspire, and of being enabled to say with truth that my efforts have not been wholly without effect in working out its destinies."

The first trial of strength, as usual, took place on the choice of a president for the Chamber; and the vote then showed how much strength the Government had gained by recent events. M. Lafitte, the Opposition candidate, had only 136 votes, while M. Dupin, who was the Ministerial, had 234. The election for the vice-presidents was equally decisive: MM. Berenger and Delessert, who were supported by Government, had 270 and 255 respectively; while MM. de Schonen and Dupont de l'Eure, the Opposition candidates, had only 179 and 186. The orator of Government, M. de Sade, expressed, in the debate on the address, the general feeling, and the causes which had led to this large majority, in these words: "As to the exterior, it is with Belgium alone that we have any concern. What did the Opposition say last autumn? They said that in spring a general war was inevitable. Has it yet broken out? They said that in nourishing the hope of a treaty with England, they were indulging in chimerical ideas. That treaty has been concluded. They said that we would never succeed in effecting the evacuation of Antwerp; at the moment when I now speak, the French army is before Antwerp, and the cannon have probably already begun to sound. (Great sensation.) In the interior, the Republic and anarchy vanquished on the 6th June; the counter-revolution beat down and conquered in the west; peace, in fine, secured, and the honor of France intact: these are results accomplished or impending, which may be regarded as certain, and of which no one can deny the importance. Of these results, prepared by M. Casimir Périer and his colleagues, some may be claimed by the last Administration, some by the present. Thus, gentlemen, if we have the candor to admit it, every thing announces that France approaches the last period of its agitations and its disquietudes. Already the fever of men's minds is calming down, interests are reassured, prosperity revives. Exhausted by so many agitations, worn out with such disorders, the nation asks only for repose under a Government which may restrain and punish the factions instead of caressing them; which may

struggle with courage against the

Nov. 29, 1832; bad passions, instead of flattering them; which, in a word, may govern instead of being governed."

The most interesting matter which came before the Chamber of Deputies this session, was the very important one of the fortification of Paris. This project for the fortification of Paris.

project had first been conceived by Vauban after the reverses of Louis XIV., when the Huns and Pandours threatened the Palace of the Grande Monarque. It was subsequently taken up by Napoleon after the victory of Austerlitz, and when the easy capture of the Austrian capital had forcibly brought before his far-seeing mind the corresponding perils to which, on a similar reverse of fortune, his own capital might be exposed. He did not venture, however, to carry into execution his designs, for fear of spreading alarm among the Parisians, and lessening their confidence in his star; and bit-

terly did he regret the want of such bulwarks when the evil day arrived, when the cross-march to St. Dizier in 1814 left the capital for a few days to its own resources, and he was precipitated from the throne in consequence. In 1826, M. Clermont Tonnerre, then minister-at-war, formed a plan for the fortification of Paris, especially designed to meet the case of a serious domestic insurrection, but not of a foreign attack, then deemed little probable.* But now that Europe was again in a state of antagonism with France, and experience had proved that internal revolt was not less to be apprehended, it became necessary to devise a system which should provide against this double set of dangers. To accomplish this object, the plan adopted, after mature deliberation by the Cabinet of the Tuilleries, was to form a circle of vast citadels around Paris, so near each other as by their cross-fire to command every approach to the capital, and so near its interior that the fire from them might command every part of its extent. By means of these detached forts, perfect military command might be obtained of the metropolis without quartering a soldier within its bounds; a secure place of refuge provided for the sovereign, without giving him the appearance of distrusting his subjects; and the most effective means of coercing a rebellious population provided, without awakening its suspicions, and

under pretext of sheltering it from 173; An. Hist. the assaults of foreign despotism. xvi. 294, 296.

* This was a very remarkable memoir by M. Clermont Tonnerre. It bore, "Quand Napoléon s'établit dans le palais du nos Rois, il sentait la nécessité d'isoler la demeure du souverain, et de le mettre à l'abri des attaques d'une immense population qui se soulèverait contre le gouvernement; ce fut dans ce dessein qu'il entreprit de construire la nouvelle galerie qui doit enclore, dans le Palais même, une immense place d'armes ayant des débouchés sur toutes les faces, qu'ilisola le jardin des Tuilleries, et fit percer la Rue de Rivoli dont le prolongement doit aller jusqu'à la colonnade du Louvre, afin de dégager entièrement l'enceinte du palais. Mais il ne se contenta pas d'isoler le palais et de le placer dans de longs espaces que le canon ou des charges de cavalerie peuvent balayer avec la plus grande facilité; il ajouta à ces premières dispositions une précaution de détail, qui mérite d'être remarquée, en réservant en face du pavillon Marignan une petite place de retraite, dont le but est évidemment de pouvoir au besoin réunir et mettre à couvert une réserve de troupes et d'artillerie, et par l'acquisition du terrain qu'il fit jusqu'à la Rue St. Honoré, il s'assura des moyens d'établir cette importante communication; on sait enfin qu'il refusa constamment de dégager la façade de St. Roch, où il avait acquis, le 13 Vendémiaire, la preuve que le peuple pouvait trouver un point d'appui redoutable, afin que du haut de cette citadelle on ne pût se prendre de vance sur les Tuilleries, ou déboucher facilement de cette butte St. Roch près du château sur la Rue de Rivoli. Voyons jusqu'à quel point il avait porté la prévoyance du danger, que peut faire au chef d'un état une population d'un million d'âmes. Il annonça le projet de former ce qu'il appela le palais du Roi de Rome, et voici en quoi consistait le projet. Le palais placé sur la hauteur en face de l'école militaire, dominant le pont de Jéna, enfilant le cours entier de la rivière d'une part, et tout le développement de la Rue de Rivoli de l'autre, devait être construit de manière à remplir toutes les conditions d'une véritable forteresse; mais pour lui donner toute la valeur dont elle était susceptible, il embrassait dans ses dépendances tout ce grand plateau qui s'étend de la Barrière de l'Etoile, et de la hauteur des Bons Hommes jusqu'au Bois de Boulogne et la route de Neuilly. Sur ce plateau il devait établir un immense jardin entouré de fortes murailles, on de fosses profondes qui en faisaient au besoin un vaste camp retranché auquel arrivaient par toutes les routes, et sans être obligées d'entrer dans Paris, les troupes de Versailles, de Courbevoie, et de St. Denis, et en un mot la garde entière." A curious development of the "pensées intimes" of the great conqueror regarding his faithful citizens of Paris in the moment of his highest popularity!—CAPETIEN, *Des Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 166, 171.

How skillfully soever this project may have been devised, and with whatever art its real object was concealed, its tendency did not escape the penetration of the leaders of the Opposition. They saw at once, that if a circle of these forts were established round Paris, each entire, and capable of standing a siege by itself, and yet all combining by their cross-fire to command the most central parts of the city, the power of the metropolitan democracy was at an end, and it would be no longer possible, by raising mobs in the streets, to effect revolutions in the State. Paris would be as completely ruled by its surrounding girdle of forts, as Genoa, Turin, or Naples had been; or as Warsaw was becoming, under the auspices of the Emperor Nicholas. They organized, accordingly, the most formidable opposition against the proposed measure, resting their resistance on the expense with which it would be attended, and the tremendous weapon which it would place in the hands of despotism. Cries of "*A bas les forts détachés!*" "*A bas les bastilles!*" were heard on all sides, and ominous groups began to be formed in the streets. So violent did the opposition become, that Government were obliged for the time to postpone the project, how obvious soever it may have been that it afforded the best security against foreign or domestic danger. The design, however, was adjourned, not abandoned; the determination of Government to carry it into execution was fully formed; for experience had now abundantly proved, and never so much as in the last two years, that there could be no security for any government, even the most popular, which was not in possession of some arm adequate to its power. ¹ Cap. vii. 172, session of some arm adequate to its power. ² An. Hist. restrain the capricious violence of xvii. 294, 295. the people.

Another grant of public money for internal purposes excited much less opposition, and was equally wise and beneficial. M. Thiers demanded from the Chambers, and obtained a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) for the completion of the public works already in progress, or the commencement of new ones. This ample grant, which sounds so large to English ears, being a full twelfth of the whole expenditure of the year, was not suggested merely by a spirit of munificence or splendor on the part of the Government. It arose from necessity; it was a means of appeasing the public discontent. The industry of the metropolis was far from having recovered the shock received by the successful Revolution of 1830; and although the suppression of that of 1832 had done much to re-establish its credit, yet confidence was still very far from being confirmed, and numerous classes of workmen, especially those who ministered to luxuries and elegancies, were languishing from want of employment. This ample grant from the Chambers was a well-timed and graceful provision for their relief. "Every government," said M. Thiers, in proposing the grant, "during the last forty years, impatient to imprint a trace of its existence on the soil of the country, has hastened to erect edifices, to excavate canals, to open out roads. But, more solicitous to commence

works of their own than to complete those of their predecessors, they have left eternal scaffolding around our edifices in the public-squares, and beds of canals still dry in our fields. The present Government has conceived the idea that its mission is to finish rather than commence. It has at least the merit of novelty, and is most conformable to the spirit of the Government of July. That Government, coming after forty years of experiments of every kind, has for its object to resume, complete, and strengthen all that has been done before it. It will only, therefore, be in harmony with it—¹ Moniteur, self, when it prefers completing old April 30, 1833; undertakings to commencing new An. Hist. xvi. 256, 257. ones."

The proportion of this liberal grant which was allocated to the monuments of the capital, was no less than 24,000,000 francs (£960,000). It had become, however, a matter of absolute necessity to do something for their prosecution, for the greater part of them were in a state of ruinous dilapidation, going rapidly to decay from the action of the weather on their unfinished materials; and several millions of francs were required annually, not to go on with the works, but to prevent them going to total ruin. The world has no reason to regret these liberal grants, for they led to the completion of the Arc de l'Etoile, whose gigantic mass closes the superb avenue of the Champs Elysées, of the beautiful peristyle of the Madeleine, and of the noble pile of the Pantheon, which still remained, solitary, untenanted, in the midst of the busy concourse of the capital. But it was not merely the monuments of the metropolis which shared in this splendid national munificence; works of utility, and beneficial to industry, were equally attended to. No less than 44,000,000 francs (£1,800,000) were voted for canals; 12,000,000 francs (£480,000) for roads in La Vendée, and 17,000,000 francs (£680,000) for other roads in France, and 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for light-houses on the coasts.* Nothing was ever more wise or expedient, even for the Government's own interests, than these splendid grants. It was by a similar policy, in a great measure, that the Romans so long retained the empire which the legions had conquered; the sway of the emperors was felt chiefly by the munificent grants in aid of public works in the provinces,

* The credits adopted by the Chamber for the Public Works were as follows:

	Francs.	£
Arc de l'Etoile.....	2,070,000	84,000
Eglise de la Madeleine.....	2,500,000	104,000
Pantheon.....	1,400,000	56,000
Museum d'Histoire Naturelle.....	2,400,000	96,000
Eglise de St. Denis.....	1,350,000	54,000
Ecoles des Beaux Arts.....	1,900,000	76,000
Hôtel du Quay d'Orsay.....	3,450,000	137,000
Monument de la Bastille.....	700,000	28,000
Chambre des Députés.....	270,000	11,000
Institution des Sourds et Muets.....	150,000	6,000
Collège de France.....	650,000	26,000
Pont de la Concorde.....	300,000	12,000
Travaux de Canalisation.....	44,000,000	1,800,000
Routes Royales.....	15,000,000	600,000
Entretien des Routes.....	3,000,000	120,000
Routes dans l'Ouest.....	12,000,000	480,000
Phares et Fanaux des Côtes.....	2,500,000	100,000
Etudes relatives aux Chemins-de-Fer.....	500,000	20,000
	93,940,000	3,768,000

—Annuaire Historique, xvii. 257; and CAPERPIERRE, *Dis An. de Louis Philippe*, vii. 179, 180.

which flowed from the imperial treasury. It is painful to think how blind the selfishness of ruling power so often renders it to the expedience, for its own sake, of this wise and magnanimous policy; and how strong is the tendency of those in authority in the metropolis to concentrate the benefits of taxation upon themselves, and leave only its burdens to the distant parts of the empire.¹

The finances of France experienced a sensible amelioration in the course of this year; but the great military armaments expenditure which were still kept on foot, and the immense grants to public works, brought the public expenditure to a very high level. The budget, as finally arranged, presented an income of 1,183,870,547 francs (£45,900,000), and an expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1,120,394,804 francs (£45,800,000); exhibiting a trifling balance in favor of the exchequer, which, as usual in such cases, was brought out only to keep up appearances, and was more apparent than real.² A more solid ground of confidence was afforded by the details of the receipts, which exhibited a marked and gratifying increase in all the principal branches of revenue, indicating the immense benefit which had been conferred upon the nation by the defeat of the Republicans, and the establishment of the Government upon a more solid foundation. But the shock of recent events was still painfully felt; and the income required to be brought up to the expenditure by ¹ Ann. Hist. xvi. 90, 94; loans to the amount of 167,000,000 Doc. Hist. francs (£6,700,000), contracted during a period of general peace.²

The King made two journeys this year—one to Normandy, and one toward Calais; and in the course of these progresses, several answers he made to addresses presented to him were

singularly indicative of the soundness of his judgment. The mayor of Rouen having contended, in his speech, for King's journey to Normandy, and the absolute freedom of commerce, Louis Philippe replied: "I am disposed on principle to wish that commerce should enjoy the greatest possible freedom: I wish it was possible to emancipate it from every restraint; because I believe that its liberty is one of the chief means of augmenting capital, of founding great fortunes, and of increasing the general prosperity by means of their circulation. Nevertheless, we can not advance in that path but with great circumspection; we must hear and consult all interests; and all I can say at present is, that the subject occupies my most anxious consideration." The president of the civil tribunal of Bernay having addressed him on the attachment of the people to liberal institutions, and the necessity of truth reaching the ears of princes, the King replied, with dignity: "Yes! without doubt it is fitting that truth should reach the ears of kings, but it is fitting it should reach those of nations also. Now, nations have their flatterers as kings formerly had; and these new flatterers know well how to pervert the truth by flattery, or to intimidate it by insult, or obscure it by calumny. It is for time and public reason to do it justice; and it is only by rejecting the eyes of passion and of partiality that the public mind can succeed in arriving at a sound judgment, and discerning its true interests. It is then, also, that it can appreciate justly the real advantages which it enjoys, and learns not to put them in hazard by pursuing chimeras, and recalling the misfortunes which they have caused to weigh upon France."³

What pains soever the French Government may have taken to repress the spirit of insubordination, to the triumph of which it owed its or-

* INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF FRANCE FOR 1833, 1834, AND 1835.

INCOME.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	France.	France.	France.
Direct taxes	353,525,673	363,417,990	365,680,614
Stamps	196,011,000	196,944,745	199,978,527
Woods	16,000,000	22,653,755	24,231,194
Customs	161,000,000	159,619,594	162,191,715
Indirect taxes	169,900,000	186,183,480	192,218,084
Post-office	35,790,000	36,157,954	37,106,153
Lottery	10,000,000	5,583,790	7,764,925
Miscellaneous	25,343,474	31,021,693	28,794,316
Loans and extraordinary resources	167,000,000	28,280,010	9,046,333
	1,133,870,547	1,042,193,157	1,051,880,927
EXPENDITURE.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	France.	France.	France.
National Debt	218,193,549	195,964,033	195,913,630
Sinking Fund and Floating Debt	130,708,430	54,532,463	85,373,463
Pensions	17,970,600	76,050,000	80,175,750
Justice†	18,351,365	17,257,100	17,032,900
Foreign Affairs	7,197,700	54,660,364	55,355,849
Public Instruction	4,965,000	7,353,700	7,960,700
Interior and Public Worship	41,499,005	13,275,673	13,734,900
Commerce and Public Works	129,580,300	74,941,376	74,818,682
War	205,547,388	54,497,878	67,480,377
Navy	66,206,518	226,899,948	238,914,486
Finances	23,378,401	65,000,000	66,215,917
Charges of Collection	115,075,668	21,509,460	30,365,639
Drawback, etc.	41,910,831	120,250,985	181,832,341
	1,120,394,804	87,704,134	56,506,065
	1,130,394,804	1,030,318,931	1,063,666,987

† After this year, Public Worship was united to Justice.

—Ann. Hist., xx. 67, App. 1^{re} Partie; and xxi. 67; Doc. Hist., 1^{re} Partie.

igin, it could not extinguish it, and the more it

21. was kept down in France itself, the more it sought vent in foreign states. The spirit of propagandism, however, now took a new direction. It sought out different channels for its operations. It no longer organized open revolt; insurrections in the streets were laid aside. It was by secret committees, public meetings called ostensibly for other purposes, and extensive correspondence, that the new system was to be carried out, and sedition nurtured without incurring its pains. The Polish emigrants, ardent, intrepid, and enterprising, inspired with the most violent hatred at the monarchical party of which Russia was the head, were the chief agents in every part of Europe of this new species of propagandism. Infatuated, as exiles in general are, with the prospects and power of their adherents, they did not see that, in throwing themselves in this manner without reserve into the arms of the Republicans, they were inflicting a wound on their country worse than any it had received from the arms of the Russians, because they detached from its side all the monarchies of Europe, even the most liberal, who

with reason apprehended more danger from such allies than from the strides of the Colossus of the North.¹

In common with other great cities, a Polish Committee was appointed in Paris, which was soon in close correspondence with those in London, Brussels, and elsewhere, and initiated into all the designs of the Republicans in every part of the world. Naturally it excited the disquietude of the Russian Government, which represented that the existence and tolerance of such a committee in Paris was a standing menace to the northern powers, and open to all the objections so strongly urged by Lafayette and the National Assembly against the assemblage of Royalist nobles at Coblenz in 1792. To these remonstrances of the Russian ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Prussian minister added others which belonged exclusively to the Germanic Confederacy. He represented that the Diet had been under the necessity, in the preceding year, of taking some steps to repress the spirit of propagandism which had appeared so strongly, especially in the lesser states, and that this danger was immensely increased by the Polish and Republican committees so generally established. A secret memoir was at the same time presented by a diplomatic agent of the Court of Berlin to its Cabinet, which portrayed with truth the political state of Germany, and foreshadowed the part it was destined to take on the political theatre of Europe. "For centuries," it observed, "Germany has been regarded as the heart of Europe. So long as the ideas of preserving the balance of power were in vogue, it was generally felt that it was the central weight which made the balance incline to whichever side it adopted. Napoleon in the outset of his career hastened to base his power on the Confederation of the Rhine: it was when it turned against him that he was overthrown. In the beginning of 1832, Germany was in a very unsettled state. French emissaries never ceased to traverse the country from state to state, and their influence was in an especial manner felt in

the capitals of the smaller powers, at Munich, Dresden, Würtemberg, and Baden, and in general from the Rhine to the frontiers of Prussia. These facts are sufficiently notorious: several of these agents have been seized in Berlin itself, and sent out of the kingdom. The new theories have in an especial manner penetrated the lesser states, and nothing has contributed so much to their diffusion as the weakness of government in the Ecclesiastical States, where the innovating doctrines of the French Revolutions have brought forth numerous complaints against not only real but imaginary abuses."¹

It was not without reason that this sagacious observer expressed himself thus on the political condition of the lesser states of Germany. A committee had been in existence in Paris ever since 1830, at the head of which was General Lafayette, the object of which was to spread affiliated societies and committees through the whole states of Western Germany. In the first months of 1832, it assumed a more definite form and organization, under the name of the "Union for the Liberty of the Press." Societies under this name, corresponding with each other, and taking their directions from the central committee in Paris, were formed at Deux-Ponts, and all through Rhenish Bavaria, at Mayence, Frankfort, Cassel, Leipsic, Nuremberg, Munich, Würzburg, Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Fribourg. Fêtes were periodically given in all these towns, the object of which was to excite and perpetuate this revolutionary spirit; and such was the effect they produced upon the ardent and universally educated youth of Germany, that had this proceeding been conducted with a little more moderation, the effects might have been incalculable. But the French agents pushed matters so far that they roused the old Teutonic jealousy of Gallic influence; and several of them, in particular Boerne and Theodore Heine, produced a great reaction against the unmeasured strides of French usurpation over the country which had emancipated itself from its military power. The attention of the Diet also was at length aroused to the danger of the existing conspiracy. A violent explosion took place at Frankfort on the 3d April, 1833, headed by the students; in consequence of which the Germanic Diet adopted, on 18th April, a series of resolutions, the object of which was to establish additional restrictions on the license of the press; to bind each other to reciprocal aid in the event of tumult in their respective states; to prohibit meetings having a political tendency; to prevent the inhabitants of any state from resisting the payment of losses agreed to by its Diet; and to lend the whole strength of the Confederacy against any refractory state.²

The efforts of the French propagandists and Polish refugees were not less serious in Switzerland and the north of Italy. Great numbers of the latter had taken refuge in the land of freedom after the fall of Warsaw in 1831. They had received a notification that they must leave France. They had even gone so far as to address a formal demand for

Remonstrances of Russia and Prussia against the Polish committees.

22. Revolution-ary organization in Germany, 1832 and 1833.

April 13, 1833.

¹ Decree, June 20, 1833; *Moniteur*, June 28; *Cap. vii.* 205, 207, 212.

24. Efforts of the propagandists in Switzerland and Italy.

hospitality and protection to the "rulers of the land of Tell and Winkelreid."* They received permission accordingly, and six hundred of them immediately emigrated from France, and sought an asylum in the Helvetic territory. Their appearance there excited the jealousy of Austria and Prussia, and the ministers of these cabinets at Berne soon addressed energetic notes demanding their immediate expulsion from the Swiss territory. This requisition occasioned no small embarrassment to the Swiss Government; for, on the one hand, they were in no condition to resist the demand of the German powers, and on the other, if they complied with it, they lost even the semblance of independence. In this dilemma they had recourse to the usual resource of the weak—procrastination—and referred the matter to the General Diet of Helvetia. Before any determination, however, could be come to by that body on the subject, a vast conspiracy of Liberals was discovered in Piedmont, the object of which was to overturn the government; and as a great number of French as well as Poles were implicated in it, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe interposed in favor of the accused persons. The Government of Turin was now placed in the same embarrassment as that of Switzerland had been. Lying midway between the aristocratic and democratic powers, it knew not to which to incline, and could not yield to the one without incurring the enmity of the other. The Piedmontese Government, however, succeeded in asserting its independence, and taking cognizance of its own criminals, who were tried, convicted, and executed.¹

Although the affairs of Belgium had been all but settled by the convention concluded in London between France and England on May 21st, and accepted by the Dutch and Belgian governments, yet a definitive treaty had not yet been concluded. A considerable degree of jealousy had sprung up in the northern powers in consequence of the open assumption by France and England of a right to dispose, at their own pleasure, of the conflicting interests of the independent states. Out of this jealousy sprung the Congress of MUNTZ-GRAETZ, in Bohemia, which for the first time gave open token of the schism between the eastern and western powers. The Emperor Nicholas was attended by Count Nesselrode, the Emperor of Austria by Prince Metternich, and the King of Prussia by M. d'Ancillon. It may readily be supposed that such great personages did not assemble from such distant quarters for light purposes, and that Nicholas had not come from St. Petersburg into the heart of Germany merely for the sake of amusement or festivity.

* "Représentants de la libre Helvétie, ennemis de l'arbitraire, prêts à braver toutes les vicissitudes du sort en servant la cause des peuples, nous nous sommes vus forcés de quitter la France et de réclamer votre protection générale. Les services que notre nation a rendus à l'Europe, nos malheurs, parlent en notre faveur, et le caractère Polonois, l'honneur du soldat de la liberté, est la plus sûre garantie de notre conduite dans votre patrie. Nous attendons votre réponse, et nous sommes convaincus qu'elle sera celle des dignes descendants de Tell et de Winkelreid, nous l'attendons persuadés que les victimes du despotisme ne peuvent être repoussées de ce pays qui a été de tout temps le foyer de la liberté. 10 Août. 1832."

—CAP. VII. 319, 320.

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Great interests were at stake; and it was there for the first time that the old alliance which had overthrown Napoleon was dissolved, and the severance rendered irreparable which had arisen from the Revolution of 1830 in France, and that of 1832 in Great Britain. Although this separation was inevitable, and might naturally have been expected from these decisive events, yet it was so open a departure from former usages that it excited no small disquietude in the courts of London and Paris; and the sovereigns of these realms could not avoid feeling a certain chagrin at seeing a Congress sitting avowedly for the settlement of the affairs of Europe, from which their representatives were excluded.¹

In truth, however, the jealousy felt at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, though natural on the part of the cabinets of France and England, had no solid foundation so far as their immediate interests were concerned. There was no thought there of restoring the ancient dynasty in France; it had proved too weak and incompetent when the crisis arrived to excite any sympathy in the Continental powers. Grave questions were at stake; material interests of the highest importance were to be secured. On the Eastern Question the apprehensions of Austria were allayed by the assurance of the Emperor Nicholas, that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was merely a defensive act, that it was only intended to protect the weakness of Turkey, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see Turkey, by the aid of the good offices of Austria, apply for its termination, when every thing would return to the *status quo*. With regard to Holland and Belgium, it was agreed to accept the separation of the two kingdoms, to recognize the crown of Leopold, and to use their best endeavors to arrange the conflicting claims of the two kingdoms in matters relating to the frontiers or finance, and to give instructions to their respective ambassadors at London and Paris to do their utmost to bring about this object. It was stipulated that the *casus belli* should only be held to have arisen if the interests of the Germanic Confederation were seriously compromised, in particular if the grand-duchy of Luxembourg were refused to be included within its limits. To meet the possible contingency of a war, a very curious and valuable table was prepared by the sovereigns at the Congress, of the military forces at their disposal; and in the event of a war, Russia agreed to support Germany with 120,000 men.

* The military statistics of the Allied Powers furnished to the Congress of Muntz-Graetz were as follows:

	Men.
I. RUSSIA.—Infantry, including Guards	283,000
Cavalry	68,000
Artillery, 960 guns	30,000
Total	381,000
Besides Cossacks and Irregulars, 100,000 more.	
II. AUSTRIA.—Infantry, including Guards	250,000
Cavalry	49,000
Artillery	22,000
Total	321,000
Besides 140,000 Landwehr and frontier corps.	
III. PRUSSIA.—Infantry and Guards	132,000
Cavalry	33,000
Artillery	16,000
Total	181,000
Besides 168,000 Landwehr of the first ban.	

A more serious matter for discussion at this Congress, and which in reality brought the sovereigns together, was that connected with the system of propagandism, which was still, though underground, making alarming progress in Europe. The first question considered, and upon which, in truth, all the rest depended, was whether France was sincere in her endeavors and professed wish to repress the spirit of rebellion and disorder in France and Italy? Contrary to expectation, Prince Metternich decidedly supported the affirmative of both propositions. "We have proof of the disposition of the French Government to repress anarchy in its daily communications, in its efforts to exercise a surveillance over the refugees. We must have patience with it, for it has a rude task to perform. Born of revolution, it is called on to repress its excesses; the creature of rebellion, it can with difficulty detach itself from its side. Surrounded by a net of secret societies, it has, however, resolved to break loose from them, and this year it has not only obtained the victory over them in a pitched battle, but it has succeeded in getting laws passed against the press and the associations." In these views the Prussian minister concurred; and at the same time secret information was communicated to the French Government as to the wish of the Citizen King to detach himself from the revolutionary party, and enter in good faith into the European alliance. In consequence of these assurances, the Congress separated without coming to any resolution of a military nature, and contented itself with a convention, that persons convicted of high treason or sedition in France, should find no asylum in the territories of the others.¹

The colony of ALGERIA continued to maintain its ground during this period of disaffairs of traction in France, though it had a severe conflict to maintain with the warlike and formidable tribes by which it was surrounded. The Bedouin horsemen proved as formidable enemies to the Gallic as their ancestors, under Jugurtha, had done to the Roman invaders. The French force, which at first consisted of twenty-nine thousand men, of whom five thousand only were horse, under Marshal Clausel, during the two first years of the occupation, with difficulty maintained its ground against the clouds of Arabs by whom it was surrounded, and, in fact, could hardly be said to possess any thing beyond the military posts of Algiers, Oran, and Bona, on the seacoast. Like the Turks in Europe, they were encamped in Africa, and were masters only of the ground on which their tents stood. To Marshal Clausel succeeded, in May, 1881, the Duke of Rovigo (Savary), who endeavored to extend the basis of the colony by occupying, as the Romans had done before him, the fertile

plain of the Metidjah, and establishing strong camps there to protect those who might choose to settle from the incursions of the Numidian horse. The necessities of Government at home, however, having rendered it necessary to reduce the army of occupation to twenty thousand, it became extremely difficult to do this, the more especially as the burning heat of the climate exposed the troops to various maladies which daily diminished their strength.¹

Such was the state of the colony when Marshal Soult became War Minister; and he at once perceived that the diminished force was totally inadequate to its protection, and yet that the precarious position of France in reference to the European powers rendered it impossible in any material degree at the present moment to augment it. Thoughts were at first entertained of abandoning the colony as a useless and burdensome offshoot of the monarchy, bequeathed to it by the ambition of the Restoration; but this idea was on reflection abandoned, as implying a sense of military weakness, and depriving the State of a valuable nursery for its soldiers, as well as vent for its turbulent activity. It was resolved, therefore, to retain it, but to augment its military strength, by the establishment of a large auxiliary force, in imitation of the Romans in Europe in ancient, and the English in India in modern times. For this purpose it was determined to establish two auxiliary corps—one of six thousand men, composed of military refugees of all nations, who now swarmed in France, whose absence would be as great a relief to that country, as their presence would prove a service in its beleaguered colony. The other was to be composed, so far as the privates were concerned, of natives of the colony itself, French settlers, Arabs, and Turks, mingled in such proportions as should render treachery impossible. The officers of all grades were to be entirely composed of young Frenchmen, the most distinguished for their courage, zeal, and activity. A smaller body were to be mounted, armed, and equipped in the light fashion, suited for contending with the desultory bands of horsemen who in every age have constituted the strength of Africa. Both these projects were immediately carried into execution with the happiest effect, and in a short time fifteen thousand of these admirable light troops were added to the military force of France in Africa. Such was the origin of the ZOUAVES and the CHASSEURS D'AFRIQUE, so justly celebrated in a subsequent war, whom Marshal St. Arnaud, not without reason, styled "the best soldiers in the world," and who shared with the English the glories of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann! One of the most interesting results of history, in the tracing out the chain of causes and effects, unceasingly going forward, but eluding contemporary observation, which connect the events of one age with another, and which are, on the retrospect, found to have been the agency of Providence for rendering the acts of free agents the means of carrying out, without their intending it, the objects of Divine administration.²

By the aid of those powerful auxiliaries, and of large reinforcements which the increased

IV. GERMAN CONFEDERACY.—

Bavaria	50,000
Saxony	18,000
Wurtemberg	18,000
Baden	14,000
Hesse	8,000
Lesser States	43,000
Total	151,000

—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 243-245.

¹ Cap. vi. 307, 405; heat of the climate exposed the troops to various maladies which daily diminished their strength.¹ Ann. Hist. xvi. 306, 307.

² Origin of the Zouaves in Algeria.

² Cap. vi. 404, 406; out, without their intending it, the objects of Divine administration.² xv. 306, 307.

military strength of France put at their disposal, the limits of the colony were rapidly extended. The fertile fields of the Metidjah, long the granary of Rome, were brought under the plow; cultivation spread toward the foot of Mount Atlas; and the Arab tribes, taught in several encounters the superiority of European arms and discipline, began to relax in their incursions, and abstained from ravaging a district where they met with wounds and death rather than plunder. Such was the confidence which before the expiry of two years was established between them and their powerful invaders, that several of the block-houses were intrusted to their arms, which still, as in a country imperfectly subdued, protected the stations of the troops. Some of the nations, however, were not so tractable; and May 8, 1833; when they extended into the interior, the French were brought in contact with various warlike tribes, particularly the Hadjoutes, Garabats, and Kabyles, who were not subdued but by repeated and severe actions. The last of these inroads was made by nine thousand horsemen and one thousand foot-soldiers, headed by ABD-EL-KADER, a chief of vast resources, unwearied activity, and indomitable courage, who long maintained the standard of independence against all the forces of France, and was subdued at last, not in open warfare, but by fraud and a breach of faith unworthy of the nation by which it was perpetrated, and which would never have been committed in the days of

Sept. 10, 1833;
May 8, 1833;
May 29, 1833;
July 27, Oct.
10, and Dec. 2,
1833.

Ann. Hist. rev. 307, 310, 316.

The decisive victory which had attended the

31.
Extreme violence of the press in Paris in 1833 and 1834.

Crown in the conflict with the Republicans in 1832, and the entire failure of their efforts to obtain a parliamentary majority in the session which followed, induced a marked change in the system of the Opposition and the language of the press in the course of the succeeding year. It is impossible to describe in sufficiently forcible language the virulence of the Republican press during the whole of 1833 and 1834. It was not the impassioned eloquence of a party conscious of right, and contending for victory; it was rather the fierce denunciations of a band of brigands arrested in the midst of their depredations, or the venomous diatribes of a woman thwarted in her schemes of conquest. Future ages would not give credit to the virulence, at that period, of a large part of the Parisian press, did not the journals to this day remain, attesting its extraordinary acrimony. Many home-truths highly distasteful to the ruling power were there told, amidst great exaggeration of language, and many false principles. An open division of property was constantly inculcated as the only remedy for the evils of society. But how violent soever the press may have been, the Government was not less determined in its prosecutions; scarcely a morning elapsed without its being announced that twenty or thirty Republicans had been seized in their beds on the preceding night; and ere long the accumulation of prisoners became such that the prisons were unable to contain them, and a huge hospital near the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise was converted

into an additional place of detention.* Faithful to its system, the Government was noways discouraged by failure of its prosecutions, which very often occurred, but went on indicting fresh parties, without regarding the shouts of triumph raised by the Liberals at every acquittal. Meanwhile Paris virtually remained in a state of siege, although it had terminated nominally within two months after the insurrection of June, 1832. Sixty thousand regular troops in the capital or its immediate vicinity precluded all possibility of successful insurrection; and patrols of military at every hundred yards in the streets prevented any attempt at insurrection during autumn, 1833.

The debates in the Chambers shared in this personal and envenomed character. They degenerated into violent personal altercations between individuals, in the course of which thrusts with poisoned intellectual rapiers were exchanged, and in one instance an actual duel took place between General Bugeaud and M. Dulong, in which the latter was unhappily slain. M. de Lafayette continued at the head of the real, though concealed, leaders of the conspiracy, which sat in permanence, though shrouded in mystery, and cautiously avoiding committing themselves, watching an opportunity to overthrow the Government. Ostensibly, the war in the Chambers was directed against the Ministers alone; really, against the King. The speech from the throne, at the meeting of the deputies on the 28d December, 1833, was moderate and conciliatory, both in so far as regarded external and internal affairs; but the language of Oppo-

* "Yesterday evening twenty-eight persons, accused of seditious practices, were arrested and sent to prison by the agents of the police. Never did tyranny advance with such rapid strides as it is doing at the present moment in France."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"Yesterday night eighteen more persons, accused of seditious practices, were sent to prison. How long will the citizens of Paris permit a despotism to exist among them, to which there has been nothing comparable since the days of Napoleon!"—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

"More barracks are in the course of being erected in the neighborhood of Grenelle. If things go on at this rate, Paris will soon contain more soldiers than citizens—more barracks than houses."—*Tribune*, Aug. 23, 1833.

"It is in vain to say that it was Napoleon, or the Restoration, or Louis Philippe, who extinguished freedom in France: it was the overthrow of Robespierre which was the fatal stroke. We have never since known what liberty was: we have lived only under a succession of tyrants. Impressed with these ideas, a band of patriots have commenced the republication of the speeches of Robespierre, St. Just, and Marat, which will be rendered accessible to the very humblest of the people, by the moderate price of a sous a number, at which it is sold. We earnestly recommend the works of these immortal patriots to our readers. They will find every thing that philosophy could discern, or learning reveal, or humanity desire, or learning enforce, in their incomparable productions."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"The tyranny of the rich over the poor is the real plague which infects society—the eternal source of oppression, in comparison of which all others are as dust in the balance. What have we gained by the Revolution? The substitution of the Chancellerie d'Antin for the Faubourg St. Germain: an aristocracy of bankers for one of nobles. What have the people gained by the change? Are they better fed, or clothed, or lodged, than before? What is it to them that their oppressors are no longer dukes or counts? Tyranny can come from the bureau as well as the palace. There will be no real regeneration to France till a more equal distribution of property strikes at the root of all the calamities of mankind."—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

sition was in the highest degree recriminatory, and breathed the bitterness of a party which in a great public movement had found the whole fruits of victory wrested from them by a third power, which had appeared in the field at the close of the fight. "Gentlemen," said M. Garnier Pagès, "I declare—for I have a right to express what I feel—that society is not established on a basis that can be durable. Justice, humanity, no longer exist: Government is nothing but a deception: the whole of society is out of the pale of the law. Woe to the nation which is placed without the only foundation of pure morality—that is, universal equality—and which is crushed under the yoke of an exceptional Legislature." On this occasion M. Thiers with candor admitted the erroneous view of the Revolution of 1789 presented in his History; "a work," he added, "begun at the age of twenty-three, with the effervescence of Jan. 1834; youth, and which does not contain Moniteur, what should have been said on the subject."¹

At this period the ruling desire, both on the part of the French Government and the European powers, was to effect a reduction of the immense military armaments which for two years had been kept on foot on both sides, and which produced a strain on all their finances which they were little able to bear. M. de Broglie, on the part of the Cabinet of Louis Philippe, made repeated representations on this subject to the ambassadors of the allied powers; but M. de Metternich replied, "We desire nothing more ardently than a general disarmament; like France, we have need of it; but the first step must come from yourselves. Re-establish order in your own country: you have a propagandism which devours us; secret societies fully organized; a press which respects nothing. At the tribune, even, declamations are incessantly launched against our policy and our acts. Begin with repressing that, and the disarmament will follow as a matter of course." To this M. de Broglie replied, "Give us time, and with prudence you will obtain all that Europe desires. It is impossible to control an independent Chamber, ridiculously enamored of revolutionary ideas, after the manner of a government master of itself, and in possession of all its powers." These remonstrances, however, produced a great effect on the French Government. Sensible of their justice, and that no general disarmament could be expected in Europe till the spirit of propagandism was checked in their own country, two important measures of repression were prepared in the Cabinet, which were ere long submitted to the Chamber, and constituted the great *cheval de bataille* between the parties for the remainder of the session.²

The project consisted of two laws, one against public criers of seditious and immoral publications in the streets of the capital—an evil which had risen to such a height, as to have scandalized even the most violent supporters of revolutionary ideas; the other imposing a restraint upon pamphlets and short publications. By the first, no crier

was to be allowed to hawk or distribute pamphlets in the streets without a license from the police; by the second, a stamp duty was imposed on pamphlets under twenty pages. Both these measures were a mere recurrence, like the proclamation of the state of siege by Marshal Soult after the revolt in the Cloister of St. Méry, to the laws of the Restoration; a homage unintentionally offered by the Citizen King to the wisdom of his royal predecessors, and another proof among the many which history affords, that conservative measures do not belong in a peculiar manner to any one dynasty or form of government, but are forced upon all, after a certain period of existence, by the necessities of their situation.³

The evils which these laws were intended to abate were so flagrant and well known, that they excited very little resistance in the Legislature, although they were not carried into execution without some violent and disgraceful contests between the police and those numerous classes in Paris which made their livelihood by hawking obscenity, scandal, and sedition through the streets of the capital.* But it was far otherwise with the law proposed against associations, the second measure of repression, which encountered the most vehement and impassioned resistance, both in the Chamber and over the country. In truth, it well nigh brought on a third revolution. To understand this subject, it must be premised that by article 291 of the penal code of Napoleon, every association consisting of more than twenty persons was prohibited, if not authorized by the Government. M. Guizot and the Doctrinaires had violently opposed this law during the Restoration, and to elude its operation the secret societies were divided into sections, each of which consisted only of nineteen persons. The new law brought forward by the Government extended the prohibition to associations consisting of more than twenty persons, *whether divided into sections or not*; it extended to associations not having periodical meetings, which the former did not; it extended the penalties to all the members, while the former applied only to the office-bearers; and it devolved the cognizance of offenses against the law, if they amounted to high treason, to the Chamber of Peers—if to sedition only, to the courts trying by jury; but if the offense amounted only to an *infractions of police regulations*, to the police courts.⁴

How moderate soever it might be in its provisions, this law excited the most violent opposition on the part of all shades of the Liberal party, and led to the most violent recriminations in the Chamber of Deputies. "It is absurd," said M. Barthé, the orator of Government, "to

¹ L. Blanc, iv. 212, 213; Cap. vii. 253, 254; An. Hist. xvii. 99, 101.

² Law against associations. Feb. 25.

³ Ann. Hist. xvii. 102, 103; L. Blanc, iv. 214, 215.

⁴ Violent debates on it in the Chamber.

² Cap. vii. 245, 247.

³⁴ Laws against public criers, and imposing a stamp duty on pamphlets.

* "Les crieurs lancés sur les places et dans les rues par les ennemis du pouvoir ne furent souvent que les colporteurs du scandale, que les bérauts d'armées de l'Émence. Dans les libelles qu'ils distribuaient, la mauvaise foi des attaques le disputa plus d'une fois à la grossièreté du langage, et à je ne sais quelle flagorneuse démagogie. Flatter le peuple est une lâcheté, le tromper est un crime. Que le Gouvernement fût intervenu pour mettre fin à un tel désordre il le devait."—LOUIS BLANC, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, iv. 211, 212.

act on the principle *laissez faire, laissez passer*, for that which you despise soon becomes strong: contempt is very proper for individuals for certain classes of injuries, but Government has other duties; it owes to society that of protection." "You must," answered M. Garnier Pagès, "accustom the people to read and hear every thing." "Would you, then," replied M. Chapuis Montlaville, "bring back the guillotine and the massacres en masse?" "The cause of our disorders," rejoined an oppositionist, "is to be found in the disastrous system which the Ministers have hitherto pursued. Why were such dangerous and indecent publications so long allowed to be cried through the streets?" "The right of association," said M. Ludre, "has its foundation in Christianity not less than in the rights of man. What is the Government's object in suppressing them? It is because it can submit to no popular control; it would proscribe the rights of man, because they constitute a democratic power; disturbances spring not from associations, but from discontent." "The proposed law," replied M. Barthé, "in no way infringes on the charter; clubs are never once mentioned in it. Here is the history of political clubs: they sow disorder; they reap carnage. M. de Ludre offers us battle; the Government must accept it; there is no other part to take, after so many bravadoes." "You would proscribe political associations," replied M. Garnier Pagès, "but in doing so you proscribe the whole past life of your own statesmen. It is from these societies that the King has chosen his counselors. The society of 'The Rights of Man' does not conspire; it is the Government that conspires for it."¹

When these violent recriminations had in some degree given place to real argument, it was powerfully pleaded by M. Odillon Barrot and M. Garnier Pagès: "What! shall we make that

37.
Argument
against the
measure.

¹ M. Dupont de l'Eure at this juncture resigned his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, and his letter to his constituents on the occasion is valuable as a manifesto, from an able leader, of the sentiments at that period entertained by the Republican party. "Depuis longtemps j'ai pris la résolution de quitter la Chambre des Députés, en voyant le Gouvernement et les Chambres oublier leur commune origine, s'éloigner de la Révolution de Juillet, en méconnaître les principes, en répudier les auteurs et les soutiens naturels, revenir au contraire avec une inconcevable prédilection aux traditions et aux hommes de la Restauration; et faire pour l'administration du pays ce que ne ferait aucun père de famille pour l'administration de sa fortune particulière. Cependant cette fautive direction donnée à nos affaires était tellement contre nature qu'il était permis d'espérer encore qu'elle ne pourrait se soutenir longtemps, et que le Gouvernement ramené par la force des choses et par son propre intérêt se replacerait sur la large base de notre Révolution, c'est à dire, sur la base de la souveraineté du peuple en renonçant à la légitimité elle-même. Mais, en conscience est-ce là ce que nous avons obtenu? Ce que nous avons vu s'établir c'est l'état de siège pour la capitale, la juridiction militaire pour de simples citoyens et députés, la police la plus inquisitoriale et la plus oppressive, substituant parfois son action à celle de la justice et créant même au besoin des prisons d'état telles que celle du château de Blaye, pour des personnages privilégiés. Joignons à tout cela un budget d'un milliard, renforcé d'éternels crédits supplémentaires, une armée de quatre cent mille hommes, qui nous ne donne ni la guerre, ni la paix; une diplomatie trop largement dotée, qui nous donne, Dieu sait, quelle attitude à l'étranger, et demandons nous, la main sur la conscience, si c'est bien là ce que nous avons promis la Révolution de Juillet! DUPONT DE L'EURE. 3 Février, 1834."—*Moniteur*. CARRIGOUX, *Des Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 354, 355.

outrage to civilization, to human reason, as to declare annihilated by a law a right without which society could not exist—a right which is, of all necessities, the most imperious, the most indispensable! What! are we to go back to that 291st article, born of the despotism of the Empire, and which, under the Restoration, was felt as so oppressive! Is this what we have gained by a revolution, conducted in the name of liberty? Does the Government ask this to secure its existence? Can it not live without destroying the principle which generates society itself? Does the necessity of subjecting the right to some restraint, imply the right to extirpate it; and are we, like certain savages, to cut down the tree to reap its fruit? Are we to submit to previous authority the right to license associations? That is to vest an immense, an arbitrary power in the executive—a power before which all our liberties may be swept away—the charter, the guarantees which it stipulates, the electoral right, the liberty of the press. The moment the citizens meet together to come to an understanding on the candidate to whom they are to give their suffrages, they fall under the law against associations. When a few citizens, to set up a journal, subscribe the requisite funds, and mutually communicate their thoughts, there is an association. Are the Opposition electors to be compelled to elect a Ministerial candidate? If so, farewell to the rights of electors. Is the yoke of a previous license to be imposed on the writers who combine to set up a journal? There is an end of the liberty of the press. The project of Government then, in its full extent, is of unheard-of insolence. It is, further, of impossible execution. This much at least was to be said for the 291st article, as it originally stood, that the material fact of an assemblage of more than twenty persons, the element of periodical meetings, and the limitation of the right of prosecution to the office-bearers of societies, were some limitation on despotism. But what limit is here imposed to the right of prosecutions? An indefinite number of persons may be indicted. The project of Government, brutal in theory, will be found, when applied to practice, to be puerile and insensate."¹

"Every right in civilized society," said M. Guizot and M. Thiers in reply, "requires to be regulated by law. A previous license is required in anonymous societies or associations for the purposes of beneficence. On what principle, then, is it not reasonable to require it in political associations, the cradles of sedition, the schools of discord? The power of Government, in a country embracing 32,000,000 of inhabitants, does not consist in its authority over a few thousand functionaries, or two or three hundred thousand soldiers, but in the right which it possesses to make its will penetrate every where, to act in concert by means of a hierarchy wisely constituted; to be, in a word, present every where. To vest individuals with so precious a prerogative, is to displace power to their advantage—to give to them the power of government. The danger of this is incalculable. The State is lost if regularity is allowed to enter into revolt, discipline into anarchy. The law against association is therefore a law essential to the

38.
Answer of
the Ministerialists.

public safety. It can not be less stringent than the one proposed; the mere power to close existing associations which are deemed dangerous, would lead to their being immediately dissolved, and reconstituted under a different appellation. The apprehensions expressed as to the possible abuse of the law are entirely chimerical. Government has no interest to interdict associations for the purposes of religion, beneficence, science, or literature; it is concerned only in the putting down of political associations, the March 27, strong-holds of the factious, the entrenched camps of treason."¹

"How," replied M. Garnier Pages, "are you to distinguish innocent from dangerous societies? Who is to be the umpire between them? If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite with others to strengthen and propagate Christianity, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite with others to extend works of beneficence to the working and humbler classes—to workmen without employment, without bread—I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, desires a wide diffusion of acknowledged truths, of sound doctrines, of those lights which sustain morality and prepare the future happiness of mankind, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to secure for his country the independence of elections, and to oppose the shameless venality and corruptions of electors, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. The willing servant of all just laws, the determined enemy of all unjust ones, we will never hesitate. We will never yield an obedience to man which would render us apostates to God, to humanity, to France. We will disobey your law to obey that of our own consciences."²

These violent recriminations decided nothing, and are only valuable as indicating the extreme asperity of party feelings which now distracted France, and the irreconcilable divergence of opinion between the Government and the democratic faction alike in the Chambers and the country, to whose efforts it had owed its elevation. The false position in which the Citizen King was placed was now apparent to all, and to none so much as to his own Ministers; and it required all the versatile talents of M. Thiers, and all the learning and weight of M. Guizot, to maintain them in it. The repressive measures demanded by the Cabinet were, however, carried by large majorities in both Chambers*—so strongly had the necessity of the case presented itself to the ruling majorities in them, and so imperious was the law of self-preservation which had compelled the Government to repudiate its bastard origin, and revert to the principles of legitimate monarchy. The strife of parties, however, was so violent, and the difficulty of the position of its adherents in debate so great, that some modification of the Cabinet, and considerable changes in the administrative department of the Government, were felt to be indispensable. They were

made accordingly, and by the sole authority and decision of the King, who on this as on other occasions acted as his own prime-minister. The Duke de Broglie and General Sébastiani resigned their situations; and their retreat was soon followed by those of M. d'Argout and M. Barthé. The ostensible cause of these resignations was a hostile vote of the Chamber on a credit of 25,000,000 francs, asked by the Government for a debt due by Government for the losses sustained by the American subjects in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, which was rejected by 176 to 169. These resignations, however, were in reality voluntary: they arose from dissensions in the Cabinet; and in particular, from the general animosity of the other members at M. Thiers, whose ambition, as had been that of Mr. Canning in the English Cabinet, was generally dreaded, but whose influence, nevertheless, was such that he could not be dispensed with. To such a length did these animosities go, that it was only at the personal request of the King that M. Guizot was prevailed on to retain his situation; and when he did so, he remained the sole representative of the Doctrinaire party in the Cabinet. It was evident that any arrangement concluded under these circumstances could be temporary only; and in these new appointments the King had in view merely to get over an immediate difficulty. M. de Rigny, who was transferred from the Ministry of Marine to that of Foreign Affairs, belonged to the school of M. de Talleyrand; M. Thiers was raised to the office of Minister of the Interior; Baron Roussin, made Minister of Marine; M. Persil, Keeper of the Seals; and M. Barthé, who formerly held that office, transferred to the Presidency of the Court of Accounts, vacated, from extreme old age, by the veteran and able financier M. de Marbois.¹

The changes in the Cabinet consequent on the shock of parties in the metropolis, were but a faint type of the dissensions which tore the country. A law against secret associations, brought forward by the Government, in an especial manner excited the indignation of the Republicans: they felt that this stroke was leveled at the centre of their power, and they resolved to resist it to the last extremity. Every where they announced this intention in the most unmeasured language: the societies, so far from yielding obedience to the law, openly threatened to resist it to the utmost of their power.* In order to give greater

* Viz., by 246 to 154 in the Deputies, and by 127 to 64 in the Peers.—Ann. Hist., xvii. p. 133.

"Citoyens! On s'accorde à penser généralement que la loi sur les associations aura pour résultat de détruire la Société des Droits de l'Homme, ou de la rendre secrète. Néanmoins cette société ne renoncera ni à son nom, ni à son organisation, et avisera aux moyens de se poser d'une manière plus imposante. Nous vous ferons connaître ces moyens. Pour le moment, ralliez autour de vous vos sectionnaires, prenez ou faites-vous accorder un pouvoir discrétionnaire afin d'agir avec plus de promptitude et d'ensemble, à l'instant de la lutte qui paraît tre rapprochée. Salut et fraternité signé 'Cavaignac.' Le comité central, et les chefs de section de la société des droits de l'homme de Marseille, considérant que la loi sur les associations outrage à la fois la justice, et la liberté, en plaçant au dessus des droits sacrés de l'humanité la tyrannie la plus odieuse et la plus d'écabable, considérant qu'elle condamne l'homme de la misère et du travail, à vivre craintif et solitaire auprès de sa famille sans pain; considérant enfin qu'elle a pour but de satisfaire aux exigences oppressives

consistency and strength to this resistance, three committees were formed in Paris, at the head of which were MM. de Lafayette, de Ludre, de Cormenin, and André de Puyraveau, the ostensible objects of which were, the establishment of the liberty of the press, of individual freedom, and public instruction. To these objects no reasonable man could take any exception; but their secret and real ends were very different, and pointed, not obscurely, to a future resistance to, and subversion of the monarchical form of government. Their secret aim was to cause democratic principles, in a manner, to filtrate through and penetrate all classes of society, especially the lowest and most numerous; to increase to the utmost of their power the circulation of the democratic press through the country; to defend and succor all persons prosecuted by the Government; and to establish festivals for the annual celebration of the most remarkable epochs in the Revolution, from the storming of the Bastille to the ascendant of Robespierre.¹

To carry out these objects more completely, secret societies were every where established, and their organization and blind obedience to their chiefs rendered more complete than they had hitherto been. The great parent society was divided into sections, the names affixed to which, taken from the great strife or chief assassins of the two Revolutions, sufficiently indicated what their principles and objects were.* Every member of these secret societies was bound to yield an obedience to his superior more blind than any Eastern sultan ever exacted; for he was obliged, at the mandate of an unseen and unknown authority, to commit murder, fire-raising, or any other crime, provided it was ordered by the office-bearers of the society, on any person whatever, from the highest to the lowest, in France. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man," presented by Robespierre to the National Assembly, was the text on which all their declarations and manifestoes turned. "The subsistence of the people," said they, "is devoured by a class of rich spoliators. France, out of 33,000,000 inhabitants, possesses at present scarce 300,000 aristocrats: a million, perhaps, enjoy the means of sustenance; and the remaining 32,000,000 dispute with filthy animals their daily bread and that of their children. It is against this monstrous system that the Society of the Rights of Man has raised itself: it invokes the aid of the entire

world to establish the reign of primitive and Christian equality and fraternity." Such is the picture of France given by the Republicans themselves, after two successful Revolutions.

The defeat of the revolt of June 5th had extinguished all hopes of successful insurrection in Paris; but the temporary success of the revolt at Lyons inspired the leaders of the movement there with the hope that a similar attempt might be made with greater chances of success in that great hive of manufacturing industry. "Lyons," to use his own words, "appeared to M. Armand Carrel a city peculiarly adapted to resolve a thousand provincial questions unknown in Paris." To preface this consummation, the utmost pains were taken in various journals of the manufacturing towns, especially *La Glaneuse* and the *Echo de la Fabrique*, to mix up the disputes about the remuneration of labor, in which they were so deeply interested, with political questions, and to represent the one as entirely dependent on the other. This was no difficult matter, for the distress which had long prevailed among the silk-weavers of Lyons and the neighboring towns had been such that they were prepared for any change; and they were all embraced in one or other of two great societies, which presented the whole machinery required for general revolt. The first of these, entitled "Des Mutualistes," was intended for mutual succor in sickness or old age; the second, called "*Les Ferrandiniers*," was a sort of free-masonry, also devoted to purposes of mutual relief, but, like it, with secret signs and tokens. Since the suppression of the great insurrection at Lyons, in November, 1831, by the vigor of Marshal Soult, the operatives had remained passive and tranquil; but their ideas were unchanged. They submitted, not because they were inclined to do so, but because they lacked the means of resistance. They watched, however, with intense anxiety the political troubles of the states around them; and those in particular in Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont in the preceding years, had awakened their warmest interest and sympathy, and they awaited only the signal from Paris Sociétés Secrètes; l. 163, to begin again the strife with the government of the Citizen King.¹

Such an opportunity was not long of presenting itself. The working classes were still laboring under severe distresses, the inevitable result, in a manufacturing district, of a successful revolution; and the demand was incessant on their part for an increase of wages to enable them and their families to subsist. A combination had been formed for this purpose, and, like all other combinations for a similar end, their whole reliance was on intimidation and violence. In February, 1834, it had been determined by a small majority of the combined workmen (1297 to 1044) to strike work till a reduction of wages, which had been proposed by the masters, should be given up. The minority refused to obey the order, and they were immediately subjected to an amount of violence and intimidation which conquered their resistance. On the 14th February submission was universal; the twenty thousand

¹ Cap. vii. 377, 380: Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, l. 150, 126.

² Cap. vii. 379, 381: Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, l. 134, 140.

³ Cap. vii. 379, 381: Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, l. 134, 140.

de la sainte alliance, en nous dépouillant de la souveraineté au profit de quelques privilégiés corrompus dont la devise a toujours été 'diviser pour régner,' isoler pour détruire,' arrête ce qui suit. 'La Société des Droits de l'Homme et des citoyens de Marseille, s'engage sur l'honneur à dissoudre et à résister à la loi, pour n'obéir qu'à la conscience.' Suivent 150 signatures. Tous les comités de la Société des Droits de l'Homme firent des protestations semblables contre la loi sur les associations."—*Lettre du Comité Central de Paris au Comité de Lyon. CAPRIEUZ, vii. 373, 374.*

* The following are some of these names, taken by hazard out of many others of the same description: "Barriade de St. Méri;" "Mort aux Tyrans;" "Des Fiqués;" "Liberté;" "Montagne;" "Gamelle;" "République Universelle, Egalité, Fraternité;" "Bonnet Phrygien;" "Propagande;" "Louvel;" "Purs Républicains;" "Abolition de la Propriété;" "Proletaires;" "Guerre aux Châteaux;" "Cà Ira," &c.—*La Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes depuis 1833. Vol. i. p. 124, 127.*

^{43.} An insurrection is resolved on at Lyons.

¹ Cap. vii. 383, 387: Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes; l. 163, 167.

^{44.} Second insurrection at Lyons, and its causes. April 8, 1834.

looms of Lyons ceased to beat, and fifty thousand persons were thrown into a state of compulsory idleness and real destitution. The strike was not of long duration. Before many weeks had elapsed, it terminated, and the looms were

¹ Ann. Hist. xvii. 166, 167; Cap. vii. 384, 387; L. Blanc, iv. 249, 250.

all in motion again; but it led to proceedings which brought on the insurrection which the leaders of the secret societies in Paris had determined on.¹

The instigators of this violence and the chiefs of the combination were brought to trial. Such an occurrence always excites in the very highest degree the sympathies of the workmen for whose interests the chiefs have stood forward; and it did so in an

45.
Its commencement with the trial of the leaders of the violent strike.

especial manner on this occasion at Lyons, as the secret societies in Paris, with Lafayette at their head, had resolved to make this the battle-field which was to commence a general insurrection over the country. So violent was the excitement from the very first, that the judges, who had commenced the trial without any military escort, were compelled ere long to call in the assistance of the soldiers to protect them from insult; and as even this proved insufficient, the proceedings were adjourned for four days. When they were resumed on the 8th April, a workman, who had, it was said, betrayed his faith as a *mutuelliste*, was knocked down and maltreated in open court. The military were called in to repress the outrage, and immediately the cry got up, "They won't fire; they are our brothers! *Vive la ligne!*" which was followed by a defection of part of the troops. This was the signal for a general insurrection, which had been decided on the evening before at all the clubs. In the twinkling of an eye barricades were run up in all directions; immense assemblages of people crowded the streets, and frequent cries of "*Vive la ligne!*" told but too plainly that the military, in many quarters, instead of discharging their duty, were fraternizing with the insurgents. The contest continued with various success through the whole of the 8th, and at night a large part of the city was in the hands of the insurgents. Such was the zeal of the people, stimulated by the long-continued suffering they had undergone, that the very women joined in the conflict, and the tiles from their hands fell by thousands from the roofs on the helmets of the cuirassiers and the shakos of the troops.²

Such was the vigor of the insurgents, and the vacillation of a considerable part of the soldiers, that during the next two days victory seemed to have decisively declared on the side of the former. They had made themselves masters of the Faubourg la Guillotière, had intrenched themselves on the terraces of the Fourvières, and taken several pieces of cannon, with which they kept up a vigorous and well-directed fire on the Place de Bellecour, where the headquarters of the military was established. This force was very strong; it consisted of fifteen battalions of infantry and thirty-five pieces of cannon, mustering nearly ten thousand combatants; but aided by the intricacies of the city, and supported by the general sympathy of the

inhabitants, the insurgents were extremely formidable. The red flag was seen from not a few steeples; cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard in every street; heavy discharges of musketry, intermingled with the deep booming of the cannon, resounded on all sides; and when night came, the combat was continued by the lugubrious light of the burning houses which had been set on fire by the mortars. Alarmed at the peril of the contest, which became hourly greater the longer it was continued, General Aymar, who commanded the military, made a concentric attack with three columns on the morning of the 12th, on the position of the insurgents in La Guillotière, which April 12. was carried after an obstinate resistance and great slaughter on both sides. By this means the communication with Paris and the north, which had been closed for three days, was reopened; and from the vantage-ground thus gained, the troops, by slow degrees, and fighting at every step, gradually forced back the insurgents on the centre of the city, and wrested from them one by one the formidable defensive works which they had erected. Strong barriers had been erected around a church in the Place des Cordeliers, which the insurgents had made their headquarters. Its interior presented the most extraordinary spectacle, and gave melancholy token of the horrors of civil war. In one of the naves the casting of balls was going on; in another, the manufacture of powder; while the chapels around were converted into temporary hospitals for the wounded, where they were tended by those whom they loved the most. At length, after six days' hard fighting, April 15. the troops regained entire possession of the city, which wore the mournful and desolate aspect of a town taken by assault; but this advantage was not gained but with the loss of 150 killed and 400 wounded. Great exasperation prevailed in the later stages of the conflict on both sides, and many innocent persons of all ages and sexes were massacred without mercy in the houses forced by the military from which firing had issued. But some traits of generosity also occurred. ¹ Moniteur, April 20, 1834; Cap. vii. 394, human nature in those fearful scenes.¹⁰ ² L. Blanc, iv. 277, 279.

The insurrection which broke out with such violence at Lyons, on occasion of the trial of the chiefs of the combination, was but a part of the general movement over all France, at the head of which was Lafayette and the chiefs of the *Haute Vente* at Paris, and which was incomparably more formidable in its character, and wide-spread in its ramifications, than that which had overturned Charles X. Lafayette intended to have put himself at the head of the revolt at Lyons, and was only prevented by ill health from doing so; but he sent his del-

* "Il y eut des points où, retenues prisonnières par les troupes qui bivouaquent dans les rues, des femmes d'insurgés furent traitées non-seulement avec égard, mais avec générosité, et partagèrent le pain du soldat. Un insurgé venait de tirer à bout portant sur un officier; il le manque, se découvre la poitrine, et dit, 'A ton tour.' Alors par une admirable inspiration de générosité, 'Je n'ai pas coutume de tirer de si près sur un homme sans défense,' répond l'officier; 'va-t'en.'"—L. BLANC, iv. 378, 379.

elegates to direct the movement.* It was by the orders of the central authority at Paris that the strike at Lyons was terminated on 22d February, and the insurrection postponed till the trial of the leaders began. They wished to throw the Government off its guard, and to gain time to complete their preparations. When it did break out, however, orders were sent generally to follow it up as quickly as possible; and then appeared how wide-spread was the spirit of revolt in France, how complete in its organizations, how unlimited the authority of its chiefs.

Between the 9th and the 12th of April 9-12. insurrectionary movements broke out at Marseilles, Perpignan, Vienne, Auxerre, Poitiers, Chalons, Louisville, Grenoble, Arbois, and St. Etienne. Government, however, had information of what was approaching: the authorities were every where on their guard, and the immense military forces at their disposal enabled them to crush the revolt without much difficulty. The only places where it was at all serious were at Louisville and St. Etienne. In the first of these a plot had been formed by the subaltern officers in three regiments to engage them in the revolt, which was only prevented from succeeding by the vigilance of the superior officers and the steadiness of the majority of the men. In the last, appearances were at first very serious, for the whole National Guard joined the insurgents, and in the outset they gained entire possession of the town. But the arrival of regular troops from the neighboring towns, who were rapidly drawn together, enabled the prefect to regain his lost ground; the insurgent national guards were driven into the chief square, surrounded, and disarmed.¹

The Republicans in Paris were not slow in responding to the signal of insurrection thrown out by their brethren at Lyons. Though deprived of part of their physical strength, and much of their moral influence, by the suppression of the revolt on the 5th and 6th June, 1832, they were yet in sufficient force in the capital to occasion serious uneasiness to the Government. As usual in such cases, the most exaggerated accounts were spread by both parties, as soon as the insurrection began at Lyons, of the state of affairs; the Government journals representing the revolt as entirely put down on the very first day, the Republican as every where triumphant, spreading over every part of France, and having established the insurgents in a durable manner in the second city of the empire.[†]

* "J'éprouve un vif regret de ne pouvoir m'associer en personne aux dangers d'une aussi courageuse et honorable entreprise; mais je donnerai à ces Messieurs (MM. Armand Carrel et Cavaignac) des lettres qui leur seront utiles, et je les autorise à se présenter comme mes lieutenants."—M. DE LAFAYETTE aux Chefs des Mutuellistes à Lyon, March 26, 1834. L. BLANC, iv. 360.

† "La victoire du peuple se confirme. Les Lyonnais sont maîtres de la ville; ils y ont proclamé un gouvernement provisoire, et la République. Sur toutes les routes de Lyon, les communications sont interrompues. Le peuple a pris les armes à Chalons, à Roanne; il s'est rendu maître des autorités, les populations des environs de Lyon ont manifesté la plus vive sympathie; mais le plus grand secours est arrivé de St. Etienne, d'où sont partis dix mille ouvriers armés. A Dijon le peuple s'est emparé de toutes les dépêches ministérielles, il est maître de la ville. Sur toute la ligne de Paris à Lyon l'insurrection est fi-

The evident anxiety, however, of the authorities, and the sinister rumors which, in spite of every precaution, began to spread on the second day, as to what the telegraph had really communicated, diffused general consternation, and occasioned such excitement in the central parts of the city as rendered it evident that a revolt was at hand. On the evening of the 13th it broke out. With such vigor were the operations of the insurgents conducted, that in less than an hour after the signal had been given by Captain Kersovie, on the part of the chiefs of the *Haute Vente*, for a general rising, the Republicans were in arms at the Porte St. Denis, in the Place de la Bastille, in the Quartier des Halles, in the Faubourg St. Jacques; while formidable barricades were constructed in the Rues Beaunbourg, Geoffrey-l'Angevin, Aubry le Boucher, Auxours, Maubuee, Transnonain, and Grenier-St. Lazare, and placards inviting the people to in-¹ Ann. Hist. xvii. 172, 173; stant insurrection were put up in Cap. vii. 402, 403; L. Blanc, iv. 297, 298. all the densely-peopled parts of the city.¹⁰

Apprized by the intelligence communicated from Lyons by the telegraph of the real state of things there, and of what they might expect in the capital, the Government were fully on their guard, and their measures were taken with prudence and vigor. There was none of the want of preparation, squeamishness, and indecision which had ruined Charles X. The forces at its disposal were immense. The regular troops in the city amounted to forty thousand men, with fifty-six guns; and to these might be added thirty thousand national guards from the capital and the *banlieue*. The first thing done was to seize the printer's presses of the *Tribune*, and issue a warrant for the arrest of M. Marrast, its editor, who was obliged to fly. Soon the *générale* beat in all the streets of Paris; the national guards were soon repairing to their rallying-points, and a little after eleven at night the dense columns of the regular soldiers approached the barricaded district which surrounded the old Cloister of St. Méri, destined a second time to become the theatre of a mortal civil conflict. M. Thiers was on horseback in the rear of the column which approached from the Rue Geoffroy-l'Angevin; its captain was soon killed, and M. de Varselles, Auditor of the Council of State, fell mortally wounded by his side: the Minister then retired, sensible that his proper place was not that of a captain of grenadiers. At the same time a column attacked the Rue Beaunbourg, which was

grants. Le 32^{ème} régiment qui est en garnison à Bésfort s'est insurgé, et a proclamé la République."—*Tribune*, April 13, 1834.

"A quatre heures, mercredi (le 9) l'action était finie. Quelques coups de fusil retentirent çà et là dans les petites rues du centre de la ville. Les troupes étaient au repos"—*Moniteur*, April 12, 1834.

* "Elle est enfin rompue, cette longue chaîne des tyrannies humiliantes, de perfidies infâmes, de trahisons criminelles! Nos frères de Lyon nous ont appris combien est éphémère la force brutale des tyrans contre le patriotisme Républicain. Ce que les Mutuellistes ont commencé avec tant de succès les vainqueurs de Juillet, hésiteront-ils à l'achever? Laisseraient-ils échapper une si belle occasion de reconquérir la liberté chérie, pour laquelle le sang Français a tant de fois coulé? Citoyens! tant de généreux sacrifices ne seront pas infructueux par une lâcheté indigne. Aux armes! Aux armes!"—CAPRIGUET. *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, vii. 403, 404.

the centre of the insurrection; but it was received with so vigorous a fire that it recoiled; and it being now past midnight, the military contented themselves with encircling the barricaded district with strong bodies of troops in all directions, and postponed the final attack till the following morning.¹

It took place, accordingly, early next day, and experienced less resistance than might have been anticipated, from the known determination and strong position of the insurgents. The plan of attack was arranged at the head-quarters of Generals Bugeaud and Rmnigny during the night, and it was executed at daybreak. Four strong columns began their march simultaneously from the four points of the Bastille, the Porte St. Martin, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Marché des Innocens. These columns were to converge toward the centre of the city, force all the barricades which might obstruct their passage, occupy all the cross streets they passed with troops, and then drive back the insurrection into the narrow space between the Rue Transnonain and the Rue Montmorency, where, by a converging assault, it might be finally crushed. These orders were vigorously executed. General Bugeaud's column effected a junction with that under General Lascours, which had come up from the Porte St. Martin, in the street of the same name, and both united made an attack on the barricade in the Rue Transnonain, which was the centre of the insurrection. The orders of the officers were, "to force open and search every house from whence shots issued." These orders were executed with a rigor and cruelty which makes humanity shudder. Some shots had been seen to issue from the house No. 12, at the corner of the Rue Montmorency, in the Rue Transnonain, and orders were given to force it open and dispatch the insurgents within. The soldiers broke the door open by blows of hatchets, and, rushing in as into the breach of a town taken by assault, in a state of frenzy, put every living soul within the walls to death. Sixteen unhappy beings, for the most part unarmed—old men, women, and children—were massacred! It recalled the worst days of the first Revolution. The resistance elsewhere was soon overcome, and this frightful massacre had not even the excuse of danger or necessity, for the forces of the insurgents were small, and wholly overmatched. By noon the firing had every where ceased, the barricades were all leveled, and the insurrection was entirely subdued.²

It was generally supposed, that after this decisive victory over the Republicans at Paris, Lyons, and St. Etienne, the Government would have brought forward some rigorous measure of repression, which, in the first tumult of alarm, the Chamber might pass. They contented themselves with a law merely against the possessors, without authority, of arms and munitions of war, the necessity of which was so obvious that it passed with scarce any opposition. At the same time the Chamber of Peers was, by a royal ordonnance, erected into a court of high commission, for the trial of the

persons implicated in the late disorders; and ulterior measures were adjourned till the public mind might be prepared for them, by the revelations which might be expected at the trials, as to the extent and objects of the conspiracy. In the mean time, however, advantage was taken of the general alarm to ask supplementary votes of credit, to the amount of 36,000,000 francs (£1,400,000), from the Chambers, in order to raise the effective force of the army to 360,000 men and 65,000 horses. The Chambers cut down the sums demanded to one half, but enough was left to bring up the military establishment to that enormous amount, which was the more remarkable, as all danger of foreign war was at an end, and it was to be arrayed only against domestic enemies.³

As if she never could be weary of showering upon Louis Philippe her favors, Fortune at this period delivered him by death from not the least determined and formidable of his enemies. On the 20th May, M. de Lafayette breathed his last in his seventy-sixth year. He expired, serene and calm, of an affection of the chest. He received a magnificent funeral from the gratitude of his countrymen: but the passions were burned out, illusions had vanished; and though there was a great assemblage, no revolt, as at the funeral of Lamarque, followed his obsequies. It took place on the 22d, and the pall was borne by Generals Fabvier and Ostrowski, the American chargé-d'affaires, an elector of Meaux, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Esèbe Salveste. The pall-bearers were thus selected to represent the various nations of the globe and interests in society, to which, during his long life, he had become endeared.⁴

Lafayette was one of the men whose character presented such strange contradictions that it could have arisen only during the shock of a revolution. Descended of an old and noble family, enjoying high rank, and having mingled from his earliest years in the very first society, he was entirely aristocratic, both in his inmost feelings and manners. He had none of the *morgue aristocratique* in his heart, but all the polish of the highest breeding in his manner. These mental qualities, had he been cast in an ordinary time, would probably have rendered him a mere ordinary character, and he would have lived respected, beloved, but unknown. But in addition to these, he was strongly tinctured with one quality which, in man or woman, never exists without deeply affecting the destiny, and in his case brought him forth on the stormy theatre of revolution. He was inordinately vain, and this disposition rather increased than diminished with the advance of years. In troubled times, when the great majority of men are on the popular side, this desire can only be gratified in its full extent by embracing their principles and forwarding their views. They will give the meed of their applause, in the first instance at least, on no other condition. This was the secret of Lafayette's democratic principles, as it is of most other men of a similar excitable temperament, whose lot is cast in troubled times.

He was personally brave, meant well, and was

¹ L. Blanc, iv. 297, 300; Cap. vii. 404, 406; An. Hist. xvii. 172, 173.

² 50. Victory of the Government, and massacre in the Rue Transnonain.

³ Ann. Hist. xvii. 173, 173; L. Blanc, iv. 300, 304; Cap. vii. 407, 409.

⁴ 51. Measures of the Government upon its victory.

April 15.

¹ Moniteur, April 16, 1834; An. Hist. xvii. 221, 223; L. Blanc, iv. 303.

² 52. Death of M. Lafayette.

May 22.

³ Ann. Hist. xvii. 223; Cap. vii. 2, 4; L. Blanc, 307.

⁴ 53. His character.

actuated by a sincere desire for the establishment of order with freedom. Hence

54. *Continued.* more than once he boldly stood forth to check the excesses of the Revolution, and he was in consequence obliged to fly France, and owed his life to his fortunate confinement in an Austrian dungeon. But his thirst for popularity never failed to bring him back to the feet of the popular idol, and involved him, in the latter years of his life, in many contradictory acts and discreditable connections. He was the enemy of Napoleon, and yet at the head of all the conspiracies formed during the Restoration to overturn the government of the Bourbons; he was mainly instrumental in placing Louis Philippe on the throne, and yet his life, from that event, was a continual intrigue to effect his dethronement. The Government was perfectly aware of this, and possessed ample proof of his treasonable practices; but they did not venture to bring him to trial: like O'Connell, he was too powerful to be punished. Like all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he was insensible to the lessons of experience, and deaf to the voice of reason. The "hero of the two worlds" was as devout an optimist and believer in human perfectibility, and the virtue and wisdom of the working classes, in the close of life, when fifty years of trial and suffering had demonstrated the futility of these ideas, as when in its commencement the American Revolution ushered in the deceitful dawn. Yet, strange to say, while sacrificing consistency and endangering his life in the worship of the idol of popular sovereignty, he preserved to the last his aristocratic habits and inclinations: his manners under the Citizen King were still those of the *vieux régime*; he married all his daughters to men of old family; and by his testament he directed his body to be interred in the cemetery of Picpus, on the Mont Valerien, amidst armorial bearings, and at the back of a convent of nuns, as in the days of feudal pride.

Napoleon said in his letter to his brother Joseph, "Careless literary men and philosophers, but do not take them into your councils: consider them as you do coquettes—amuse yourself with them, but don't marry them." Another man of great genius, who first rose into political eminence at this period, afforded a striking confirmation of this remark. LAMARTINE has already been considered in his permanent and immortal character, as a great historian and poet; but he was also a statesman and politician; and for a brief period he stood forth with prominent effect in the revolution which closed the reign of Louis Philippe, and the causes of which were already in full activity. Not less vain and ambitious of popularity than Lafayette, as implicit a believer in human perfectibility and the virtue and intelligence of the humbler classes, he was possessed of incomparably more genius, and rested his opinions on a more durable basis. He referred constantly to the injunctions of charity and the spirit of universal benevolence, which are to be found in every page of the Gospel; and it would undoubtedly be well for mankind if these injunctions and that spirit were generally embraced in the world. But he entirely forgot, as the amiable fanatics of his description generally do, that the

corruption of human nature is the corner-stone of the whole system of Christianity; that if we are told to love our neighbor as ourselves, we are not less constantly told that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" and, therefore, that while the precepts of our Saviour undoubtedly point to an extension of charity and beneficence to a degree never yet practiced among men, they give no countenance to the idea that men can ever with safety be intrusted with powers wider than have heretofore been found practicable in the world.

But although his political opinions are all tinged with this amiable but fatal illusion, and accordingly his political 56. *Continued.* career, when they came to be put in practice, was very soon terminated in blood; yet he made a great step in political science, and deserves the lasting thanks of humanity for having achieved it. He detached democracy from its most dangerous ally, TERROR. He had, like Robespierre, visions of the islands of the blessed, but they were not like his, arising out of a sea of blood. He constantly inculcated the love of mankind in the ultimate ends which the Legislature had in view, but also in the means by which it was to be obtained; he did not say that evil was justifiable if good might come of it. Simple as this step appears, and entirely as it is conformable to the best precepts, both of religion and morality, it required no ordinary man to take it, and no common courage to avow it, in public. Accordingly, when Lamartine, in March, 1848, refused to put on the red cap, the emblem of blood, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, he did so at the immediate hazard of his own life, and to the eventual destruction of his own influence. The first instinct of the multitude, when they gain possession of power, whether in social or political conflicts, invariably is to secure and increase it by terror; their first weapons are too often the dagger and the torch. It is this disposition, natural and intelligible in the circumstances in which they are placed, which always renders their sway so calamitous, and causes it to be terminated, after a brief period of suffering, in joyfully-hailed despotism. Probably this disposition is so strongly founded in human nature, that to the end of the world it will never be entirely obliterated; but whoever takes the initiative in opposing it, is a friend to mankind; and whoever hazards his own life in the resistance, deserves the eternal gratitude of the species, for it is thus only that the fabric of durable freedom is to be erected.

Lamartine's legislative views and talents, as an orator, are deeply tinged by the 57. *His qualities as a statesman and orator.* romantic and ardent temper of his mind. He is in the highest degree eloquent. Several of his speeches in the Chamber of Deputies and at public meetings, since published in his collected works, are models of the most moving and persuasive style of oratory. He does not discard facts or practical views, but he views them all with a poetic eye, and through the bright illumination of a Claude Lorraine atmosphere. It is this which renders his speeches so influential and attractive, alike when listened to or read; the mind is carried away, as by the sound of delicious music, by the brilliancy of his ideas, the mellifluous flow of his language. They are all,

however, prepared; their extraordinary beauty proves this. No man can compose such sentences extempore. He is not, therefore, and never will be, a practiced debater; and his turn of mind is too imaginative and poetical to admit of his taking an interest in, or making himself master of, the dry details of ordinary business. He becomes active only when the feelings are roused, and then he is often great. This turn of mind disqualifies him from being a man of business or practical statesman, though it renders him only the more attractive on a few occasions; and accordingly his career in power was soon brought to a termination, and he has since been distinguished almost entirely by his works of literature and imagination.

The Government conceived with reason that the present would be a favorable time for dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, as the failure of the Duchess de Berri in La Vendée had demonstrated the weakness of the Legitimists, and the insurrections in Paris and Lyons had struck universal consternation into the bourgeoisie and holders of property. The Chamber was dissolved on the 25th May, the day after its prorogation, by royal ordinance, and the new one appointed to meet on the 20th August. The elections, for the most part, came on toward the end of June, and the majority generally obtained for Government exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The Legitimists generally abstained from voting, from conscientious scruples as to taking the oaths required of electors; and the consequence was, that they did not obtain more than fifteen in the entire Chamber. The Republicans were almost every where defeated. According to the calculations in the *Moniteur*, seventy of those in the former Chamber were thrown out, and twelve voluntarily retired from the contest. The consequence was, that the *Juste Milieu*, as it was called, which supported the Government, obtained a great majority—no less than three hundred and twenty votes out of four hundred and sixty. The Opposition, Royalists and Republicans, was only ninety, and the intermediate party fifty. The result, when matters came to the test, though not quite so favorable to Government, still showed that they had gained a decisive majority over their opponents. On the divisions for the presidency of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parliamentary parties in France, M. Dupin, the ministerial candidate, had 247; M. Lafitte, the Opposition, 83; M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Odillon Barrot, 81. It was evident that the *Juste Milieu* had coalesced with the Ministerialists. The Republican and Legitimist oppositions were all but extinct in the popular part of the Legislature.¹

We have arrived at an important epoch in the modern history of France, and one eminently deserving of attention by all who consider politics as the subject of thought and reflection, not the mere amusement of a passing hour. Just four years had elapsed since the Government of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had been overturned by a nearly unanimous effort of the nation, and the declared will of the people

substituted for the balanced authority of legitimate descent and popular influence. A throne had been established, surrounded by republican institutions; the ruling dynasty changed; the Citizen King invested with the crown; the old family sent into exile, and the whole objects of the insurrection gained. What had been the result? Had public felicity increased, the sources of discontent been removed, the wages of labor raised, the public burdens diminished, the foundations of liberty strengthened and enlarged? So far from it, in every one of these respects the condition of the nation had been changed for the worse, the influence of the popular party diminished; and none now proclaimed this so loudly as the Liberals who had brought about the change.

The public burdens had, on an average of years, been increased fully a third; the army and all its concomitant expenses doubled. Such had become the penury of the working classes, especially in the great towns, the centres of revolution, that they had been driven by sheer suffering into two desperate revolts both at Paris and Lyons, which had only been suppressed after a lamentable effusion of blood and fearful exasperation on both sides. The complaints of the press, so far from having ceased, had augmented ten-fold; the Citizen King had become the object of far greater vituperation than Charles X. had ever been; the Government was engaged in an incessant warfare in the courts of law with the Republicans; and peace was only preserved in the capital by the presence of forty thousand soldiers, and as many national guards and armed patrols, in every street. Several thousand Republicans, chiefly in the great towns, were languishing in prison, without either the prospect of being brought to trial, or the means of forcing it on. When the Bastille was stormed in 1789, there were only eight prisoners in it! The qualification of voters had been lowered, and 180,000 electors substituted for 90,000 in the electoral colleges; but that had only made matters worse for the Liberal party. The lowered suffrage had opened the doors wider to corruption; the increased expenditure of Government had immensely extended its influence; and the first effect of doubling the number of electors had been to double the adherents of Ministers in the Chamber, and halve the strength of Opposition. A fixed opposition of 221 deputies, elected by a constituency of 90,000, had overturned Charles X.; a fixed ministerial majority of 247, elected by 180,000, seemed to give permanent sway to Louis Philippe.

The Republicans exclaim that these results have ensued because their Revolution was stifled in its birth—because an astute faction took advantage of their courage, reaped the fruits of their victory, and then, for their own selfish purposes, established a worse tyranny in the realm than that from which they had been delivered. This doctrine sounds well, and for the next twenty years it blinded a large portion of the world to the real cause of the failure of the Revolution of July in France. It was believed that it had failed because it had been defeated, whereas it failed because it had conquered. Never was

¹ *Moniteur*, June 28, 1834, and Aug. 9 Ann. Hist. xvii. 257, 271.

^{59.} Results of the Revolution of the year 23, 1834.

^{61.} Error of the explanation of these changes given by the Liberal party.

revolution so quickly decided; never was a new government installed in power so completely in accordance with the general voice; never was one more cordially supported, when in possession of it, by the moral and physical strength of the party which had proved victorious in the strife. It doubled the number of electors, and intrusted the suffrage to 180,000 electors—nearly as many as were qualified to exercise it in a country where not one in ten in the entire population could read; and they returned a Chamber with a majority of four to one in favor of the Government. It raised the army above 300,000 combatants, and it on nearly every occasion remained faithful to its oaths when the hour of trial arrived. It put arms into the hands of a million of national guards, who elected their own officers, and the majority of them supported the Crown. This is decisive. When so large a part of the population capable of bearing arms is in this manner organized in armed bands, under officers of their own selection, it is in vain to assert that the government they support is not that which, upon the whole, is consistent with the national voice, how obnoxious soever it may be to certain fractions of it.

In truth, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show, not only that the
 62. How the Rev. Revolution of July failed because it
 of July proved victorious, but *how* it was
 failed. that this anomalous result came to
 pass. Like most other revolutions, it was a
 class movement, and, like all similar convulsions, it terminated in *elevating a class to supreme power*. This at once and invariably proves fatal to public liberty. When one class has succeeded in beating down all others in civil strife, it invariably makes use of its victory to advance its own peculiar interests at the expense of the rest of the community. Real freedom can never be attained but by the balancing of one class against the others: the victory of any one, if decisive, at once destroys it. The Revolution of July was made by the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the armed prolétaires of Paris; the Citizen King was their consul. The joint victory did not establish freedom; it established the despotism

of the shop-keepers. But they proved more unfeeling and ruder masters than their predecessors had been; while at the same time, being supported by a much larger and more influential body in the state, they were not so easily shaken off. Marshal Soult and his cuirassiers proved very different antagonists from Prince Polignac and his priests.

Simultaneously with this, the condition of the working classes was infinitely deteriorated by the termination of purchases, and the shock to credit consequent on any successful popular convulsion: their sufferings were increased, while their complaints were disregarded, and their means of resistance destroyed. The capitalists and manufacturers, who had made the Revolution, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the silk-weavers of Lyons, whose wages had been reduced to a third of their former amount by its effects: they answered their petitions by assurances that they were prosperous—stifled their rebellion by grape-shot. The masters and traders, whose interest was to buy cheap and sell dear, were insensible to all complaints as to the ruinous fall in the wages of labor; the operatives, well-nigh maddened by suffering, readily embraced the doctrines of the Socialists, who proclaimed a common unity of goods and women as the ultimate destiny of society. Such extreme principles drove all the holders of property into the other side, and filled the ranks of the national guards, wherever it was composed of others than prolétaires, with sturdy and zealous defenders of order. Hence the profound animosity which got up between the different classes of society, and the commencement of a division in the community, which, fifteen years later, overturned the Government of the Citizen King, and established the brief reign of "Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité" in its stead. We shall see anon whether this new Revolution proved more remedial in its consequences than its predecessor, and whether the *class government of labor* was found to be more tolerable in its effects than that of capital had been.

63.
 Schism between the proprietors and prolétaires.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832, TO THE FALL OF EARL GREY'S MINISTRY IN THE END OF 1844.

So great was the change which had been introduced into the constitution of Great Britain by the Reform Bill, that the liberties of the country, and with them the existence of the empire, stood in the most imminent peril when the victory was gained by the popular party. The contest had continued so long, the exasperation on both sides had been so great, the animosity excited so violent, the expectations awakened so extravagant, that there was no saying what length the people would go, now that they had got the power into their own hands. It was well known that the Radicals aimed at changes so great and sweeping—annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, paid representatives, and an equal division of electoral districts—as would entirely destroy the influence of property in the Legislature, and leave the nation and its institutions entirely at the mercy of the extreme revolutionary party. The danger was very great that the new constituencies would, for the most part, return members of this way of thinking, or at least pledged to this course of action, and that their influence on the old ones would prove such as to give a majority of them too to the innovating party. Scotland, it was well known, had been completely revolutionized by the change: Ireland was in great part led by Mr. O'Connell, whose alliance with the extreme Radicals was open and declared. To all appearance, a decisive majority of at least four to one would be returned for Ministers in the first elections under the new constituency; and if so, the whole institutions and liberties of the country lay at the disposal of a party who had recently forced through a decisive organic change in the constitution, by the threat of creating peers and the open coercion of the sovereign.

This public danger was forcibly illustrated by an event which occurred a few days after the Reform Bill passed. The Duke of Wellington had occasion to pay a visit to the Mint on the 18th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, and as he was returning on horseback, attended by a single groom, he was recognized by a mob of several hundred persons who collected on Tower Hill to await his return. He was loudly hissed and hooted on his making his appearance, and the crowd continued to follow him, yelling and hooting, without the Duke paying any attention to what was going on, until in the middle of Fenchurch Street, when a man rushed up to him, and, seizing the horse by the bridle, endeavored to pull him off his horse, in which he would have succeeded but for the intrepidity of the groom, who hastened to his assistance, and the aid of a small body of police who were passing at the time. The Duke still rode on, regardless of his

danger, until he came to Holborn, when the mob began to throw stones and filth at him. He thereupon rode to Sir Charles Wetherall's chambers in Lincoln's Inn, escorted by a body of benchers, who gallantly rushed out to his rescue. He remained there till a body of police arrived from Bow Street, who escorted him home. The public alarm was increased by an assault on the King next day, June 19, when attending Ascot races, who was severely struck by a stone on the forehead, on which occasion he exhibited the hereditary courage of his race. Without doubt a political party is not legally responsible for the acts of the ruffians who may have espoused their side; but those who take savages into their alliance must bear the moral opprobrium, as the English did in the American War, of their misdeeds. The Liberal party had good reason now, all over the world, to blush for the acts of their followers, and the earnest they afforded of the ascendant which brute strength was to obtain over intellect in reformed society. In France they held Chateaubriand in chains, in Scotland they had hissed the dying Sir Walter Scott, and in England they had tried to murder the Duke of Wellington on the anniversary of the day Ann. Reg. 1832; Chron. 76, 77. on which he had saved his country.¹

No one can have lived through that anxious period without being conscious that these dangers were any thing but imaginary. They had been treated power at the as such by the Liberals during the heat of the contest; and every one was stigmatized as an "alarmist," while it was going on, who expressed any apprehension of danger to the country from the passing of the Reform Bill. But when the victory was gained, and the strife was over, the consequences of what had been done, and could not be undone, revealed themselves to the eyes, first of the most thoughtful and far-seeing, and next of the most powerful leaders of the Whig party. Obligated to laud the Bill on the hustings, and on all public occasions constrained to express before the world the most unbounded confidence in the wisdom and integrity with which their newly-acquired powers would be wielded by the people, they were in reality ere long not less impressed than their opponents with the most agonizing presentiments. In the confidence of trustful friendship these apprehensions were revealed without reserve even to the most sturdy of political adversaries, forming a strange contrast to the *Io Pæans* which they chanted in public for their transcendent victory. As the private correspondence of the Whig leaders at this period is gradually brought to light, the more clear does it appear how widely these apprehensions were entertained in their secret thoughts by those who had been foremost in the

battle. It is fortunate it was so, for such was the fervor of the public mind at the close of the contest that the great majority of the people would have supported the Government in any ulterior projects they chose to advance, how violent soever, provided only they had a tendency to depress still farther the Conservative oligarchy who had so long ruled the nation. There is too much reason to fear that a Liberal Government so disposed might have abolished the House of Peers, established universal suffrage, destroyed the Established Church, possibly dethroned the King, if they had been wicked or insane enough to have entertained such projects. Possibly the escape of the nation from the perils with which it was then on all sides beset is to be ascribed only to the good providence of God, which had destined the British empire to a more glorious end than to perish from its own infatuation. But, humanly speaking, there were several causes which concurred at this time in averting the danger, and of these the principal were the following:

I. The first of these, and without doubt the most important, was the difference between the constitution of the British mind and that of the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, in whom the sudden acquisition of political power had produced such fatal results. In these imaginative and excitable people the seizure of absolute authority, and confirming it by durable institutions in a particular party, was the great object of ambition, to the securing of which all their efforts from first to last were directed. In Great Britain, however, a different set of objects engrossed the public thoughts. The Anglo-Saxon race, eminently practical and domestic in its disposition, was mainly bent on securing substantial and what may be called *home* benefits from its triumphs. The vague idea of liberty and equality, so powerful on the other side of the Atlantic, had little influence beside the English fireside. The English people were not less set than their impassioned neighbors on securing some real advantages from the victory they had gained, but the advantages were different, and of a less perilous kind. They consisted, not in establishing principles, but diminishing burdens; not in subverting governments, but in lowering prices. They had been told for years that the cost of every thing would be lowered a half, wages doubled, and taxes halved, the moment the Bill was passed; and what they were now set on was to exact pledges from their representatives which might immediately secure this desirable consummation. There might be something very ridiculous in expecting such results to follow from a mere change in the representation, but it was incomparably less dangerous for the nation to follow such illusions than to be set on forcing on successive and still more perilous organic changes in the constitution.

II. It was a matter of the very highest importance, and now proved of the most essential service, that, unlike the French, the English Revolution was headed and directed by several of the greatest and most influential families in the country, and a large part of the nobility. They began it, indeed, in

entire ignorance of the consequences of their own measure, and contended for it at last rather from the dogged resolution not to be beaten, than any clear perception of the benefit it was likely to confer either upon their country or themselves. But still the passing of the Bill left them in possession of the reins of power, and holding a very great sway in the nation, from gratitude for benefits received, and the expectation of still greater ones to come. This was a matter of the greatest consequence, especially in the first moments of hallucination and triumph consequent on the passing of the Bill. It was impossible to suppose that the Russells and Cavendishes, the Greys and the Elliots, could be set on measures which went to destroy their own influence in the State, and possibly endanger the hereditary estates, from the possession of which they mainly derived their grandeur. They had cordially supported the Reform Bill in the belief that it was an important party move, which would permanently destroy their political opponents, and give themselves a long, perhaps a perpetual lease of power. To attain this object, they had entered into a temporary union with the Chartists and Radicals, and largely availed themselves of the aid which their violence or intimidation could afford. But in their secret hearts they disliked and dreaded their dangerous allies even more than the Tories; and while constantly lauding them in public, they were in reality in secret devising means to thwart their designs, and had no intention whatever of vacating in their favor the seats of power.

III. Among the causes which tended to deaden the revolutionary enthusiasm, and avert, in the first instance, the dangers of the Reform Bill, a prominent place must be assigned to the patriotic and intrepid conduct of the Conservatives in every where remaining at their posts, and in many cases doing their utmost to obtain places in the Legislature. Unlike the French noblesse, who emigrated *en masse*, joined their arms to those of the foreigner, and doubled the strength of the revolutionary party by allying with it the patriotic, the English aristocracy all remained in the country, and did their utmost to moderate a fervor which the greater part of them had no share in creating, but from the effects of which all, whether supporters or opponents, were equally, to all appearance, destined to suffer. The effect of this courageous and truly patriotic conduct was immense. There is something in danger bravely dared, in obloquy voluntarily incurred, which inevitably commands respect; and however much such qualities may be disregarded or calumniated during the heat of the contest, they sink into the mind when its excitement is over. Reviled, insulted, assaulted, abused, the Conservatives were generally seen upon the hustings or the platform, opposing to the brutality of mob violence the calm resolution of intellectual strength. This conduct was the more dignified and impressive that it was obviously disinterested: the majority for the Liberal party under the new constitution was so overwhelming, that it was evident that for a very long period, perhaps forever, their opponents would be excluded from power. The Liberal press contained the most violent abuse of the

5. The nobility were at the head of the English movement.

6. Effect of the Conservatives remaining at their posts.

Conservatives, and the Radicals exclaimed that the Bill had obviously not gone far enough, "for some Tories had got into Parliament." But in the mean time the thoughts of many were changed—

"Respect was mingled with surprise,
And the stern joy which warriors feel
In semen worthy of their steel."

IV. A place not less important in working out moderation of conduct after the Reform Bill passed, must be assigned to the conduct of the Government in striving to allay the general fervor to which they had owed their victory. This was a very delicate and hazardous thing to attempt, for the experience of every age has proved that the only way to keep the lead of a movement is to advance before it, and that the first halt in agitation is a step toward the ruin of the agitators. The Reform Ministry are long experienced this. From the moment of their triumph their popularity began to fail, and before three years had elapsed the leaders of the movement were driven from power amidst the general obloquy of those upon whom they had conferred the greatest political benefits. It must always be recorded to the honor of Earl Grey's Administration, that they voluntarily incurred this odium, and accelerated this fall, to avert the dangers which their previous ambitious conduct had brought upon the country. By continuing the movement, they would in the end, indeed, have destroyed their country, but in the first instance they would have saved themselves: by checking it, they in the end saved their country, but in the outset destroyed themselves.

V. The subjection of the Irish Catholic members of Parliament to the influence of a foreign power, in the Court of Rome, fraught with so many evils, on other occasions, to the best interests of the empire, on this undoubtedly worked for good. Intoxicated with the double victory it had gained in the passing, first of Catholic Emancipation, then of the Reform Bill, the conclave of the Vatican deemed the time come when they were entitled to reap the fruits of victory in the elevation of their own, and the depression of the Protestant Establishment. Thence a division among the Reformers and a schism in their ranks, from which they have never since entirely recovered. Union had constituted their strength, and that was unbroken as long as victory was doubtful; division revealed their weakness, and that appeared as soon as it was secured. Of the Reformers of Great Britain the great majority were Protestants, and not a few as sturdy opponents of the See of Rome as their ancestors in the days of the Puritans, or the Solemn League and Covenant. When the Vatican, therefore, threw off the mask, and measures were commenced evidently intended to destroy the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and open the door to the replacing the Catholic faith in these realms, not a few of the most zealous paused or became lukewarm in the cause. It was impossible to feel any sympathy with a cause, independent of religious differences, which was supported by fire-raising and murder, and forcibly retained the rural population of Ireland in a state of misery and barbarity un-

paralleled in a Christian state. Divisions in this as in all other coalitions were consequent upon success; and it was fortunate for the British empire that they appeared so soon, and with such serious effects. Earl Grey was overturned in two years after their united triumph by O'Connell, to whom he had opened the doors of Parliament. Had they remained united, he is a bold man who should have predicted what would have been the present state of the British empire.

VI. On one occasion, during the fervor of the first great convulsion, Pétion, looking at the watery sky, said, "You need not be afraid; there will be no revolution to-night." In effect, the rain soon after began to fall in torrents, and the assemblage destined to overturn the Girondists was dispersed. Every person must have observed how often a cloud, charged with the most dangerous electric fluid, is deprived of its alarming qualities by descending in rain. A physical visitation of Providence this year sensibly abated the Reform mania: it supplanted the passion for power in the multitude by a still stronger and more general feeling—the terror of death. The CHOLERA, whose appearance in the east of Europe and France has already been recounted, was first detected in Great Britain in the autumn of 1831, and in the spring of the following year it broke out in the metropolis, and excited universal consternation. It made its first appearance in Sunderland, from whence it spread to Newcastle and Scotland; and as long as its ravages were confined to the north it excited very little attention in the south, and nothing was done to arrest it in Parliament. But no sooner did one case appear at Rotherhithe, near Woolwich, than this apathy was cast off; in extreme alarm, Parliament passed three Acts in one day. The disease continued its ravages over nearly the whole country through the summer and autumn of 1832, exhibiting every where the same strange and contradictory features which have elsewhere marked its progress. In general, it was most fatal in the neighborhood of stagnant waters, and in some places half the inhabitants in such localities perished. In other places, again, its ravages were most severely felt in airy, elevated, and cleanly situations, and among the richest and most orderly persons. Generally speaking, however, the mortality was greatest among the intemperate, the dissipated, and the profligate. It was peculiarly virulent in North Shields and Newcastle in England, and in Musselburgh and Haddington in Scotland. A central Board of Health was established in London, which corresponded in the most energetic manner with local boards in all parts of the country. They did little toward stopping the progress of the epidemic, which ran its course for fifteen months, and then disappeared in as mysterious a manner as it had come in; but they brought about good consequences, in awakening the public attention to sanitary measures, hitherto unaccountably neglected in the empire. The deaths in London were 5275; but they were much greater, in proportion, in some provincial towns, particularly Glasgow, Dublin, and Liverpool. In a statistical point of view, the mortality was not important, and less than in many

previous visitations of typhus fever, which had excited little attention. But, politically considered, its effect at this crisis was very material, for it established a counter irritation, often not less salutary in mental than bodily, in national than individual diseases.¹

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th August; but before it separated, several important measures were forced upon its attention by the exigencies of public affairs. Of these the most pressing was the state of the finances, which was so alarming as to awaken the most serious solicitude. The revenue had shared to the very full in the depression of industry and diminution of expenditure which had taken place from the combined effect of the contraction of the currency and expansion of the agitation, and this imposed a most anxious duty on Government; for, on the one hand, the distresses of the country called for a reduction of taxation, and, on the other, the lessened revenue rendered it impossible to grant it. The change in the state of the revenue since the Duke of Wellington left the helm, in November, 1830, had been immense. He left his successor a clear annual surplus of £2,913,000 in the year ending 5th April, 1831; but it had turned, in the year ending 5th April, 1832, into a deficiency of £1,240,413; while the distressed state of the country rendered any addition to taxation impossible. This was in a great degree owing to the large reductions of taxation made in 1830, some before and some after the present Ministers came into power. In these circumstances, the only resource left to Government was an unflinching reduction of expenditure, and it was done with so unsparing a hand as in a great degree compensated the deficiency. The reductions amounted to no less than £2,500,000, making, when balanced against a small increase in other departments, an entire saving of £2,162,000; of which £1,000,000 was on the navy and £500,000 on the army, besides £1,000,000 on the miscellaneous services.* These reductions, especially in the army and navy, gave the greatest satisfaction to the reforming classes, and they enabled Government, without imposing new burdens, to tide over the difficulties of the ensuing year. But they did so by cutting off the right arm of the national strength, inducing the most terrible disasters, and rendering necessary the most profuse expenditure in future years. Then was first fully put in force that ruinous system of economical reduction, which diminished the national armaments in

proportion to the increase of the national necessities—which displaced Great Britain from its station among the nations, disabled the empire from taking advantage of the victory of the Alma, and induced the horrors of the Crimean winter.¹

A question which, in the distressed financial state of the country, excited a very great degree of attention, was that arising out of the Russo-Belgian loan. By the treaty of 1814, which first erected the united kingdom of the Netherlands, it had been provided that a sum of £200,000 to Holland, and a farther sum, not exceeding £8,000,000, should be borne "conjointly, and always in equal shares," by Great Britain and Holland, for augmenting the defenses of the Low Countries. The money was advanced by Russia, and Great Britain became collaterally bound for payment of the interest, on the condition that "these payments should cease should the dominion of the Belgic provinces pass from the King of Holland." On the severance of Belgium from Holland, the King of the Netherlands refused to make any farther payments; but the English Government continued to do so, under this guarantee, on behalf of Belgium. This was objected to by the Opposition; and the Conservatives, deeming this a favorable opportunity for coalescing with the Radicals, brought forward a special motion on the subject, which was powerfully supported by Mr. Herries, on the ground that, as the payment was only to continue as long as Holland and Belgium remained united, the fact of their being now separated terminated the obligation of payment. On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Althorpe on the part of the Government, that the separation contemplated in the treaty as the condition which was to terminate the obligation of payment was a separation *vi et armis*, by foreign interference, and not such as had actually occurred, by the voluntary separation of the component parts of which the united state was composed. There was much to be said on both sides, and the legal authorities themselves were divided on the subject. But as the more honorable course undoubtedly was to hold the obligation still in force, it must be considered as a creditable circumstance to the national faith that the House of Commons supported Ministers, though only by a majority of 20, the numbers being 1832, 367, 289 to 219.²

But all subjects of anxiety in the year 1832 sank into insignificance in the British empire, after the Reform Bill had passed, compared to that furnished by the distracted state of Ireland. That unhappy country, the victim, in one age, of British injustice, in another of British indulgence, had only become more distracted with every concession made to its demands. "Confusion and threatened rebellion," says the annalist, "had no sooner accomplished emancipation, than it commenced the same work to destroy the Protestant Church. The same organized tumult and menaced dissolution of the bonds of society, which had been employed to open the doors of Parliament, and of the Government offices in 1829, was directed

* The comparative expenditure of 1832 and 1833 was thus stated by Lord Althorpe in his place in Parliament:

	Expenditure for year ending— 5th April, 1832.	5th April, 1833.
Dividends	£34,361,513	£34,340,000
Annuities	3,319,314	3,340,000
Interest on Exchequer bills ..	662,984	686,000
Other charges on consolidated fund. }	1,741,364	1,971,000
Army	7,551,094	7,067,682
Navy	5,842,835	4,878,635
Ordnance	1,478,944	1,494,688
Miscellaneous	2,900,430	1,969,371
	£47,858,487	£45,686,376
Deduct	45,696,376	
Saving	£2,162,061	

—Ann. Reg., 1833, p. 257.

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to batter down the Church in 1831 and 1832. One demand conceded immediately became the parent of a new one; and agitation, like love, had an appetite which grew by what it fed on." The system now adopted was

¹ Ann. Reg. 1832, 221. an organized resistance to tithes, which, being every where engrossed

by the spiritual guides, was universally and implicitly obeyed. So general had the evil become that it excited the anxious attention of Government, who, in the speech from the throne in February, 1832, made his Majesty say: "In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results, and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may

² Parl. Deb. Feb. 6, 1832; afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint."³

In consequence of this recommendation, committees were appointed in both Houses of Parliament, who collected an immense mass of evidence, and revealed a state of things which would have been absolutely incredible if not supported by incontrovertible proof. It appeared that what was every where demanded was the entire and unqualified abolition of tithes, upon the ground that it was paid by Catholic cultivators to Protestant clergymen. It never occurred to these recusants that, though paid in the first instance by the peasantry, the burden in reality fell upon the Protestant landlords, because it formed a deduction from their rents, just as the property-tax which was paid in England during the war did. Earl Grey, however, set his face decidedly against any such change, and declared it to be the firm intention of Government, before introducing any change, to make the law respected. The committee reported, "that with a view to secure the interests both of the Church and of the country, such a change, to be safe and satisfactory, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those belonging to lay impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for an investment in land, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the Church, and at the same time remove all pecuniary collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of land."⁴

There can be no doubt that this report was founded on the true principles on the subject, and that in no other way than by commuting tithes into a rent-charge on land payable directly by the landlord, or estates belonging solely to the Church, is it possible to settle the question on a satisfactory footing, in cases where the clergy and any considerable part of their parishioners belong to different religious persuasions. Experience has entirely settled this question, for the system thus proposed to be introduced is nothing but a copy of that established two hundred years before in Scotland by the decrees arbitral of Charles I., and which, in a country at that period torn by the most violent religious feuds, has, so far as the temporalities of the

Church go, ever since induced entire peace and concord in the country. By the simple expedient, too, of making the rent-charge vary every seven or ten years, according to the average price of grain in the preceding period, the provision for the clergy can be effectually guarded against the risk of being lessened by a change in the value of money, as has been experienced with some degree of hardship from the want of such a clause in the settlement of the tithe question in Scotland. But the expression in the report, and which was reiterated by Mr. Stanley (now Lord Derby) in his speech in introducing the remedial measures of Government in the House of Commons, that "*the extinction of tithes*" was intended, had a very pernicious effect, as inducing among the inconsiderate persons likely to be affected by the measure the belief that the burden was to be entirely removed, not transferred, as Government intended, in a direct form to the landlord.

The debate on this subject is chiefly valuable from the important evidence which

it brought out of the dreadful state of the country, and the war to the knife which had been set on foot by the Catholic clergy to stop the payment of tithes to their Protestant brethren. The arrears of tithes due and irrecoverable in the four dioceses of Ossory, Leighlin, Cashel, and Ferns, were computed at £84,954; and the following was the description given by Mr. Stanley of the state of the clergy thus deprived of their sole means of subsistence: "As to the reviled clergy, the men who are described as living in 'luxury, idleness, and ease,' they were living, some in fear of a prison for debt, as they had received no money for many months, many more in fear of their neighbors, and not a few in fear of seeing their children starve before their eyes. Sometimes there would come in by night a pig or a bag of meal from some pitying friend, and by day the clergyman might be seen digging for bare life in his garden with his shoeless children about him, while his wife was trying within the house whether the tattered clothes would bear another and another patch.

"The mode of resistance adopted was such as rendered it extremely difficult to deal with the recusants. Every plan was fallen upon by which the action of the law might be traversed. Tithe-proctors and process-servers were violently assailed, impediments interposed to prevent the seizure and sale of cattle—in short, every thing done which could be displayed by a whole population acting as one man against the payment of a claim legally due. They had posts and signals to give warning of the approach of the police, on the appearance of whom the cattle were locked up; and when seized, poinded, and sold, they were bought up for the owners. Such was the general intimidation and the risk run in enforcing the law, that attorneys could not be got to act, nor sheriff-officers to make seizures in the disturbed districts, and the clergy were deprived of the last resource for the support of their families; for such was the risk to which they were exposed, that no offices would insure their lives. Many of the witnesses stated that they knew Established clergymen in want of the common necessities of life. Sir John Harvey said, 'A

¹ Ann. Reg. 1832, 224; Lords' Report on Tithes, 1832, p. 2.

⁴ Reflections on their recommendation.

¹⁶ Continued.

gentleman with whom I am well acquainted told me that he had just been sending a sheep, and a few potatoes, and a small note to a gentleman who was formerly in comparative affluence, and that he had neither a shilling nor a pound of meat or bread in his house.' The Archbishop of Dublin said, in his evidence before the Lords' committee, 'As for the continu-

¹ *Parl. Deb. x. 1277; Ann. Reg. 1832, 222, 233.* ² *at the point of the bayonet—it must be through a sort of chronic civil war.'*³

The remedy which Government proposed for this wretched state of things was to authorize the issue from the consolidated fund of such sums as might be necessary to relieve the immediate necessities of the clergy of Ireland, to be at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant, and in return to be empowered to levy the arrears of tithes and of composition for the year 1831. Precedents for this existed in the years 1786, 1799, and 1800. Another proposal was to establish generally a system of commutation of tithes by compulsory authority over the whole island. These proposals were violently resisted by the Catholic members for Ireland, especially the last, as it threatened to establish in some form or another the burden of tithes for the benefit of the Protestant clergy. The bill was carried in the Commons, however, by a majority of 124 to 82, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the House. Mr. O'Connell loudly protested against the bill. "The people of Ireland," said he, "are determined to get rid of tithes, and get rid of them they will. They have triumphed over the Duke of Wellington, and they are not afraid of being conquered by the Irish Secretary. No power in England can put down the combination against tithes. They may perhaps change its shape, or make it disappear for a day; but unless some measure of essential relief and amelioration is granted, it will appear in another form, and reappear with redoubled force. Then will be felt the ill effects of delaying justice to Ireland."⁴

Pending the discussion of this bill in Parliament, the most violent agitation was kept up in the country, in order to produce that intimidation which had succeeded so well with Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. O'Connell's first measure was to propose to the Irish members, by circulars from the Irish Association, that they should assemble at Dublin in a national council to concert measures in common. The authority of the great agitator, however, was not as yet so thoroughly established as to make all Ireland submit to his dictation, and this project failed. Recourse was immediately had to rural agitation; and, to give it force and unity, the Association intrusted to Mr. O'Connell a petition to Parliament, which called on them to take measures for the "instant and total abolition of tithes and church-rates in Ireland, as the only way of stopping the effusion of blood." To prove the reality of the danger if their demands were not instantly complied with, the agitators, not content with individual intimidation, proceeded to public de-

nunciations, affixed to the chapel doors. To a chapel in the county of Meath was affixed, in April, the following notice: "Keep up your courage, and persevere. There are forty thousand men well prepared, and firmly resolved to join you in the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Send notice to New Ross and Graigue, and they will be with you in a few hours. Any man that pays tithes, or does not join you to defeat the supporters of that damnable imposition, is a traitor and an enemy to the country, and you ought to pour the vials of your wrath immediately upon him. N.B.—Any person that takes down this bill will incur the displeasure of the supreme decree." Similar notices were generally posted over the country, and resolutions were openly voted at public meetings, that if the police should interfere to aid in the collection of tithes, they should share the fate of the police at Knocktopher, where, in the preceding year, twelve of them had been slain.⁵

The scene of predial violence and bloodshed which followed these savage denunciations had never been paralleled in Europe, save in the Jacqueries of France, and the worst excesses of the insurrection of the boors in Germany. The unhappy expression in the report of the Lords' committee, that nothing short of a "complete extinction of tithes" would pacify Ireland, was considered as a sufficient warrant not only for resisting payment of them, but for committing every crime in the course of the resistance. "An archdeacon in the neighborhood of Cashel," says the Liberal historian, "had hoped to establish a commutation with his parishioners, but now they refused his terms—came up to him in a field in sight of his own house, where several persons were plowing, and beat his head to pieces. If any resident, pressed by conscience, by fear of the law, or by regard for his pastor, paid the smallest amount of tithe, in the most secret manner, his cattle were houghed in the night, or his house burned over his head, or his flock of sheep hunted over a precipice, and lay a crushed heap in the morning. There was a sound of a horn at that time which made men's flesh creep, whether it was heard by day or by night; for those who took upon them to extinguish tithes, now boldly assembled their numbers by the sound of the horn, and all those who heard it knew that murder, or arson, or mutilation was going on. Capture, special commissions, and trials were useless; witnesses dared not to give evidence, jurors dared not attend. On the very chapels notices were now posted by the insur-⁶ *Mart. ii. 110, 111; An. Reg. 1832, 231, 233.*

In the beginning of February, the Irish government, in terms of the Peace Preservation Act, proclaimed va-⁷ *ineffectual* rious baronies in Tipperary—that is, declared the stringent provisions of that Act for the preservation of the peace in force; and at the same time the most vigorous measures were adopted to increase the police and the military in the disturbed districts. But they were of such extent, and so large a proportion of the peasantry were engaged in the con-

^{17.} Government plan on the subject, and Mr. O'Connell's opposition.

^{18.} *Parl. Deb. xiv. 100, 102; An. Reg. 1832, 222, 243.*

^{19.} Increased agitation and violence in the country.

^{20.} *Government.*

^{21.} *Mart. ii. 110, 111; An. Reg. 1832, 231, 233.*

^{22.} *Government.*

^{23.} *Government.*

^{24.} *Government.*

^{25.} *Government.*

^{26.} *Government.*

^{27.} *Government.*

^{28.} *Government.*

^{29.} *Government.*

^{30.} *Government.*

spiry, that their efforts had very little effect. To enforce the law, the assistance of one part of the people is indispensable to compel the obedience of the other part; but where they are all interested in violating it, there is nothing so difficult as to cause authority to be respected. La Vendée and Spain proved that even the greatest military force, without such support, can scarcely effect that object. The proclamations of Government had no other effect but to cause the insurrection to assume a more threatening form, and run into still more dangerous excesses. In Westmeath, a body of two hundred armed men assembled, and in open day assaulted a police station. In Donegal, huge bodies of armed men marched in military array, compelling landlords to sign obligations not to exact tithe, and to lower rents. In Kilkenny, the people rose *en masse*, and dividing themselves into small detachments, committed the most frightful atrocities on the unhappy inmates. Here they cruelly abused a farmer and his wife because they would not give up their daughter, whom they at last discovered and carried off. There a farmer having refused to surrender a pair of pistols to these blood-thirsty wretches, they dragged him to the fire, and put his naked soles upon the live turf till their object was accomplished. A tenant ejected for non-payment of rent was sure of his revenge: if a new tenant entered, he had only to expect that his property would be committed to the flames, and he himself shot. The terror which was thus universally propagated was sure to secure impunity to offenders, for those who saw the atrocities gave no information; and if the police heard of them, witnesses would not give evidence on 1833, 292, 293; trial, nor juries convict even upon the clearest evidence, if given.¹

While the Protestant clergy were reduced to the last stages of starvation and despair by these atrocious proceedings, the agitators held them forth as agitators, and to the people as reveling in luxury and plenty. At a county meeting of Catholics, held at Cork, it was unanimously resolved, "That it is a glaring wrong to compel an impoverished Catholic people to support in pampered luxury the richest clergy in the world; a clergy from whom the Catholics do not experience even the return of common gratitude; a clergy who in times past opposed to the last the political freedom of the Irish people, and at the present day are opposed to reform and a liberal education of their countrymen." At every meeting for the sale of distrained effects, two or three thousand persons assembled, whose numbers and menacing aspect deterred any one from becoming purchasers, so that the recovery of the tithe was rendered impossible. At a public meeting of Catholics held at Carlow, it was resolved, "That the great body of the people of Ireland are reduced to a state of misery unparalleled in the history of the world—misery attributable chiefly to the odious tithe system, and to the rapacity of the majority of the clergy, who have neither affection for their country, nor feeling for their fellow-creatures. That it is inconsistent with common reason and with human understanding to compel a Roman Catholic population to support in gorgeous splendor, in luxury, laziness, and ease, a

horde of bishops and parsons, whose only employment is to spoliates the property of the people, and to traduce and malign their priests and religion."¹

It is a very curious circumstance, strikingly illustrative of the foreign and sacerdotal influence at work in getting up this disastrous agitation and resistance to the law, that, owing to the extreme subdivision of land in Ireland, the tithe, even though paid by the peasantry, was in most cases hardly perceptible. In the parish of Carlow, the sum owing by 222 defaulters was a farthing each. In some cases the charges upon land amounted only to 7-12ths of a farthing. Mr. Littleton, the Irish Secretary, stated in Parliament "that the smaller sums were often paid by three or four persons, and the highest aggregate charge was against those who owed *indivisibly about twopence*."² The impost, therefore, was perfectly trifling, and formed no real burden on the people: they were miserable enough, but not owing to the tithes, but an entirely different set of causes, which the agitation tended only to aggravate. The transference of the collection of the tithes from the clergy to the exchequer had produced no real benefit. The royal officers were resisted as obstinately and universally as the tithe-proctors of the clergy had been: out of £104,285, the arrears of 1831, only £12,000 was collected, and that, as the report bears, "with great difficulty and some loss of life." Meanwhile, the resistance to tithe, and the warfare against the clergy, who were reduced to the last stage of starvation, continued with unabated vigor in every part of the country: one minister was shot dead on his lawn, and a drover, conducting cattle belonging to a clergyman to a neighboring fair, murdered on the high road. With truth did O'Connell say, in a letter at this period addressed to the Reformers of Great Britain, though not in the sense that he intended—"There is blood on the face of the earth, human blood profusely shed. Will it sink into the earth unnoticed and unregarded, or will it cry to Heaven for retribution and vengeance?"³

"Blow, blow, ye winds, with heavier gust!
And freeze, thou bitter-biting frost!
Descend, ye chilly smothering snows!
Not all your rage, as now united, shows
More hard unkindness, unrelenting,
Vengeful malice unrepenting,
Than heaven-blinded man on brother man bestows!
See stern Oppression's iron grips,
Or mad Ambition's gory hand,
Sending, like blood-hounds from the slip,
Woe, want, and murder o'er a land!"⁴

In the midst of these horrors, the Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 16th August. In the closing speech his Majesty said, "I have still to lament the continuance of disturbances in Ireland, notwithstanding the vigilance and energy displayed by my government in the measures taken to repress them. The laws which have been passed in conformity with my recommendation at the beginning of the session, with respect to the collection of tithes, are well calculated to lay the foundation of a new system, to

* Burns.

^{22.} Small amount of the arrears tithes, and its irrecoverable nature.

³ Parl. Deb. xxi. 578.

⁴ Ann. Reg. 1832, 296; Parl. Deb. xxi. 573, 578; Mart. ii. 113, 114.

which the attention of Parliament, when it again assembles, will be of course directed. I recommend to you during the recess the most careful attention to the preservation of the public peace, and to the maintenance of the authority of the law in your respective counties. I trust that the advantages enjoyed by all my subjects under our free constitution will be duly appreciated and cherished; that relief from any real causes of complaint will only be sought through legitimate channels; that all irregular and illegal proceedings will be discountenanced and resisted; and that the establishment of internal tranquillity and order will prove that the measures which I have sanctioned have not

been fruitless in promoting the serenity of the State, and the content and welfare of my people."¹

The registration of electors under the Reform Act began in August, 1832, and proved

24. a very great improvement. It was soon found that the fixing of the electors in their respective rights before the contest began, both facilitated extremely the taking of the votes, and diminished proportionally the duration and costs of the contest.

The expense of the struggle in the registration courts proved indeed in many cases very considerable, and was much complained of; but it has much diminished in the progress of time, after repeated contests had tested the strength of the opposite parties in almost every locality, and opposition was confined to those places where there was some prospect of success. Even from the first it was a very great advantage to have the roll arranged before the polling commenced, and the double strain avoided of enrolling the voters and taking the votes at the same time. Scarcely less was the improvement effected by confining the polling to two days in counties, and one in boroughs—a period which, by a subsequent act, was reduced to one in both, and which experience has proved is amply sufficient, when proper arrangements have been made, to take the sense even of the largest constituency. When the rapidity with which the poll is now taken, even in the greater counties, is considered, it appears almost inconceivable how men submitted so long to the innumerable evils of having it kept open, as it sometimes was under the old system, for fifteen successive days. Much was expected by the ardent Reformers from the new system in diminishing the frequency of corruption among the electors, but these hopes not only proved fallacious, but have ended in the most bitter disappointment. Bribery has gone on steadily increasing with every successive election which has taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill, until at length, in the Parliament that displaced Lord Derby and re-seated the Whigs in power in 1852, it had come to such a point that fifty-two returns were challenged on that ground alone. It is easy to see it can never be otherwise under the present system, and that the evil will only be increased by lowering the suffrage. To expect to diminish bribery by enlarging the circle of electors, is to look for the diminution of sin by increasing the number of sinners.

Another feature, hitherto little known in the British empire, now made its appearance, and

suddenly rose to portentous magnitude—that of requiring pledges from candidates

as to how they are to vote upon all the leading questions of the day. This system of reducing representatives to delegates, so sorely experienced in democratic states, and which, by its continued operation, had destroyed the independence and ruined the liberties of Poland, was not altogether unknown in England under the old constitution, but it was confined to a few great towns and noisy constituencies, and could not be considered as a public grievance. It was too agreeable, however, to the pride of man, and too likely to gratify individual ambition, not to be largely embraced, now that these great towns and noisy constituencies had, through their own members, or those whom they influenced, obtained the majority in the Legislature. Accordingly, from the very first it was adopted, as a fixed principle of action by the Liberal committees who directed the new constituencies. The Livery of London set the example in resolutions, which deserve to be recorded for the open avowal of the principle of delegation which they contain.* This example was immediately followed in all the other great towns and new constituencies; and to the influence of this circumstance great part, if not the whole, of the subsequent changes in the policy of the British empire are to be ascribed. The pledges taken were chiefly to bind the representative to vote for the repeal of particular taxes, such as the house-tax, window-tax, duty on corn, spirits, tea, or sugar, which immediately affected themselves, without inquiring for a moment how the deficiency was to be supplied, or the national armaments maintained without these taxes. The exaction of these pledges, which was almost universal in the new constituencies, had a most important effect on the composition of Parliament, and greatly augmented the Reform majority. The Conservatives nearly all refused to take the pledges, and were in consequence in great part thrown overboard in the very outset; and the majority were tied to a course of conduct by persons ignorant of, or indifferent to, the effect it might have upon the fortunes, or even existence, of the country. The Liberals gained a great accession of strength in Parliament, in the first instance, by this circumstance, but they experienced nothing but embarrassment from it in the end, for it brought them under the rule of an ungovernable majority in the House of Commons, whose votes, being determined by the dictates of rash and ignorant constituencies given beforehand, could neither

* "Resolved, 1. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeable to his wishes and instructions.

"2. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

"3. That, therefore, those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members who are to represent their non-voting neighbors as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously faithful to choose no man on whom firm reliance can not be placed that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

"4. That a signed engagement should be exacted from the member that he would 'at all times and in all things act conformably to the wishes of a majority of his constituents deliberately expressed, or would at their request resign the trust with which they had honored him.'—*London Resolutions*, Oct. 17, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1832, p. 300.

be directed by reason nor swayed by influence. The least consideration must show every candid mind that a popular Legislature, where the majority is thus directed by pledges, so far from being a benefit, must always prove one of the greatest curses which can afflict society. What should we think of a court of law, where the judges and jury, before they heard the evidence in every case, or knew any thing about its merits, were bound *ab ante* to give certain decisions in every one of them according to the dictates of a crowd of noisy occupants of shops and houses ?

¹ Ann. Reg. 1832, 290.
300.

The registrations were all completed in October, and the elections took place in the end of December and beginning of January. Parliament was dissolved on the 8d December, and the new writs were returnable on the 29th January. The elections, upon the whole, went off more quietly and with less violence than had been anticipated, and it is not surprising that it was so. The Liberals had in general acquired so decided a majority that they were secure of victory; violence and intimidation were no longer required, and therefore they were not resorted to. The greater part of the seats were secured with ease for the Reformers by decided majorities. Ignorant of the decisive change which had been worked by the Reform Bill in boroughs, the Conservatives started candidates in most of the great towns, but they were generally defeated. The whole twenty members for London and its suburban districts were returned in the Liberal interest, and Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds did the same. All the boroughs in Scotland, twenty in number, returned Liberal members, and the great majority of the Irish seats were carried by the same interest. In a few instances, much to the disappointment of the Reformers, who expected to have carried the *whole* boroughs in the empire, Conservatives got in. Sir R. Vivian, who had been distinguished by his resistance to reform, was at the head of the poll in Bristol, and Lord Sandon, a moderate Tory, preserved his seat for Liverpool; but that was known to be owing to the number of the old freemen in these cities, and afforded no test of the opinions of the new constituencies. Upon the whole, it was calculated, when the returns were all made, that the Liberals had a majority of at least five to one in the House of Commons; there being scarce 100 Tories in a House of 658 members. The victory was complete; to all appearance the Conservative interest was irrevocably and forever destroyed in the Lower House. So far the Reform Bill had completely answered the expectations of its supporters; but from the decisive nature of their triumph a new source of anxiety was opened up to them. They had destroyed one set of opponents only to rear up another still more formidable; it was already doubtful how far the Whig Ministry could withstand a combination of the English Radicals and Irish Catholics; and whether the latter, by threatening such a coalition, might not be in a condition to dictate their own terms

² Ann. Reg. 1833, 301.
303.

Parliament met on January 29, 1833, and

after some discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton was elected Speaker by a large majority in opposition to Mr. Lyttleton, who was supported by the Radicals. The session was opened by the King in person, who, with truth, said that "never at any time did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for their attention." The renewal of the Bank Charter, of that of the East India Company, the question of West Indian slavery, and the everlasting disorders of Ireland, all called for immediate attention. Important as these topics were, however, it was not upon them that the anxious attention of the country was fixed. It was the *House itself* which occupied every eye, engrossed every thought. This was the first reformed Parliament, and the object of universal interest was how it would conduct itself, and whether it would realize the extravagant expectations of good formed by the one party, or the gloomy denunciations of evil which had been uttered by the other. Intense was the anxiety with which the first debates at this, the most momentous crisis in British history, the turning-point in the whole policy, foreign and domestic, of the empire, were regarded. Never, it may safely be affirmed, were anticipations on both sides more signally disappointed. The terrors of the Conservatives were allayed by the division on Mr. Hume's amendment to the Address, seconded by Mr. O'Connell, which was only supported by 40 members, of whom 34 were Irish, out of a house of 428. This division tested the strength of the ultra-Irish and Catholic party, when opposed by the united Whigs, Tories, and Radicals of the empire; as one which immediately followed of 300 to 23, on a motion of Mr. Cobbett for the entire rejection of the Address, did of the extreme English Radicals. Sir R. Peel and the whole Conservatives, on both these occasions, gave their whole strength to the support of the Government.¹

Important as these divisions were, as testing the strength of the two extreme parties in the House of Commons, from whom most danger was to be apprehended, they yet yielded in consequence to the impression which the debate on the Address produced upon the country. It lasted nine nights—from January 30 to February 9—and never were fervent hopes and highly-wrought expectations more thoroughly disappointed than by its result. Wordiness was its grand characteristic; and if there is any thing more than another which wears out the patience and cools the fervor of political ambition, it is a copious effusion of words. When the French National Assembly, in a transport of enthusiasm, in August, 1789, voted away the whole feudal rights, it was done in a single night. Immense was the good done by the Radical Reformers, though not in the way they intended, by the interminable speeches in which they indulged; they at once disappointed the hopes of the revolutionists, and proved their own incapacity for real business, or the lead in any rational assembly. Even the constituencies for whose special edification these effusions were intended, were worn out by their length; they began to fear that

27.
Opening of Parliament.
Jan. 29, 1833.

¹ Parl. Deb. Jan. 29, Feb. 9, 1833: Ann. Reg. 1833: 1-32.

28.
Extreme wordiness of the new House, and new regulations in consequence.

they would see realized on this side of the Atlantic, the occurrence often described in the records of the American Congress, in these words, "Mr. M. got possession of the floor on Tuesday night, and it is expected he will keep it during the remainder of the week." The vigor and condensation of the old debaters from the unreformed House stood forth in bright contrast to the long-winded harangues of the new members; and men awakened, as from a dream, to the painful conviction that statesmanship is a profession which, like every other, requires a long apprenticeship, and that in the contests of the forum, as of the field, victory will usually attend the banners of the old soldiers.¹

The determination of the new members, however, especially from the great towns, to be heard was so great, and their obvious inability to condense their arguments so evident, that it led to a great and lasting change in the mode of conducting the public business of the House of Commons. "It was not without reason," says the annalist, "that Sir Robert Peel had anticipated an overwhelming quantity of attempted legislation, in consequence of the new constitution of the House. Ministers themselves saw it would be impossible to confine the session within any reasonable bounds, unless the working hours of the House were increased, and, if possible, the love of speech-making was laid under some restraint." To accomplish these objects, Lord Althorpe, on the first day of the session, gave notice of certain resolutions, which were adopted, for increasing the business hours of the House of Commons. The Speaker was to take the chair at twelve o'clock, and proceed with private business until three, when the House was to adjourn till five, when the public business was to be proceeded with. Every petition was to be read, and one speech made on the motion that it be received, and one on that it should be printed, instead of four, which were competent at present. The committees were to sit from nine to twelve, and from three to five, so that a member of the House in much request might have to sit *seventeen hours* successively each day. So urgent was the case, that the proposals were agreed to without a division, and the House met for the first time at twelve o'clock on 27th February. This circumstance had an important effect upon the future proceedings of the reformed Parliament, for the weight of business ere long falling upon it was so prodigious that none but those practically trained to such endurance could withstand its pressure, and in the attempt to do so, the superiority of the trained debaters, as of old soldiers, or workmen in their *Part. Deb.*, respective vocations, was soon apparent.²

The first and most pressing business of the session was the state of Ireland, which Coercion Bill had deteriorated so rapidly that some-
 30. thing vigorous evidently required to be done if society was to be prevented from falling into a state of utter dissolution and anarchy. So far from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill having had the effect which was anticipated from them, of appeasing the discontent and remedying the grievances of that unhappy

country, the effect of these measures had proved just the reverse. With every step in advance made, the agitation, violence, and outcry had increased in a most frightful degree, and they had now reached a height unparalleled in any civilized state. Since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, serious crime over all Ireland had increased *SIXTEEN-FOLD* in the short space of four years.* If Government was not to abdicate its functions altogether, and leave the country to the unrestrained violence of lawless ruffians, it was evident that something very vigorous, and altogether different from the old system of conciliation and concession to outrage, required to be done; and Ministers, to their credit be it said, applied a remedy, as the result proved, of a most efficient kind. On 15th February, Earl Grey brought forward the celebrated COERCION BILL, which deserves to be noted as the first step in the right direction in the government of Ireland, and not less certainly in his own fall. The debate which ensued was of the highest importance, and throws more light than any which had preceded it on the real state of Ireland, and the causes of its disastrous condition.¹

On the part of Ministers, it was argued by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley: "The bill now proposed is brought forward without the preliminary step of taking evidence by a committee, because the circumstances under which it is called for required no investigation, but are known to all the world. It is not with a secret conspiracy, directing its concealed attacks against the Government, that we have to do. The powers demanded by Ministers are intended to repress a system of association which proceeds openly under an organization, and is avowedly directed to the accomplishment of objects which at once destroy the peace and safety of the community, and threaten the unity and integrity of the empire; an organization which, by means of armed bodies, violates the rights of property, inflicts death for the purposes of terror and vengeance, and renders nugatory the law, by deterring prosecutors and witnesses, and intimidating jurors. Neither past experience nor the present posture of affairs justify the expectation that a mere redress of grievances will restore peace to Ireland. It was confidently expected by ourselves that emancipation would produce tranquillity, and that Parliament would be allowed to pursue its course of further amelioration, without being disturbed by popular violence. But we have been grievously disappointed. To allow such a pause did not meet

* Lord Althorpe, in the House of Commons, gave the following appalling statement of the progress of serious crime during the last three months of each year and first of 1833, in the province of Leinster, from 1829 to 1833:

Year.	Murders.	Robberies.	Burglaries.	Bombings.	Hostages seized.	Serious assaults.	Illegal notices.	Injuries to property.
1829	10	60	39	31	13	45	40	44
1830	15	154	94	34	80	84	79	59
1831	47	159	251	90	17	90	117	67
1832	44	173	532	77	31	283	197	134
1833	163	487	1927	104	70	744	913	407

—Ann. Reg., 1833, p. 46.

the views of the promoters of agitation; the sweets of power had been tasted by the popular leaders; the slow work of redress did not suit their wishes or purposes: from that moment agitation was renewed, and the state of Ireland had become, and now is, more alarming and worse than at any former period.

"The new body of Irish volunteers, which has been recently set on foot, threatens consequences still more alarming. ^{32.} Continued. There is a central Association in Dublin; and for every parish in Ireland there are appointed three pacificators, one of whose duties is to *enlist* and *enroll* the neighboring population, farmers and laborers, in associations which should be under the direction of the central association. The declared object of this society was peace, and the protection of the country without the aid of police. Though at present unarmed, it was acknowledged they were to be ultimately armed; and there would be established, by the influence of moral and physical agency, as a proof of revolutionary success, a National Guard, as in a neighboring kingdom. This is the Association, and its action depends on the breath of a single man. A Mr. Steele, an active agent of these pacificators, has declared, 'If O'Connell should command us to have recourse to arms, blood, and convulsion, instead of our usual constitutional warfare, I would not order the Clare men to go into Cralloc Wood to cut down trees for pike-handles, but I would first send them to cut down the trees on my own domain, and would not myself be idle, nor a mere looker-on in the conflict.' Such an Association, if suffered to exist, must lead to an abandonment of the whole powers and functions of Government: the throne thereafter must depend on the sufferance of the agitators.

"A still more material object of the proposed bill is to restore the authority of the law; and this can be done only by ^{33.} Continued. extraordinary, and what at first sight may appear exceptionable means. The ordinary tribunals have become almost powerless, by reason of the intimidation constantly exercised against prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, who proceed in any way, however slight, against the crimes of the agitators. On the trial of the murderers at the last Kilkenny assizes, the jury, not agreeing, was dismissed. In half an hour, notwithstanding an agreement in the jury-room that the votes should be kept secret, the names of those for acquittal and those for conviction were printed, the former in black, the latter, who were designated jurors for blood, in red ink. At the Clonmell assizes in October last, out of 265 jurors cited, only seventy-six attended, so great was the intimidation exercised against them. A gentleman had been murdered in sight of his own gate, in consequence of some dispute about tithes. His son-in-law was cited by the coroner to give evidence against the supposed murderers. His answer was, 'I will submit to any penalty the Crown or law may impose upon me, but I will not appear at the trial, because I know, if I stand forward as a witness, my life will inevitably be forfeited.' The Irish Government received a formal notice from Kilkenny, that 'many gentlemen who have always been most conscientious in the discharge

of their duties will not attend the next assizes, because they know that death will follow if they dare to act. They care not what penalty is imposed upon them. It is the boast of the prisoners that they can not under any circumstances be convicted.' No wonder that outrage had become triumphant. The catalogue of Irish crime during last year contains 196 murders, 465 robberies, 1827 burglaries and attacks on houses, 455 houghings of cattle, 2095 illegal notices, 425 illegal meetings, 796 malicious acts of destroying property, 758 attacks on houses, 280 arsons, 3156 serious assaults. This catalogue, in lost lives alone, contains a greater loss than was sacrificed in the battle of Bunsaco, which delivered a kingdom; or that of Algiers, which terminated Christian slavery; or that of St. Vincent, which saved England. The aggregate of predial crimes over all Ireland last year was 9000; and great as this number is, it is rapidly and alarmingly on the increase. During the months of July, August, and September, the crimes in Leinster alone were 1279; in the three following months they had risen to 1646. There is a system of demoralization in Ireland now, such as never before existed in a country calling itself civilized.*

"To meet these enormous evils, Government have adopted in the present bill the provisions of the 8th Geo. IV., c. 1, ^{34.} Continued. which empowers the Lord-Lieutenant to suppress the meeting of any assembly which

* Sir Robert Peel, who acted a truly patriotic part on this occasion, and lent the aid of his great talents to support the ministerial measure, gave the following striking account of an incident in the course of Irish outrage which had fallen under his own knowledge: "A man, a resident in the county of Clare, came to Dublin for the purpose of giving me information respecting the perpetrators of a certain outrage. Though fully aware that he was marked out for vengeance by the friends of the person he had been the means of bringing to justice, the strong desire of revisiting his native spot, and embracing his wife and children, overcame every consideration of personal security. I knew the man's danger, and earnestly advised him not to go. My advice, however, was not taken; and some weeks after he had returned, an attack was made upon his house by eleven men, who, after much deliberation, had come with the deadly determination of immolating their innocent victim. They attacked the house while he was asleep, broke open the door, called out the man, and murdered him with pitchforks, in the hearing of his wife and child—a child only nine years of age. While he was still in the agony of death, the mother took the child, and, placing it in a recess beside the fireplace, she said—such was her heroic fortitude and almost incredible self-possession, even with the cries of her dying husband ringing in her ears—she said to the infant—'You hear the cries of your dying father; I shall certainly be the next victim. When they have murdered him, they will certainly murder me too: but I will struggle with them as long as I am able, that I may give you time to do what I put you here for. My last act shall be to put this lighted peat upon the hearth. Do you, by its glare, mark the faces of the murderers. Mind you watch them narrowly, that you may know and be able to tell who they are, and to avenge the cruel death of your parents.' As the unhappy woman said, so it fell out. The butchers, after completing their bloody work upon the man, murdered the woman also. After a short but unsuccessful struggle with the ruthless miscreants, she was dragged from the cottage, and slain upon the bleeding body of her husband. But the child had carefully obeyed the last injunctions of its mother, had closely scanned the faces of the murderers, was able to identify them, and by the evidence of that child, corroborated by other evidence, five of the wretches who perpetrated that horrid deed were convicted and hanged within a month after its perpetration. That child was for some years under my protection."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1833, p. 61, 62; and *Parl. Deb.*, new series, vol. i. p. 672. What a picture of a country, and of deeds impelled by religious ambition! The imagination of Dante never conceived any thing more terrible.

should be deemed by him dangerous to the public peace, and to prevent the future meeting of such assembly, under any denomination whatever, under the penalties of a misdemeanor. Power is also to be given to the Lord Lieutenant to declare, by proclamation, any district in a disturbed state, the effect of which was that all persons were to abstain from attending meetings, and prohibited from being absent from home from an hour after sunset till sunrise, without sufficient cause, under the like penalties. No meetings for petitioning Parliament to be held without previous notice ten days before to the Lord Lieutenant, and his sanction obtained. Proclaimed districts are, to a certain extent, to be subjected to *martial law*, and the courts-martial composed of officers, not less than five; and all holding commissions not less than two years, and above twenty-one years of age, are to be empowered to try all offenses, except felonies. Any complaint or prosecution against the members of these courts-martial are to be competent only before another court-martial, called for that special purpose. Power is to be given to officers of justice and military on duty to enter houses in search of arms, and persons refusing to produce them are to be subjected to the penalties of a misdemeanor; and the writ of Habeas Corpus is to be suspended for three months after arrest in any proclaimed district.

“In vain have Government waited in the anxious hope that the returning good sense of the nation would put a period to these atrocities; they have waited to no purpose. This is admitted by the Catholics themselves. The Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, parish priest of Maryborough, said, in a letter to Lord de Vesci, ‘In vain have we waited in hope of the returning good sense of the deluded, and have found, on the contrary, the well-disposed compelled by intimidation to join the disaffected, or murdered, or terrified out of the country.’ Can the House conceive three lines more pregnant with horror? To the same purpose Dr. Doyle, the Roman Catholic bishop of Kildare, says, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, ‘For several months past we have witnessed, with the deepest affliction of spirit, the progress of illegal combinations under the name of Blackfeet and Whitefeet within certain portions of these dioceses. Murders, blasphemies, rash swearing, perjuries, robberies, assaults on persons and property, the usurpation of the powers of the State and of the rights of the peaceable and well-disposed, are multiplied, and every day perpetrated, at the instigation of the devil, by the wicked and deluded men engaged in these confederacies.’ Such is the state of the country, such the powerless condition of the law, that peaceable and well-disposed individuals are obliged to join illegal societies, or forfeit their lives, or abandon their country. Can this state of things be called the British constitution? Strong measures are indispensable before that constitution has a chance even of being established; and stringent as the measure proposed is, it is not more so than the overwhelming magnitude of the evils to be combated demands.”¹

On the other hand, it was argued by Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, and Mr. Hume: “No ne-

cessity whatever has been shown for any bill of the kind now proposed, much less for one which goes at one fell swoop to destroy the constitution over the whole of Ireland. The ‘predial agitation,’ as it is called, in which all the disorders complained of originate, has no connection with political agitation, and does not require any measure like this to put it down. The true cause of all these disturbances is the refusal of Ministers to abolish tithes, and its real object is to prevent all expression of public sentiment in Ireland against their faithlessness and misgovernment. The bill is unnecessary, for all respectable evidence was against either its efficacy or necessity. No reliance can be placed on the *ex parte* information communicated to the Irish government by its subordinates; but what says Sir H. Vivian, the commander of the forces in Ireland, when examined before the committee last year? ‘The combination is directed against tithes at present, and if you could satisfactorily arrange the tithe question, you would, I should think, have Ireland pretty quiet. Get rid of the first cause of excitement, and you will tranquilize Ireland in spite of agitation.’ It was stated in the evidence of Mr. Barrington, the crown solicitor, that the ordinary law is adequate to every purpose; and the chief justice’s address crowns the whole, in which he expresses his conviction that the actual law is sufficient. The attorney general, too, threw in his attestation, by declaring that a conviction had taken place in thirty-eight cases out of thirty-nine. The Government had admitted, too, in this very debate, that not a single juror had been injured, and that every jury but one had done its duty. Was this a reason for abolishing all juries? The committee on the state of Ireland reported in August last, but this report contained not one word on the unfairness of juries. There were trials for combinations against tithes in Dublin, Clonmel, Kerry, and Cork, and in every one case convictions were obtained. Summon the gentry of the country to attend the assizes, fine them if they do not, and you will soon have the tribunals thronged. Provide your witnesses with due protection; let them emigrate if needful, and you will have nothing to dread.

“The supporters of the bill have given the evidence only on one side. They have harrowed the feelings of the House by the recital of the most frightful murders, and they have carefully kept out of sight the provocations which led to these atrocities. The evidence before the committee contains the details of the gross acts of tyranny which had been perpetrated on the peasantry during the last three years, and which have at last goaded them on to the perpetration of these lamentable atrocities. Was it to be wondered at that three poor, uneducated men—uneducated owing to your bad laws—should follow the example of injustice and oppression which you had set them? They had heard of the torture to which your aristocracy had subjected their ancestors—is it surprising that they in their turn should practice your inhumanity? You recount the outrages committed by a few lawless ruffians, and with these you mix up the great mass of the people of Ireland, who are wholly innocent.

36.
Argument
of the Ro-
man Catho-
lics against
the bill.

37.
Continued.

¹ Parl. Deb. Feb. 15, March 17, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 33, 59.

Why put the whole people of Ireland under the provisions of this monstrous bill, when, even on the showing of Government, only a few districts required its application? Galway, Clare, Limerick, for example, are admitted to be tranquil—why should they suffer for the misdeeds of Kilkenny, Queen's County, or Carlow? The Government, not satisfied with establishing courts-martial amidst the scenes of outrage and horror, have erected them in the capital, where they have juries at their command, and not very stubborn judges, and where a conviction is as easy as an accusation.

"Have outrages been confined to Ireland?

28. Have not Nottingham and Bristol been the scene of the most lawless devastations? Have the Government on that account resorted to the same coercive measures in England? No; and why? Because the system of devastation was local and partial. Why not apply the same principle to Ireland? If insurrection exists, by all means strengthen the hands of Government to put it down, but let not them put the whole country out of the pale of the law for the outrages of a comparatively few. To secure the unjust and ruinous policy of Government respecting tithes is at the bottom of the whole. In vain is it asserted that the special powers conferred by this act are not to be exerted in support of the collection of tithes. The obstructing a clergyman in the collection of tithes is made a crime by it, and all crimes under felonies are to be tried by courts-martial. The army is already employed in the collection of tithes; it is now to adjudicate upon them. The act will thus have the effect of extorting an abominable impost by means of martial law, and the officer of the army who has been employed one day in levying tithes is to try the wretched peasantry the next, for an offense in which his own feelings are so deeply engaged.

"It is said this bill is for the protection of the orderly people of Ireland. Supposing it is so, is it not reasonable to inquire whether those orderly people do not consider the remedy worse than the disease—whether they do not regard this rather a high price to pay for protection? May they not think that the authorized breaking open houses by the police is as bad as the unauthorized breaking of houses by midnight assassins? Let the Whitefeet be put down, but let not the constitution be put down with them. This bill will only multiply the causes of discontent. If passed into a law, allegiance will thenceforth become, in the eyes of the Irish people, not a sentiment of duty, but a mere consideration of expediency. The people of Ireland have the strongest aversion to courts-martial; no modification of such tribunals can lessen this detestation; they remind them of 1798. What a fearful power do the nightly domiciliary visits put in the power of the police or their confederated supporters, and what odious outrages may be committed under color of it! The persons taken on occasion of these visits are not to be put merely in the public jails, but they may be confined any where! They may be thrust into dungeons or confined in cellars, where they may rot away unknown and unpitied! What a triumph does this act give to the Tories over the Whigs!

When did the Tories ever bring in such an act? One of the worst things in this act is, that if an anti-Liberal or Tory Government should hereafter wish to have recourse to strong measures, they would only have to stop a little short of this precedent, and could then claim credit for not going the utmost length of Whig atrocity.

"Personal liberty being abolished, the right of petition, as a matter of course, is to share the same fate. The Lord Lieutenant is to be empowered to prevent, whenever he thinks fit, a meeting for the purpose of petitioning! When will he ever 'think it fit' to sanction such an assemblage? A couple of individuals are to be allowed to meet in a coffee-house, agree on a petition, and hawk it about from door to door for signature; but is that the way in which the constitutional right of petitioning is to be exercised? The act tolerates nothing but hole-and-corner petitions, because its authors well know in what light such petitions are received when presented to this House. It does not absolutely prohibit petitioning—it does worse; it renders it the object of ridicule. The press, too, is to be equally enslaved; for any man discussing the question of tithes, for instance, in a newspaper, and expressing sentiments obnoxious to the existing authorities, is liable, according to the Whiteboy Act, to be transported for 'inciting to the commission of crime by words, gesture, or writing.' Nay, so anxious are the framers of this bill to surpass all former precedents of despotism, that they have overturned the old and equitable presumption in favor of innocence, and enacted that a man is to be presumed to be guilty unless he proves himself to be innocent. If arms are found in a man's house, he is to be held guilty of a misdemeanor, unless he proves they are there 'without his knowledge, privity, or consent.' How is he to prove such a negative? Government in this bill requires a man, if he would avoid transportation, to *prove his own ignorance*—a burden never yet laid upon an accused party by the jurisprudence of any country, ancient or modern.

"Trial by jury is, in the close of all, to be abolished, and the law administered by courts-martial! Has, then, the experience of this species of tribunals been so very favorable in Ireland, that they are to be selected *par excellence* to solve a difficulty inextricable by other means? Are there no reminiscences connected with these tribunals in Ireland, which harrow up our very souls when we think of them? Is the education, are the habits, age, or occupations of young men in the army such as peculiarly fit them for dealing in disturbed times with the delicate matter of political offenses? Officers are accustomed only to obey orders—to have no opinion of their own—to be the armed hand by which Government acts. If Government directs, or, what is the same thing, is known to desire a conviction, what chance, with such judges, has a poor peasant of avoiding it? Jurors may be challenged without risk; but let a prisoner say a word against one of the four ensigns forming his court, and there is an end of all chance of acquittal. A bare majority is to convict; the casting vote of a youth of twenty-one, who has been two years in the army, and is dying for his

lieutenancy, may decide the fate of a prisoner—the ruin of a family. The disturbances do not extend beyond a few counties, with a population of half a million, and for their misdeeds eight millions of the King's subjects are to be put out of the pale of the law!"¹

The bill experienced very little opposition in the House of Peers, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the lords acquainted with the state of that ill-starred land.

But it was otherwise in the House of Commons. There the bill, in all its stages, met with the most strenuous resistance, from an Opposition inconsiderable in point of numbers, but formidable from its vigor, its perseverance, and the unscrupulous manner in which it took advantage of every formality to delay the progress of the measure. The largest division it mustered was on the clause establishing courts-martial, in which several of the staunchest supporters of Ministers, particularly Mr. Cutlar Fergusson and Mr. Abercromby, voted against them; the clause was only carried by a majority of 140, the numbers being 270 to 130. On the other clauses, the minority was reduced to the Irish Catholics and a few extreme English Radicals, and seldom exceeded 40 or 50. So strenuous was the opposition, however, which this small phalanx made, that the bill was above six weeks in getting through the Commons, and was only passed on 29th March, when the majority in its favor was 345 to 86. It was passed by the House of Lords by a majority of 40—the numbers being 85 to 45;

not without some severe animadversions by the Conservative peers on some amendments in the Commons, which had, in their opinion, impaired the efficiency of the measure.²

In reviewing this memorable debate, remarkable not merely from the light it throws on the condition of Ireland at that time, but from its being the first occasion in which the split between the Whigs and Radicals, consequent on their common victory, became apparent, it is evident that the weight of argument was decidedly with the Government. There was a great deal of truth in what was so strongly urged by the opponents of the bill, but it did not meet what was urged in its support. It was true that great part of Ireland was comparatively quiet, and the outrages confined to certain districts, and that in the ordinary case it is unjust to coerce the innocent for the faults of the guilty; but that did not meet the argument that the crimes committed in Ireland being the result not of local grievances or heart-burnings, but of a general combination acting under foreign sacerdotal influence, and extending over the whole country, it was necessary to make the remedy as extensive as the disease, although the malady had only as yet broken out in particular places, leaving it to the Lord Lieutenant by proclamations to fix its application in those districts where it was more immediately called for, which is just what the act did. It was true that courts-martial are in general little conversant with the rules of evidence, and little qualified to estimate its weight; but it is not the less true that they are better qualified to do both

than intimidated juries listening to terrified witnesses; and if such a tribunal is an exception to the constitution, let those answer for it whose systematic and organized violence rendered such an exception necessary.

But whatever difference of opinion might exist *a priori* in regard to the wisdom or necessity of the act, the result soon proved to demonstration that it was the remedy suited to the disease. Its effect in arresting the crime and stilling the passions of Ireland was little short of miraculous. It at once did what the Liberals had so fondly anticipated and so confidently predicted from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Swift and frightful as had been the increase of crime under the influence of these unhappy stimulants to passion and incitements to agitation, it was now almost equaled by the rapidity with which it diminished, from the application of this rude but effective measure of repression.

The Lord Lieutenant, as soon as the bill was passed, proclaimed the county of Kilkenny, including the city of the same name; and such was the effect of the measure, that within two months serious crime had diminished in it to an eighth of its former amount; it had declined from 121 to 15! Over the disturbed districts of Ireland, the decrease of crime in May, 1833, compared to March, was from 472 to 162!³ There was no need to summon the courts-martial; not one of them was held. The moment it was known that Government was in earnest, and that tribunals were ready to be called into action which were proof against intimidation and indifferent to agitation, the atrocious system was checked, and ere long died, for a time, a natural death. If ever a political truth was demonstrated by experience, it was the lesson taught the British empire on this occasion.⁴

Desirous to redeem their pledge of introducing measures for the practical amelioration of Ireland, hand in hand with those intended to check its withering agitation, Ministers next brought forward a bill for the reform and improvement, as they deemed it, of the Irish Church. Lord Althorpe opened this measure in the Lower House on the 12th February, and in so far as reduction went, it was certainly calculated to satisfy the wishes of the most ardent reformers. He began by stating the real amount of the revenues of the Irish Church, which had been the subject of unbounded exaggeration by the Radical and Catholic party, who had usually stated it at £8,000,000 a year. In reality, including the

¹ Part. Deb. March 7, 25, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 5-6.

² Part. Deb. March 29, April 1, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 77, 82.

³ Reflections on the Coercion Act.

⁴ Decisive proof which the result afforded of the necessity and wisdom of the act.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1833, 63.

² Bill for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment.

* Serious crimes committed in

	March, 1832.	May, 1833.
Carlow	19	4
Kildare	23	17
Kilkenny	121	15
King's County	23	22
Longford	9	4
Louth	37	7
Queen's County	57	38
Westmeath	53	21
Wexford	25	4
Wicklow	11	1
Meath	56	29
Total	472	162

—Ann. Reg., 1833, p. 63.

whole bishoprics, it was only £782,000, being less than a fourth part of that amount.* Upon this property the Government proposed to levy a peculiar income-tax, commencing at £200 a year, when 5 per cent. was to be deducted, and rising to 15 per cent. upon all above £1200 a year. A similar graduated tax was laid on bishops, and with the produce of both, estimated at £69,000 a year, it was proposed to establish a fund, which was to come in lieu of church cess, which was to be abolished. Considerable reductions were also made on the revenues of the bishops, to take effect on the death of the present incumbents; and *ten bishoprics were to be entirely abolished* out of the twenty-two in Ireland, as being deemed superfluous, advertising to the numbers of the persons of the Episcopal persuasion in Ireland.† And in regard to lands belonging to bishoprics, it was provided that the bishop should be bound to grant leases forever at a corn-rent, upon six years' purchase being tendered to him. The quit-rent to the bishops was £100,000 a year, the real value to the occupant £600,000. This

would create a fund which he estimated at £3,000,000 sterling, which 901; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 84, 87, *Parl. Deb.* xv. 567, 576. was to be at the disposal of Parliament for the service of the State.¹

This bill met with a very strong opposition in Parliament—from the Conservative members, as involving the principle of the spoliation of Church property, the beginning of all the evils of the French Revolution; from the Radicals and Roman Catholic members, as not going far enough, and promising no substantial relief to the country. On the part of the Conservatives it was urged by Sir R. Inglis, Sir R. Peel, and Mr. Goulburn: "The tendency of this bill, its obvious intention, is not to obviate any existing abuses, but simply to gratify the spleen of the Government and the Roman Catholics at the Established Church. It is a mistake to say that the removal of church cess will relieve the Catholic tenantry; it will only put money in the pockets of the landlords, nineteen twentieths of whom are Episcopalians, upon whom the burden now does and ought to fall. What will it avail the peasants that the bishops are abolished? They are supported entirely by church

* Bishops' Sees.....	£130,000
Deans and Chapters.....	2,200
Living.....	600,000
Total.....	£732,200

—*LORD ALTHORPE'S Statement, Ann. Reg., 1833, p. 85.*
 † The following was stated at this time as the relative proportions of the members of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, but it was not founded on any Government enumeration; and being mainly founded on the information of ecclesiastical parties interested, it is not altogether to be relied on:

Catholics.....	6,436,000
Episcopalians.....	853,160
Dissenters.....	665,540
Total.....	7,954,700
Church Revenues.....	£865,535
Benefices.....	1,400
In which no service performed.....	187
Had no Protestant.....	41
Under 5.....	20
Under 25.....	165
Archbishops.....	4
Bishops.....	18

The sees proposed to be reduced were Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, Waterford, and Ossory.—*Parl. Deb.*, xv. 567, 570.

lands, and are a burden on no one: they are resident, and supposing some of them have little to do, still they *spend their revenues in the country*, which can not be said of the great majority of the lay proprietors. The logic of the bill is—'Ireland is languishing for want of a numerous body of resident proprietors who may spend their incomes on their estates: we will abate the evil by extinguishing ten who spend at present £40,000 or £50,000 a year on their properties.' Moreover, five of the bishoprics proposed to be abolished are taken from a part of the country where the majority of the people are Protestants, and the Episcopal duties are as heavy and important as in any part of England.

"The other part of the bill is still more objectionable, and should be resisted to the very uttermost, for it goes directly to a confiscation of church property, and that too in a way based upon the most flagrant injustice. A fund of no less than £3,000,000 is to be created by forcing the bishops to sell their lands to the incumbents at a third of their real value; and not content with this violent step, the money so acquired is not to be applied to purposes of religion, charity, or education, but to the *service of the State!* It will probably be carried to the credit of the consolidated fund, or be applied in extinction of the National Debt. What is this but confiscating church property to temporal purposes? the very first step taken in the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan revolutions, and the parent of all the iniquities and miseries which followed. The taxation of the clergy according to a graduated scale is, if possible, still more iniquitous. When one class is singled out for peculiar and *exclusive* taxation, it is generally the richest one which is selected; but here it is the poorest, the most destitute, the most injured class in the community which is subjected to this grinding oppression. The income-tax was thrown off by the nation because it imposed a burden insupportable in time of peace on the earnings of industry, even in the modified form of 5 per cent. It is now to be reimposed in a graduated scale varying from 5 to 15 per cent. upon one peculiar class, in consideration of that class being the most destitute and suffering in the community, against which, with persevering hostility, the whole efforts of the combination against tithes have with fatal effect been directed. And whom is the burden thus cruelly and iniquitously imposed intended to relieve? The landlords, by whom it is at present really borne, the proper parties to sustain it, and against whom, as yet, at least, no hostile combination has been directed."^{47.}

Mr. O'Connell's speech on the bill was so curious and characteristic that part of it must be given in his own words: "Lord Althorpe's estimate of the *net's* speech revenue of the Church of Ireland is on the bill a *base delusion*. The Government plan is one which only removes church cess, but relieves no other burden or grievance, and does not even suspend the war against the poor man's pigs and tenth potato. Why then do I so warmly approve the measure so far as it goes? Because it recognizes an admirable principle from which now he can not shrink; namely, that where there are no spiritual wants, there is to be no

spiritual receiver of tithes and church rentals, and therefore I hail it with satisfaction. Indeed, Ministers have already acted on that principle. They have kept the vacant bishopric of Waterford like a dummy hand in whist, not filled by any actual person, and yet open to an occupant. On this excellent principle of no work, no pay, the noble lord has promised us ten other dummies in the Irish Church, and thus the property of these ten do-nothings will be available to the purposes of the State. To say otherwise, and maintain that the property of the Church should be applied only to ecclesiastical purposes, is a fantastical assertion which the common sense of every intelligent person in the country will reject with scorn. Having made the admission of these excellent principles, they may invest their ecclesiastical commission with as many cobweb forms as they please; that admission can not be eluded, and will produce much more benefit (and

¹ *Parl. Deb.*
xix. 647;
Ann. Reg.
1833, 91.

I am anxious this should be understood elsewhere than may be apparent on the face of it."

It may readily be believed Ministers did not implicitly adopt this dangerous argument in support of the bill; but it was urged by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, and Mr. Stanley: "There is no ground for denying the authority of Parliament to interfere with the property of the Church, as is proposed to be done by this bill. It is from an act of Parliament that the Church derived its power over the bishops' leases; and what an act of Parliament had given, an act of Parliament may take away. Being debarred by law from granting leases beyond twenty-one years, the bishop indemnified himself by perpetually renewing the leases, and taking a fine at each renewal. As this bill gives the Church the power of granting leases in perpetuity, it is a very great benefit to the tenant, and the Church would not be injured. The Church would receive and the tenant pay the same as at present; but an estate in perpetuity, instead of one for a time limited, being carved out by the bill, a large fund is created; and is there any injustice in its being applied by the State to secular purposes?"

"With regard again to the diminution in the number of bishops, the bill does not suppress bishoprics, it only consolidates them. It effects an extension of dioceses in those cases where one bishop appears adequate to the duties heretofore performed by two; and in all countries and in all ages, similar alterations in the ecclesiastical establishment have been repeatedly made, without exciting any attention. It has been done in Italy and Spain, countries the most subject to ecclesiastical influence. The primate and bishops of Ireland had, when consulted on the subject, given it as their opinion, that if church cess was to be abolished, the least objectionable mode of supplying the deficiency would be by diminishing the number of bishops. No man can deny that twelve bishops are sufficient for Ireland, a country containing only 1400 benefices, and not more than, at the utmost, a million of Episcopalian inhabitants. In the extensive diocese of Chester there are 1200 benefices; the highest number any bishop will have in his diocese will be 179. In England there

are 22 bishoprics and 12,000 parishes; in Ireland, at present, there are 22 bishoprics and archbishoprics for 1400 benefices. The disproportion is glaring, and nothing in the whole constitution more obviously and loudly calls for reformation."

¹ *Parl. Deb.*
xviii. 787, 854;
Ann. Reg. 1833,
100, 103.

The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 817 to 78, which may be considered as a pretty fair test of the relative strength of the Liberals and Conservatives in the Reform Parliament. But several of the members in the majority, who usually supported Ministers, declared at the time that they would in committee vote for the application of the surplus fund to ecclesiastical, not secular, purposes; and so strong was the feeling on this subject, that Mr. Stanley, in committee, proposed that the surplus fund should be applied to ecclesiastical purposes only, and that beneficed clergymen in possession should be exempted from the progressive income-tax, which should attach only to persons vested after the date of the bill. By these changes, which were stigmatized by Mr. O'Connell "as the basest act which a national assembly could sanction," the bill was deprived of the most objectionable features in the eyes of the Conservatives, and all who were attached to the Established Church; and it was read a third time and passed on the 8th July, by a majority of 274 to 94. In July 8. the Peers a more serious opposition was anticipated, as the Conservative party, notwithstanding the numerous peers created by the Whigs since their accession to office three years before, had still a majority in that House. In effect, although the second reading was carried in the Peers by 157 to 98, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on their lordships' minds, yet in committee a subordinate motion made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that in the case of a suspended benefice the revenue should be applied to the building or repairing of the glebe-house, was carried against Ministers by a majority of two. So disconcerted were Government by this defeat—the first they had sustained since the passing of the Reform Bill—that Earl Grey declared it would be a matter of consideration for Ministers whether they should not throw up the bill and retire from office. Upon consideration, however, the change was deemed not so vital as to justify the abandonment of the measure. Ministers retained office; and the bill, as then amended, was read a third time and passed on the 80th July, by a majority of 185 to 81.²

² *Ann. Reg.*
1833, 103, 130;
Parl. Deb. xix.
761, 824.

Such was the conclusion of this great debate; and the discussion of Irish affairs was terminated for the time by a measure of more real and practical importance connected with the collection of tithes in the country. The bill of last year, which had authorized Government to make certain advances to the Irish clergy, and invested them with the right to levy the tithes for their reimbursement, had totally failed in producing the desired effect; or rather it had made matters greatly worse, because, by bringing a more formidable power into collision with the peasantry, it had both augmented the sever-

³ *Ann. Reg.*
1833, 103, 130;
Parl. Deb. xix.
761, 824.

ity and enhanced the heart-burnings consequent on the collection. The sum collected, too, had been a mere trifle; only £12,000 out of £91,000 of arrears. In these circumstances, Ministers wisely determined to abandon the plan altogether, and in lieu of it they had recourse to the usual resource in cases of Irish insolvency—a contribution from Great Britain. The amount of tithes due and unpaid, for the last three years, exceeded a *million sterling*. To meet this great arrear, it was proposed to authorize the issue of exchequer bills to the extent of £1,000,000, to be repaid in ten years by the persons liable in the same, and with which the claims of those having right to tithes were to be paid under a deduction of 25 per cent. for the tithes of 1831 and 1832, and 15 per cent. for those of 1833. The justice of this deduction, as of a salvage in cases of shipwreck, could not be disputed, and the necessity of the case was so obvious that the bill passed both Houses with very little opposition, and proved an un-
 1 Parl. Deb. xx. 434, 432; little opposition, and proved an un-
 Ann. Reg. 1833, 140, 142. speakable relief to the starving clergy of Ireland.¹⁴

This closes the long catalogue of discussion on Irish affairs, which occupied two-thirds of the first session of the Reformed Parliament. The retrospect furnishes abundant subject for mournful reflection—not so much for what was done, as for what was left undone. The two great measures, the Coercion Bill and the grant to the destitute clergy, were obviously wise, and loudly called for by stern necessity, however objectionable they certainly would have been under other and less pressing circumstances. But they were temporary palliations only; they left untouched the root of the evil. The real causes which blasted the prosperity of Ireland, and had brought its inhabitants into such a deplorable situation, were the redundant population, the low price of agricultural produce (the sole support of the people), the absence of any legal relief for the poor, the want of a resident gentry, and the absence of any public works or manufactories to absorb the overwhelming multitudes of the working classes. These were the real causes of the disease: the combination against tithes, the predial atrocities, the intimidation of jurors and witnesses, were merely inflammatory symptoms appearing on the surface. What did Government do to remove these deep-rooted seats of evil, without which all attempts to relieve the distresses of the country in a lasting way must prove nugatory? They resisted with their whole strength, supported by all Sir Robert Peel's followers, any inquiry into the currency, with a view to its extension and the raising of prices: they did nothing to establish poor-rates in a country overwhelmed by two millions of paupers; when any movement in favor of emigration was made in the House of Commons, they got the House counted out; and they con-

tented themselves with abolishing ten resident ecclesiastical land-holders, spending £50,000 a year, in a country pining under the evils of absentee land-holders! All parties persisted in considering the evils of Ireland as *political*, when in fact they were *social*, and applying what they deemed remedies to the sufferings of the country, when in fact they were mere holocausts to disarm the hostility, or purchase the support, of a party in the House of Commons. And thus things went on from bad to worse, without one measure of real relief emanating from the Legislature, until Providence, in pity of human infatuation, took the matter into its own hands, raised prices 50 per cent. by opening two huge banks of issue in California and Australia, and doubled the wages of labor, and thereby pacified the country, by this great measure of relief, and sending, for a course of years, 200,000 emigrants annually from the shores of the Emerald Isle.*

This astonishing series of facts, the most momentous and instructive which the story of these times has presented, suggests one conclusion of general importance, of which many other illustrations will occur in the course of this History. Thus it is—paradoxical as it may appear, it is nevertheless true—that you may in general measure the justice, necessity, and expedience of any measure brought forward in a popular Legislature by the obstinate and impassioned resistance which it meets with from its opponents, and the *laughing support* which it receives from its friends; and on the other, that there is no surer test of the irrational nature or ultimate danger of any change proposed, than the amount of general support which it at first receives, and the feeble resistance which it has to encounter. The reason, though not apparent at first sight, is sufficiently obvious when stated, and a close observation of the progress of legislation in every free State will convince every impartial person of its truth: Measures of general utility may bless a nation, but they do not advance a party, and therefore no party supports them; measures of party efficacy are generally nugatory to a nation, but then they promote the interests of a party, and therefore they meet with the most

* "Although, from the defective nature of the returns, it is impossible to ascertain the exact annual amount of Irish emigration, we are enabled, from facts furnished to the Emigration Commissioners, to approximate to the truth, and during the last four years the numbers who left Ireland are estimated to have been as follows:

In 1851.....	254,537
1852.....	294,977
1853.....	192,609
1854.....	150,309

In consequence of this extraordinary movement, the population of Ireland has materially decreased. The census of 1841 shows that it then amounted to upward of eight millions. It is at this moment, in all probability, less than six. From the figures which we have quoted, it is probable that the number of emigrants will continue to decline, but there is one circumstance that seems to render this somewhat doubtful. Although, during the last four years, the number of emigrants has materially fallen off, the amount of money transmitted by them to Ireland, so far as it can be ascertained, has largely increased. The sums so sent, during the interval in question, were as follows:

In 1851.....	£990,000
1852.....	1,404,000
1853.....	1,439,000
1854.....	1,730,000.

—*Morning Post*, Sept. 15, 1855 (quoting the Report of the Emigration Commissioners).

* AMOUNT OF TITHES DUE AND UNPAID, FOR YEARS 1831 TO 1833.

Arrears, 1831.....	£112,185
" 1832.....	300,000
" 1833.....	600,000
Church Tithes in arrear.....	£1,012,185
Lay Tithes in arrear.....	222,576
Total.....	£1,234,763

—LORD ALTHORPE'S Statement; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, p. 140-141.

vigorous support from that party, and the most sturdy resistance from its opponents. Selfish views, in the long run, govern both; and the general welfare is too *diluted* an interest to act powerfully upon any section of the community. Their own immediate interests, or party elevation, alone can rouse them to vigorous or efficacious action. Goethe says, that whoever will peruse a file of newspapers only a month old, will see how misplaced has been the greater part of the ability exerted upon public affairs. How much more true is that of annals a quarter of a century old! Measures of real utility are not unknown in a free community; on the contrary, they are more frequently carried in them than under any other form of government. But they rarely originate either with the Administration or the Legislature, though measures of party interest often emanate from both. They are forced upon them, sometimes by the weight of arguments, urged by a few powerful minds at a distance from the arena of party conflicts; more frequently by general suffering, the severe but merciful mistress of nature.*

* In a leading periodical at this time, there appeared, on January 1, 1833, six weeks before the Government measures were brought forward, an article on Ireland, containing the following observations: "The first measure which is indispensable to the revival of Irish prosperity is the adoption of the most vigorous measures to restore the administration of justice, and give to life and property somewhat of that protection which is now afforded to rapine and outrage. This is a matter of first-rate importance—so much so, indeed, that without it all attempts to tranquillize or improve the country will, as they have hitherto done, prove entirely nugatory. As long as the south of Ireland is illuminated by midnight confagurations, or disgraced by assassinations at noonday; as long as families are roasted alive in their houses, and witnesses murdered for speaking the truth; as long as legal payments are resisted by organized multitudes, and the power of Government set at naught by Catholic authority—so long will Ireland remain in its present unhappy and distracted state, miserable itself, a source of misery to others, a dead weight about the neck of the empire."

"2. The Government is now committed in a struggle with the Catholic priesthood as to the payment of tithes; the authority of the law must be vindicated, or the semblance of order which now exists in Ireland will be annihilated. Let what measures they choose follow for the commutation of tithes, the first thing to do is to vindicate the authority of the law against an insurgent people. For this purpose, authority should be obtained from the Legislature to levy from those who can pay and won't pay, the full value of the tithes in kind with expenses, and to march the cattle distrained off to the nearest sea-port, to be sold in Bristol or Liverpool. A few examples of the vigorous application of this law would operate like a charm in dissolving the combination against tithes. The state of things for the last year in Ireland is a direct premium on rebellion, an encouragement to the cessation of the payment of taxes, rent, or burdens of every description, and an invitation to the people to avail themselves of the machinery now put in motion against the clergy for their dereliction from rent, taxes, and burdens of every description."

"3. Having vindicated the authority of the law, measures should next be taken to prevent the clergy from coming in contact with the cultivators, by commuting the tithes, and laying them as a direct burden on the landlords, who, being nearly all Protestants, are the parties who should bear it. Though this measure would probably do as little as Catholic Emancipation to pacify Ireland, yet it would remove the irritation which now exists between the clergy and their parishioners, and thus withdraw the Established Church from a political contest of which it is now the victim."

"4. The next great object of Irish legislation should be the establishment of a judicious and enlightened system of poor-laws for the relief of the sick, the aged, and those who, though willing, can find no employment. The English and Scotch will not much longer submit to have their poor-rates doubled annually by the inundation of Irish beggars, or their scanty channels of employment choked by multitudes of Irish laborers. The time is come when, in the general distress of the empire, caused by the shock given to credit and industry by the Reform Bill,

The futility of the remedies brought forward by Government for the distresses of Ireland appears the more conspicuous when the causes of suffering there pressing upon the whole nation are taken into consideration.

Distress to a great, and among some of the working classes to an unexampled extent, prevailed not only over all Ireland, but in many parts of Great Britain, the natural and unavoidable consequence of the shake given to credit and industry of every kind by the agitation produced by the Reform Bill. Three circumstances conspired at this time to paralyze commerce and spread suffering among the laboring classes. The first of these was the terror inspired by the disorders of which both islands had been the theatre; the flames of Bristol, the sack of Nottingham, the open declarations of the more violent among the Reformers, that they would take up arms and commence a civil war, unless their full demands were conceded. The second was the vast reduction of prices which had ensued from the successive contractions of the currency which had taken place since 1819, and especially the entire and final suppression of small notes, which had taken effect in spring 1829, and ever since continued. The result of this had been to lower the money price of every species of produce, manufacturing as well as agricultural, at least 50 per cent., while debts, taxes, and money obligations remained the same. The third was the continuance of four fine seasons in succession, from 1831 to 1835, which had the effect of lowering the price of agricultural produce, combined with the contraction of the currency, nearly 100 per cent. The result of this

each portion must be led to the maintenance of its own poor. A judicious system of poor-rates, instead of being an encouragement to undue increase, is the most effectual means for diminishing it, because it is a check to the propagation of those pauper and degrading habits which, more than any other circumstances, tend to the multiplication of the poor.

"5. The greatest possible encouragement should be given by Government to the emigration of the Irish poor. The number who emigrated in 1831 was 18,000. *No reason can be assigned why it should not be 180,000.*" The expense of transporting settlers to the shores of Canada is about £5 a head; to furnish the means of emigration to this large body, therefore, would cost £900,000; but what an immense relief would it afford to every part of the empire! The common argument that it is needless to give the poor the means of emigration, because those who remain at home will only increase the faster, is altogether chimerical. By improving the condition of those who remain at home the principle of increase is checked, not facilitated, because artificial wants, its true limitation, are brought into operation.

"6. The fisheries, neglected harbors, and waste lands of Ireland, furnish ample room for the commencement of Government works on a great scale, to spread wealth, and industry, and orderly habits, through its laboring poor. The mines of untouched wealth which there exist are incalculable; they might almost pave the Emerald Isle with gold. In other countries such undertakings may be safely left to the exertions of private industry. In Ireland the case is otherwise: unless they are begun and forced on by the capital and vigor of Government, they will never be attempted. If we would give the people in the south and west a taste for the enjoyments of wealth or acquisitions of industry, we must, in the first instance, force them on a reluctant people by Government expenditure." — *Blackwood's Magazine*, Jan. 1, 1833; *Alison's Essays*, l. p. 260-264. The Author can not but reflect with satisfaction on the entire confirmation which subsequent events have afforded of these views, emitted at a time when all that Government proposed to relieve the distresses of Ireland was to extinguish ten of its richest resident landed proprietors.

* In 1869 it was £250,000!

rapid and prodigious fall of prices, in so short a time, of the whole produce of the farmer, was to drive the agricultural class to despair, reduce many of them to insolvency, and put an entire stop to all those spirited improvements which ¹Ann. Reg. might have absorbed in some degree 1833, 149, the redundant labor of the country. 149.

This vital subject was, with his wonted ability, brought before the notice of Parliament by Mr. Attwood on the 21st March; and as he had been an active member of the Political Union, and strenuous supporter of the Reform Bill, his testimony is that of an unsuspected witness as to its effects. "What is the good," said he, "of having a Reformed Parliament, if they do not apply a remedy to the existing distress? and what will the people think of a Reformed Parliament having sat so many weeks, without attempting any one measure in behalf of the distressed? Distress, general, extreme, unnatural, is greater than in any former period of our history. In agriculture, one-half have more labor than they can bear, while the other half have nothing to do; and yet the laborer can produce four times more than is required for the support of himself and his family. In manufactures the proportion of the produce to the wants of the laborer is still greater, but matters, instead of getting better, are daily getting worse. Labor is badly paid; manufactures scarcely carried on with a profit, in some with a loss; commerce is declining in the same proportion; and such is the distress of the shipping interest that two thirds of the shipping in the Thames are under mortgage, which is not foreclosed only because it is not considered worth the redemption. The poor-rates have doubled in real weight, from the price of the produce from which they are paid having been halved. There are 100,000 men walking about London in search of employment. In many parts of the country, able-bodied men are working night and day for 8s. or 7s. 6d. a week, and often can earn no more than 4s. England may be divided into two classes—the distressed and the affluent. In the first class are included the whole land-holders, in the last the bond and fund holders. The former are depressed by charges on their estates, which were to be paid in a currency 50 per cent. dearer than that in which they were contracted; the latter are enriched by receiving £90 in gold for their £60. The land-holders in these circumstances can not contribute to a war, and the fund-holders will not, because it will reduce their £90 back to £60. Thus we do not venture to take a decided part in foreign transactions, and surrender Antwerp to France and Constantinople to Russia, rather than endanger the ill-gotten gains of the class whom it has been our sole object to enrich.

* PRICE OF WHEAT PER QUARTER, 1830 TO 1833.

Years.	Price per Quarter	Bank Notes in Circulation.	Exports, Real Value.	Imports.
Dec. 1830	s. d.	£	£	£
" 1831	64 10	19,631,000	38,271,597	46,345,241
" 1832	55 3	30,875,000	37,184,373	49,713,869
" 1833	52 4	18,542,000	36,450,594	44,586,741
" 1834	47 10	17,531,910	39,667,347	45,952,551

—TOOKER ON PRICES, vol. ii. p. 390, 396; and Parliamentary Returns of these years.

The result of the distress is an enormous increase of crime. These deplorable effects are all owing to the alteration made on the currency, which it had been said would only alter prices 4 per cent., but had in reality lowered them, and in the same March 21, 1833, proportion reduced the gains of the ¹Ann. Reg. producing classes, 100 per cent. 1833, 149.

Most of the facts stated in the preceding argument were too well known to be true ⁵⁷ to admit of controversy; but, without Answer of denying them, Ministers contented themselves with strenuously resisting an inquiry into the currency. "The real aim of the motion now made for inquiry into the distresses of the country is to effect a change in the currency—a subject which, if discussed at all, should be brought forward in a separate motion. Great distress certainly exists, chiefly among the laboring classes of the community; but it is not greater than it has been at various periods before. Among certain classes, particularly the hand-loom weavers, there certainly is great suffering, and in some districts there is much distress among the agriculturists; but that is by no means universally the case. It is absurd to say tradesmen are living on their capital; if this were the case, trade would speedily be annihilated. What good would a committee do? The causes of the suffering are beyond the reach of legislation. If the motion for its appointment is carried, it will lead to the universal belief that the currency is going to be tampered with, and this will necessarily cause a general stagnation of credit, by which the existing distress will only be increased." Notwithstanding all the weight of Government, however, and of the capitalists who had got the command of the greater part of the boroughs, the motion was only rejected by a majority 1833, 149, of 34—the numbers being 192 to 158. ³ 150.

However resolutely Ministers might resist any inquiry into the currency, and endeavor ⁵⁸ to palliate the existing distress, The budget there were none in the community for 1833. who felt it more acutely, for it was brought under their notice in the most sensible of all forms—by the falling off in the revenue. Notwithstanding the ample reductions made in the preceding year, already noticed, this decline of the revenue, arising partly from the reduction of taxation so largely made in the last three years, partly from the general distress, was such that, in the year ending 5th April, 1832, there had been a deficiency of £1,240,000. This deficiency, however, was more than compensated by the unflinching reductions made in 1832–3, which amounted to no less than £2,498,000, and gave for that year an excess of income above expenditure of £1,487,000. This was effected, not by any corresponding increase of income, that for 1833 being only £235,000 more than for 1832, but by wholesale reductions in the army and navy, which amounted in one year to no less than £1,800,000. These reductions were secured by selling off old stores and buying no new ones in the navy, and by great reductions, chiefly in pensions and retired allowances, in the army. But having by these means gained a respectable surplus, though at the expense of the armaments essential for the national defense, Government gave the most convincing

proof of the pressure of the new interest which, by the operation of the Reform Bill, had got the command of the country, and of the disregard of the future which was hereafter to characterize British legislation. Having thus got a surplus estimated at £1,572,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a *reduction of taxation* to the amount of £1,349,000, chiefly on soap and cotton, leaving only a surplus of £516,000 on the estimated income for the succeeding year, to go to the paying off of national debt! Even this great sacrifice of the future to the present did not satisfy the Radicals; and Mr. Hume loudly complained that the *whole estimated surplus* was not applied to the reduction of taxation.

He did not press his motion, ¹ *Parl. Deb.* April 19, 1833; however, to a division, and the *An. Reg.* 1833, budget, as proposed by Ministers, passed without farther opposition.¹ 143, 147.

This result, which was unexpected in the first budget with the Reformed Parliament, arose from the determination of the different parties, by separate motions, to secure for themselves the desired reduction of taxation, without the slightest regard to the effect they would have, if carried, on the general state of the revenue, or maintenance of the armaments indispensable for the national independence. This soon appeared. The taxes which Lord Althorpe proposed to take off amounted to £1,349,000,* and they were at once agreed to. But in addition to this, Sir W. Ingilby, one of the members for Lincolnshire, moved in committee, that the malt-tax should be reduced from 20s. 8d. to 10s. per quarter, being more than a half. He calculated that the loss to the revenue would be £1,500,000, at the utmost; the present produce of the tax being £4,825,000, and a greatly increased consumption being with certainty to be relied on. This reduction was justified by the mover, on the ground that the agricultural interest was the one in the whole community which was suffering most from the vast reduction of prices; it was the only one to which no sensible relief had been given, by a reduction of taxation, during the last five years. It was strongly opposed by Lord Althorpe, who alleged, and probably with truth, that the loss to the revenue, from the remission of this tax, would be at least £2,500,000, and would entirely defeat the object of Government in proposing more moderate reductions for the benefit of all parties. So strong, however, was the sense of the extreme depression of the agricultural inter-

est, owing to the fall of prices, that ² *Parl. Deb.* April 26, 1833; the reduction proposed was carried *An. Reg.* 1833, against Ministers by a majority of 151, 153. 10—the numbers being 162 to 152.²

This unexpected result threw Ministers into great embarrassment, the more so that their defeat had come from the landed interest, in which the strength of the Conservatives lay, and was against the towns, in which their

own principal supporters were to be found. After deliberation, however, they resolved not to resign, but to endeavor to get the vote rescinded; and they did this in a very skillful way, by playing off the urban against the rural interests. The boroughs were all extremely anxious to get quit of the house and window duties, which pressed hard upon their inhabitants, and most of their representatives were pledged without delay to effect their abolition. Sir John Key, one of the London members, had given notice of a motion for their repeal, which stood for April 30. Lord Althorpe on the 29th moved as an amendment to that motion, "That a great deficiency of revenue would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt duty to ten shillings per quarter, and by the repeal of the duties on houses and windows, which could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property; and that, as the effect of that would be to change the whole financial system of the country, it was inexpedient to adopt it." This skillful device plainly and truly brought the effects of the proposed reductions insisted for by the country and city parties respectively before the House, and it had the desired effect. The House accepted the lesser evil to eschew the greater, and, with the terrors of a property-tax before their eyes, rescinded their former vote, and by a majority of 285 to 131 supported Lord Althorpe's motion. A motion of Sir John Key for the repeal of the house and window tax was ¹ *Parl. Deb.* April 30, next day negatived by a majority of 273 to 124.^{1*} 1833; *An. Reg.* 1833, 152, 158.

Ministers and their immediate adherents in the country congratulated themselves on this narrow escape, and the large majorities by which both of the obnoxious taxes were ultimately supported in the House of Commons. ^{61.} *Results of these votes on public opinion.*

More experienced observers, however, argued ill for the stability of a Government which had thus early come into direct collision, on a question deeply interesting to them, with their urban supporters, who held the majority of the House of Commons in their hands. And the few thoughtful men in the country who looked beyond passing events, and were anxious to see how the new constitution was practically to work on the conduct of affairs, presaged much future embarrassment and evil from a state of things where large parties in the Legislature were tied, by the imperious commands of their constituents, to vote for the repeal of any taxes immediately affecting themselves, without the least regard to the effect it would have on the general finances or safety of the country; and Government had no other resource to elude this fierce demand but by playing off the one party against the other, and terrifying both with the threat of laying on another tax in the highest degree obnoxious to both.

It soon appeared how much Ministers had lost in the eyes of the most numerous and noisy of their supporters, by their resistance to the

* It appeared from a return quoted by Lord Althorpe in this debate, that the total inhabited houses at this time was 2,946,079, of which only 430,507 paid the tax. It affected therefore only a fraction of the community; but as that fraction was the one in which the return of a majority of the House of Commons was vested, its displeasure was most formidable to Ministers.

* <i>Vin.</i> : Tiles	£87,000
Marine Insurance	100,000
Advertisements	75,000
Assessed Taxes	944,000
Cotton	800,000
Soap	598,000
	£1,349,000

—*An. Reg.*, 1833, p. 147.

loudly-expressed demand of the urban constituencies for a reduction of the burdens affecting themselves. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the Secretary for Ireland, having pledged himself to vote for the repeal of the assessed taxes to his constituents in Westminster, resigned office and his seat for Westminster, as he could not vote for their repeal against the Government; and he was thrown out on a new election, and Col. Evans, a more Radical member, returned. Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. W. H. Brougham, and Dr. Lushington, who had also voted against the repeal, were called on to resign their seats for Westminster and the Tower Hamlets. In almost every parish in London public meetings were held, at which it was recommended in resolutions to adopt the Irish mode of agitation, by refusing to pay assessed taxes, and associations were formed for the purpose of mutual co-operation. A large public meeting was held in the open air near Cold-bathfields prison, at which it was resolved "to adopt preparatory measures for holding a national convention, as the only means of obtaining and securing the rights of the people;" and this was done in defiance of a proclamation from the Home Office prohibiting the meeting as illegal, and dangerous to the public peace. One of the police was killed with a dagger, and another severely wounded in attempting to disperse the assemblage: the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide; and the verdict having been quashed by the Court of King's Bench as contrary to evidence, the murderer was brought to trial on an indictment and acquitted. The same agitation prevailed in all the great towns in the provinces. The Birmingham Political Union, so lately the multitudinous supporter of Ministers, and to whose office-bearers Lord John Russell had written, pending the Reform Bill, that "the whisper of a faction can not prevail against the voice of the people of England," now met and passed a resolution, "That his Majesty's Ministers, by violating the constitution of Ireland, refusing all inquiry into public distress, by continuing the taxes on houses and windows, and especially by absolutely forcing on the country the whole of the malt-tax, after the House of Commons has deliberately resolved only three days before to abolish it partially, have betrayed the confidence of the people; and, therefore, that his Majesty should be implored to *dismiss from his councils* men who had proved themselves so utterly unable or unwilling to extricate the country from 1833, 156, the difficulties and dangers with which it is surrounded."¹

It was now evident that the Reform Ministry had undergone the usual fate of all who attempt to coerce a movement which they themselves have put in motion. Like the Girondists of France, when they began to do so they immediately became more unpopular even than their Conservative opponents. The Government hung only by a thread; a coalition of the Conservatives with the Radicals on any question on which they could vote in common might any day throw them into a minority. In these circumstances the conduct of Ministers was as magnanimous as that of the Con-

servative leaders was wise and patriotic. The former pursued a steadfast course, ameliorating our institutions in many respects, and removing many real abuses; while the latter supported them in all such projects, and lent them their aid in repressing the violent inroads of a dangerous or revolutionary character which were attempted to be forced upon them by the pressure from without. England then reaped the fruits of her free institutions, and the long training of her statesmen to public life and duties. But for this wise and patriotic course of the leaders on both sides in the House of Commons, it may safely be affirmed that the constitution and liberties of England would inevitably have perished as those of France did in 1789, during the first transports consequent on the passing of the Reform Bill.

The first great measure which was brought forward was that of the BANK CHARTER, which expired and required to be renewed this year; and this led to a change attended with the most important political effects in the currency of the country. Lord Althorpe brought forward the Government plan on the subject on the 31st May, and in so doing he stated correctly "that the principle on which the Bank has hitherto acted in the management of its affairs, and which seems to have been fully approved of, is this, to keep one-third of bullion in proportion to its liabilities; to allow the public to act on the currency, and not to force it by artificial means; to allow their circulation *gradually to diminish when the exchanges were against this country*, and the drain of bullion became great; and when the exchanges turned in our favor, and the bullion came back, to let the circulation *gradually expand in proportion*. There was reason and experience in favor of this principle, and the regular publication of the Bank accounts would always show whether it had been adhered to. The Bank, therefore, was to be required to make a weekly return to the Treasury of the amount of bills and notes in circulation, and also of deposits, and that the average of such issues and deposits should be published quarterly. The monopoly of the Bank was to extend to sixty-five miles round London—that is to say, no bank of issue consisting of more than six partners was to be permitted within that distance. The Charter was to be renewed for twenty-one years, with power to the Government at the end of ten years to break it off. *Bank of England notes were to be made a legal tender every where, except at the Bank itself and branch banks.* The usury laws were to be repealed, to the effect of withdrawing all bills at less than three months from their operation. One-fourth of the debt due by the country to the Bank, which amounted to £14,000,000, was to be paid off, and £120,000 a year cut off from the allowance made to that establishment for carrying on the public business, and royal charters were to be granted for the establishment of joint-stock banks in the country beyond the limits of the Bank's monopoly."¹

So little was the vital importance of this subject understood in the country, that these proposals passed into law without any very serious opposition from any quarter. The lead-

^{62.} Rapid decline in the popularity of Ministers.

^{64.} Renewal of the Bank Charter. May 31.

¹ Ann. Reg.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1833, 167, 168; Parl. Debates, May 31, 1833.

ers of the cheapening party, however, were alive to the tendency of the clause declaring bank-notes a legal tender, as a virtual departure from the principle of the bill of 1819. It was argued by Sir Robert Peel: "This is an incipient departure from a metallic currency, and a large stride toward a paper one. It will augment the circulation of the Bank of England notes, as they are declared a legal tender to all practical purposes; and diminish that of the country bankers, as they can not on demand be converted at the offices from whence they have been issued as heretofore. It may be true, that in the case of an internal commercial panic arising from the temporary discredit of country bankers, there would be a great benefit in their being able to meet a run with Bank of England paper; but that is not a sufficient argument for so great a change, so entire a departure from the established principle of a legal tender. Is there any man who can contemplate without alarm the conversion of the right of the holder of a bank-note to get it converted into gold, into a right merely to get Bank of England notes? Any law which compelled a man to take the notes of a bank which he distrusted in lieu of gold is an act of tyranny. Can an act of Parliament give people confidence in a banking establishment? Can it make people regard a bank-note equivalent to gold? Why is it now that checks to a large amount are more frequently paid by London bankers by checks on the Bank of England than by gold? Simply because they are not declared by act of Parliament a legal tender. Declare them such, and they become assignats, and may be depreciated as such. Burke expressed this well when he said, 'Your notes are current on the Royal Exchange because they are not so in Westminster Hall.' The doctrine always maintained hitherto has been, 'You may issue what paper you please, provided you will undertake to pay it on demand in the precious metals.' To take one particular species of paper and give it a value above every other sort, is the most extraordinary mode of Parl. Deb. June 4, 1833; increasing public confidence in a paper currency that ever was devised."

On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord Althorpe and Mr. Baring: "The answer to the objection to the declaring bank-notes a legal tender arises from a misconception of the object for which it is intended. The object is not so much to meet the demands on country bankers for their notes, as those for their deposits. The amount of notes issued by country bankers in general bears but a very small proportion to their engagements, on account of deposits for meeting which they are obliged, in times of pressure, to apply to the Bank of England for bullion. It is to guard against that pressure on the Bank that it has been deemed advisable to make the bank-note a legal tender; for in a case of commercial panic, as was the case in 1826, the country bankers sent up to London, not only for sovereigns to pay their notes, but likewise for gold to meet their other engagements. The Bank might then be called upon to drain its coffers, not merely for the purpose of supplying the real demands upon the country bankers for their notes, but also

for meeting the entire demand for the amount of their deposits. Many country bankers, who maintained only a £15,000 or £20,000 note circulation, required as high a sum as £100,000 for the latter purpose. The Bank of England was placed, therefore, in this situation, that they must have gold enough to deal out for these two purposes, and it is that which renders it advisable that Bank of England notes should be declared a legal tender. Country bankers are now obliged to deposit securities — say Government stock — with their correspondents in London, to meet their issues; so that the only difference will be, that they will bring back gold in the one case, and Bank of England notes in the other. Any measure tending to support the credit of the Bank of England was a general benefit to the country, for if the Bank were shaken, all other credit would at once be destroyed." Upon this debate the Government proposals were carried by a majority of 214 to 156, with the slight change that £5 notes were to be paid in gold June 1, 1833; if demanded by the country bank-Parl. Deb. June 1, 1833; An. Reg. 1833, 169, 174.

This debate is very remarkable, both as ushering in an important change in the monetary system of the country, Reflections which was ere long attended with on this debate. the most important effects, but as affording a most extraordinary instance of the short-sighted views entertained at that period, even by the ablest and most experienced men, on this subject. The bill was evidently a step, and a most important one, toward the restoration of a paper currency, and as such it was no wonder that it excited the alarm of Sir R. Peel and the cheapening party. It obviously tended, by enlarging the circulation, to stimulate industry of every kind, and in consequence elevate prices. But the extraordinary thing is this: the promoters of the bill saw clearly the pressure to which the Bank of England was frequently exposed, in consequence of the demands made upon it to meet those of every kind upon the country bankers, and they thought they sufficiently guarded against this danger by making bank-notes above £5 a legal tender, and bank-notes only payable in gold at the Bank itself. But they did not see, what the event ere long too fatally proved, that this postponed the danger only to increase it, and that the augmented transactions and engagements to which the change would of course give rise, could issue in nothing, *when a drain from external causes set in upon the gold of the country*, but augmented embarrassment to the Bank and danger to the country. The protection afforded by bank-notes above £5 being declared a legal tender, great as long as there was no enhanced demand for gold, became worse than nugatory when such a demand grew serious, and the increased paper of the country was all poured, *as through a funnel, upon the Bank of England for conversion into gold*. This is exactly what took place in after-times, as the sequel of this History will abundantly demonstrate; and then this change in the monetary system, while the *ultimate principle of convertibility into gold was adhered to*, is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the transient prosperity of 1835 and 1836, the railway mania of 1845 and 1846, the terrible monetary

crises of 1838 and 1847, and the final adoption of Free Trade, with all its incalculable consequences, as the basis of the commercial policy of the country.

The approaching termination of the Charter of the East India Company, which expired at the same time as that of the Bank of England, rendered it necessary at this time for Government to meet the great question involved in our Eastern dominions. On this subject a very strong feeling existed in the country, founded, as most of such feelings are, on anticipated advantages to the majority. The great body of the merchants and traders of Great Britain beheld with envious eyes the vast trade to India and China now monopolized by the East India Company, and indulged in warm and exaggerated expectations of the boundless streams of wealth which would flow into the coffers of the country generally, and their own in particular, if that trade were thrown open to the vigor and activity of private enterprise. These ideas, natural, or rather unavoidable in the circumstances, and in some degree well founded, had long been fermenting in the minds of the mercantile portion of the community, and many able pamphlets had appeared, advocating in the strongest terms this side of the question. Two of the chief arguments relied on in these publications, were the great reductions which would take place in the price of tea from the effects of free competition in the trade to China, and the vast market which would be opened to British manufactures from the opening of the boundless realms of the Celestial Empire and India to the productions of British industry. Experience soon proved that these views, though by no means entirely fallacious, were very much exaggerated; but in the mean time they were general and irresistible. Right or wrong, they were so strongly entertained by the borough communities possessing a decided majority in the House of Commons, that they could not be disregarded; and Government acted wisely in bringing in such a balanced and temperate measure as satisfied the just demands of the

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 179, 180. advocates for an extension of the trade, without endangering the general frame of our Indian possessions.¹

The Government plan, which, with a few inconsiderable alterations, was adopted by Parliament, consisted of three parts. By the first, it was proposed to continue for nineteen years the political government of their possessions in India in the East India Company. By the second, the trade to China was to be entirely thrown open, and the monopoly of the Company in regard to it was to cease. By the third, the privileges of the Company, as a trading body, were to cease in India itself, upon condition of their obtaining from Government an annuity of £680,000 a year for forty years, to be charged on the revenue of the territory of India. This annuity was the amount of the dividends the Company at the time paid to the holders of their stock out of the profits of their capital engaged in trade.² These proposals were in the main so reasonable, and so completely in unison with the general voice of the country on the

subject, that they excited very little opposition; but some facts were stated by Ministers in bringing forward the measure, which well illustrated its bearing and importance.

On the part of Ministers, it was stated by Lord Althorpe and Mr. Charles Grant: "It may be admitted that there are some evils in the system of administration in India, but upon the whole there can be no doubt that the condition of the people of that country under their former governments was greatly worse than it now is. They now enjoy a greater security of life and property than they have ever done, save under the wise and beneficent rule of one of the Mogul monarchs, whose rule, as an exception to the general case, is the subject of praise among them to the present day. During forty years the government of the Company has been the greatest possible blessing to India, for it has stopped private wars, and terminated the incessant feuds of rajah against rajah, attended with such ruin and devastation to the country. Within the last twenty years the native population have acquired a political existence, and being secured in their rights and property, they are beginning to feel the value of the laws, and of a regular administration of justice. It seems desirable not to break in upon a system which, with some undoubted imperfections, is, upon the whole, working well; and therefore it is not at present proposed to interfere with the political government of India by the East India Company.

"With regard, again, to the trade at present enjoyed under the exclusive Charter, the law seems to stand in a different situation. Public opinion in this country has long declared against the Company's monopoly of the China trade, and the urgency with which its abolition is now pressed for, arises from the marked change in favor of free trade which is now taking place in the whole commercial policy of the country. Latterly, too, that trade, so much the object of envy to the mercantile community, has become much less profitable. That with India is abandoned by the Company without resistance, for the best of all reasons, that it has been found, in their hands, instead of a profit, to be attended with a loss. Taking an average of five years for fifteen years back, during the first period the profits of that trade were £1,500,000, during the next £880,000, and during the last only £730,000. This great diminution is not to be ascribed to any falling off in the demand for tea, but entirely to the great increase of the private traders, who within a few years have sprung up from small beginnings to a very great magnitude. In 1814 they owned only 1000 tons; in 1829 it had swelled to 60,000. The trade of the Company to and from China, exports and imports, was £18,500,000; in 1830 it had sunk to £11,600,000. The increase in the private trade, during the same period, had been as remarkable as the diminution of the privileged. In 1814 the private exports and imports amounted to £9,000,000; in 1830 they had swelled to £31,000,000. In the face of these facts it is impossible to contend that the monopoly of the Company will not ere long sink before the efforts of the private traders, even if Parliament do not interpose to legalize the traffic.

68.
East India
question:
feeling of
the country
on it.

70.
Argument
of Ministers
in support
of the bill.

69.
Government
plan on the
subject.

² *Parl. Deb.*
June 13,
1833; *Ann.*
Reg. 1833,
179, 183.

"With regard to the trade to Hindostan, as the Company agree to its being thrown open, and themselves abandoning it, nothing need be said upon that point, excepting in so far as the arrangement for paying a sum equal to the dividends on their stock, out of the revenues of India, is concerned. No part of the £630,000 a year, stipulated as an indemnity for giving it up, is to come from the exchequer of Great Britain; it is to be exclusively levied on the territorial revenues of India. The payment of this annuity is to continue for forty years, at the end of which time it is to be succeeded by the payment to the Company of a debt of £12,000,000, the interest of which was to be defrayed from the revenue of India. The revenue of that country in 1828-9 was £22,000,000, and its debt £40,000,000—little more than two years' income. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the solvency of the Indian government, and the expense of it will be farther reduced by the proposed change of having four presidencies instead of three. It is proposed to put Europeans and natives under the same laws, and subject them to the same punishments; and also to establish a regulation that no native of India shall be prevented from holding offices or employment under government on the grounds either of his color, birth, or religion."⁷¹

So completely did these views coincide with those of both Houses of Parliament, as well as the entire mercantile community of the country, that the bill passed both Houses without a division. Lord Ellenborough in the House of Peers, and Mr. Buckingham in the Commons, merely stigmatized it, without a vote, as a crude and ill-digested piece of legislation, which could be attended with no beneficial results. Experience, however, has now shed a clear and certain light on this subject, and demonstrated that the bill, in its main provisions, was wisely conceived, and that the apprehensions expressed as to its operation were unfounded.* During the fifteen years preceding, the Company's exports of manufactured cottons to India had dwindled almost

to nothing, while those of the private merchants had come to exceed £1,500,000 sterling. The increase of the export of British manufactures to India and China has been so great since the trade was thrown open, that it has in twenty years more than tripled—a change inferring not only a great benefit to the manufacturers of this country, but also a vast increase in the comforts and capability of consumption of the inhabitants of Hindostan. Bishop Heber had observed, and strongly commented on, in his valuable *Travels*, the growing taste for English comforts and manufactures among the natives of India, and the result has proved that his anticipations, from the effects of throwing open the trade, have been fully realized.¹

In one particular, however, a different judgment must be formed; and it is the more important, because it points to the principal danger with which representative institutions are attended. In so far as the people of India were concerned, the injustice committed by this change was obvious and flagrant. Every thing was done to promote the commercial and manufacturing interests of England, but nothing for those of Hindostan. English cotton goods were admitted for a nominal duty into India, and with such effect that it was the boast of our merchants that, with cotton grown on the banks of the Ganges, they could undersell the manufacturers of Hindostan in the supply of their own markets; but there was no corresponding advantage thought of to the industry of India in supplying the markets of this country. The steam-engine was brought, and with terrible effect, into competition with the loom; but no steps were taken to prevent the latter being crushed by the former, or any counteracting advantage being secured for other branches of Indian industry. The great increase of British export to India was an advantage, in one respect, to the natives of Hindostan, as it proved that they were purchasing articles of comfort cheaper than they could raise them at home; but it was a very great evil in another, for these articles were furnished by foreign, not native, industry. The increase of British exports, in this view, is the measure, not of the benefit, but of the evil they have experienced from British conquest; for every bale of cotton goods brought in from Manchester has extinguished one heretofore raised on the banks of the Ganges. Not a whisper, however, was heard on this subject either in Parliament or the country; and the English people, charmed with having opened what seemed a boundless market for their manufactures in the realms of Asia, never bestowed a thought on the check which the extension of their trade must inevitably give to the native industry of these countries—a mark-worthy instance of the chief danger which besets representative institutions, and of the inherent weakness which affects those States where the powers of legislation are vested in one section of the community which is fully represented, and they are there used for its own separate advantage, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented portions of the State.

Important as these questions, which occupied

* PROGRESS OF EAST INDIA AND CHINA EXPORT TRADE FROM 1827 TO 1849.

Years.	India.	China.
1827	3,662,012	610,637
1828	4,256,582	
1829	3,650,238	
1830	3,895,530	
1831	3,377,433	
1832	3,514,779	
1833	3,492,301	
1834	2,378,500	642,552
1835	3,192,692	1,074,708
1836	4,385,829	1,336,868
1837	3,612,975	678,375
1838	3,870,136	1,804,350
1839	4,748,607	851,969
1840	6,023,192	624,198
1841	5,595,000	862,370
1842	5,189,888	969,381
1843	6,404,509	1,450,180
1844	7,095,566	2,305,617
1845	6,708,778	2,394,537
1846	6,434,456	1,791,432
1847	5,470,105	1,503,060
1848	5,077,947	1,445,959
1849	6,808,374	1,587,109

—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 362, 367, edition 1851.

the attention of the first Reformed Parliament in the very commencement of its career, undoubtedly were, they yet ^{75.} *the West India Question*. yielded in magnitude and difficulty to another which now forced itself upon its attention. The *WEST INDIA QUESTION* had now assumed a form, and acquired an importance, which could no longer be overlooked; and it was the more difficult to deal with, that it was not only likely to be attended with the most momentous effects, social and political, both at home and in the colonies, but was of a kind which in the highest degree roused the passions in both parts of the empire. It was hard to say whether the sable Africans, who panted for what to them seemed the inestimable gift of freedom, identified in their minds with immediate cessation from toil, or the sincere British, who longed for the effacing the stain of slavery from our institutions, were most excited on the subject, or longed most passionately for its immediate and unqualified concession. Yet was the subject on all sides beset with difficulties; and so numerous and appalling had they become, that it was difficult to determine whether most peril would be incurred by granting or withholding it, or whether the African race would be most blessed or cursed by gaining or losing the promised boon.

It is historically known, and matter of common notoriety, how the negro race ^{76.} *Sketch of the early settlement of the negroes in the West Indies.* had come to be settled in such great numbers in the West India Islands, and the adjoining Southern States of the American Union. Negro slaves had, for a period of above two hundred years, been imported from the coasts of Africa, and conveyed across the Atlantic to the British colonies in the New World; and so efficacious had their labor proved in clearing the American jungles, and bringing into civilization the rich soil which had accumulated during several thousand years from the vegetable and animal remains of the primeval forests, that the importation of negroes had come to be attended with a very great profit, and the *slave trade* had become an important branch of British commerce. It had been authorized and regulated by several royal proclamations and acts of Parliament, which not only permitted and encouraged the cultivation of the newly-opened plantations by means of slaves, but the two most important commercial cities of western Britain, Liverpool and Glasgow, had mainly risen to wealth and greatness from the profits of this traffic. So great had it become, that nearly 800,000 Africans were, at the close of the war, settled in the British West India Islands, and above 2,500,000 in the adjoining island of Cuba and the American continent.

How revolting soever it may appear to our feelings that so considerable a portion of the human race should have ^{77.} *Necessity gave rise to the vast translocation of the negro race.* been in this manner torn up from their native seats, and subjected to forced labor in a distant hemisphere, nothing is more certain than that it was a step unavoidable in the progress of improvement, and one which, if rightly regulated, afforded the best prospect of effecting the ultimate civilization of the negro race. A very simple reason induced the transportation of the

Africans in such numbers to the shores of Southern America and the West Indies; it was *absolute necessity*. The native Americans were too feeble in constitution, and too inconsiderable in numbers, to effect the clearing of the primeval forests of Virginia and Jamaica; and such as could be seized were fast wearing away under the frightful labor and atrocious severities of the Spanish mines. Experience had even then shown, what time has since abundantly proved, that the European race is incapable of undergoing labor in the field under the rays of a tropical sun, and that, in whatever number they might be sent out, they would perish as fast under the "death-bestedden gales" of the West India Islands. The negro race in Africa alone presented numbers adequate to the magnitude of the undertaking, and constitutions equal to the severity of its toil. Unlike the European, the negro thrives and prospers under the burning rays of a tropical sun, and can without danger undergo continuous labor in the field under its influence; and, strange to say, the oldest inhabitants of the globe, known to authentic history, have been found among the slaves of the West Indies.*

Like all other great movements of the human race, brought about by the irresistible laws of nature acting by physical necessities or moral influence, ^{78.} *Beneficial results which this transference of mankind, however violent in its origin, or kind will ultimately effect.* this vast transportation of mankind, however violent in its origin, or kind will ultimately effect. It promised to effect what all the changes of time, and all the efforts of philanthropy from the beginning of the world, had failed in accomplishing—the ultimate civilization of the African race. The same cause of resistless force which has rendered impossible the cultivation of tropical regions by European hands, has been equally fatal to all attempts at civilizing the tropics by European intellect. The climate of the interior of Africa forbids the entrance of either. Not less destructive than the burning deserts of the Sahara to invading armies, the heat of Central Africa, the poisonous jungles of the Niger and the Congo, were utterly ruinous to European constitutions. The simple Africans, in their primeval forests, like their neighbors the elephant and the rhinoceros, were shielded alike from the invasions and the commerce, the curses and blessings of civilization, by the impenetrable veil which nature had drawn around their habitations. A vast expanse, covering nearly a third of the habitable globe, peopled probably by many millions of mankind, has remained from the earliest times secluded from the rest of the world, unknown, save by a few adventurous travelers, to all ages, and foreign alike to the arts and the arms, the progress and the improvements, of the rest of the species.

But this extraordinary and anomalous position of so large a portion of mankind was not destined to be of ^{79.} *The slave-trade brought the African to civilization.* eternal endurance. A remedy for it was found at length in the vice and selfishness alike of the savage

* One well-known instance is that of an old negro slave in Jamaica, who died at the age of one hundred and eighty years.

and civilized regions of the world. Nature had implanted a barrier between the interior of Africa and the rest of the species, impenetrable to civilized, but not to savage man; it could not be traversed by the European, but it was easy of passage to the negro. The swamps of the Niger were fatal to every attempt to ascend the stream with the arts or the arms of the sons of Japhet; but multitudes of the family of Ham descended its waters in thatched canoes, attracted by their gold. The slave-trade did that which neither the power of conquest, nor the intercourse of commerce, nor the spread of knowledge could effect; they could not bring civilization to the negro, but it brought the negro to civilization. From one hundred to two hundred thousand Africans were, during half a century, torn from their native seats by savage violence, sold by savage cupidity, and transported by Christian avarice through the horrors of the mid-passage to the shores of the New World; but amidst the unutterable miseries of that scene of woe, a great, and in the end beneficial, operation of nature was effected. For the first time in the history of mankind, the Africans were brought into contact with the habits and arts of civilized life; they were made to see its superiority, to desire its enjoyments, sometimes to submit to its labor. They have been now established in such numbers in America and the West Indies as to defy either eradication or removal; they have been permanently located in situations where they are open to all the influences which elsewhere have led to progress and the improvement of the species; and if the negro race is ever to be reclaimed or brought within the pale of civilization in its native seats, it will be from the reflection of a light which was first struck amidst the slavery of the West Indies.

Toward the attainment, however, of these beneficial ends, and the working out of the designs of Providence in this vast forced emigration, one thing was absolutely necessary, and that was, that the negroes should become stationary and fixed laborers on the soil. The transition from a movable to a durable residence is the most important in the gradual relaxation of the bonds of slavery. The condition of the serf is half-way to, and often superior in comfort to, that of the free laborer. This transition was early made in the West Indies, and immense were the benefits with which it had been attended. The pangs of separation from kindred and home were over; the horrors of the middle passage were past; they had become permanently located on fixed estates; they had acquired homes, and all the endearments and enjoyments of domestic existence. Experience had proved that the African race was capable not only of maintaining its own numbers, but of rapidly augmenting on the other side of the Atlantic. Eight hundred thousand negroes in the British West India Islands had already formed the nucleus of a vast sable population in the Gulf of Mexico; and on the adjoining American shores the negro race for long augmented faster than the Anglo-Saxons in the Southern States of the Union.* The designs of Providence were rapidly

approaching their completion; the savage was on a great scale brought in contact with the European, in regions where civilization was accessible, and improvement could be attained.

Toward this blessed consummation, the stoppage of the slave-trade in 1807 by the British Government eminently contributed. In all schemes of human improvement, it is of the last importance that the interests of the agents employed in conducting it should be brought to bear upon the social changes from which amelioration is expected; indeed, unless this is the case, little durable or really beneficial is in general to be expected. But the stoppage of the slave-trade at that period did this in the most eminent degree, for it rendered their preservation and increase essential to their masters' interest. His estates could not be cultivated by any other means. The well-being of the negro was secured by the same motive as the care of his cattle, or mules, or buildings; they were essential to the production of his income. Under the influence of these causes, the African race not only maintained their own numbers in the West India Islands, but they were rapidly advancing in the career of industry, comfort, and usefulness. The West Indies at that period, with a population of 800,000 souls, consumed annually £8,800,000 worth of British manufactures, being nearly £5 a head; a fact which speaks volumes as to their general well-being, and exceeding the average consumption of the British Islands, and one hundred times that of Russia. Many cases of cruelty and oppression, without doubt, occurred where so many unscrupulous masters were invested with despotic power; but, generally speaking, the condition of the negroes was eminently prosperous, and incomparably more so than it had been in their native seats in Africa. Dwelling in cottages which, by a prescriptive usage, had become their own, surrounded by their gardens, their fruits, their children, they exhibited, generally speaking, a spectacle rarely witnessed in this world of care, and to which the eye of the philanthropist might turn with pleasure, even from the brightest scenes of European civilization. Doubtless the character of the master affected in a great degree the prosperity of his subjects, and the cruel or unfeeling had ample means of wreaking their vengeance on a helpless race. But those were the exceptions, not the rule. In the great majority of cases, the negroes on the estates were in such easy and affluent circumstances as would hardly be credible if not supported on undoubted and concurring testimony.

They had generally two days a week, besides Sunday, during which they might work in their gardens or at day's wages on their own account; and general consequence was nature in that benignant climate, and such the reward of industry and good conduct, that indus-

in America are increasing somewhat faster than the blacks, as the following table proves:

From 1790 to 1830, increase of whites, 80 per cent.

From 1790 to 1830, increase of blacks, 113 per cent.

From 1830 to 1840, whites increased 30 per cent.

From 1830 to 1840, blacks increased 25 per cent.

—American Population Returns, 1840; CAREY ON Colonization, p. 37; TOCQUEVILLE'S America, II. 239.

* The scale has now turned the other way; the whites

trious laborers, after having provided themselves and their families better than any peasantry in Europe, could lay by from their earnings *thirty pounds a year*. Their cottages were generally comfortable, often elegant; artificial wants, civilized vanities, were rapidly making progress among them; and the cheering spectacle of 40,000 negroes in Jamaica having worked out or obtained by good conduct their own freedom, and prosecuting with respectability and success the paths of honest industry, warranted the hope that the sable race in the end might become capable of bearing emancipation; and that, by permitting Time to work out the great social change from bondage to freedom with its usual slow pace and unerring wisdom, it might be effected, as it had been in many countries of modern Europe, in so gradual a manner as to render it impossible to say when the one ceased and the other began.

In these circumstances, the course which a wise Government should have pursued, in justice alike to the negroes, the planters, and the empire, was clearly this: I. They should have lowered to a very moderate amount

the existing heavy duty of 24s. a hundred weight on imported sugar, considering the sugar of Jamaica as much a part of domestic produce as the wheat of Essex. II. They should have cautiously introduced such changes as might, in the course of generations, have trained the negroes to the habits requisite for freedom, and enabled them to bear its excitements without danger to themselves and the community. The general establishment or encouragement of marriage, prohibition to separate by sale parent and child, husband and wife, or to sell the slaves away from the estate, are the most important of these means. III. The practice, which by usage had become general, should have been declared by law universal, of allowing them two days in the week to work on their own account, and prohibiting all work for their masters on Sundays. IV. A right should have been declared in the negro to purchase his freedom from his master as soon as he could accumulate the market-value of his labor, which varied in general from £40 to £60. By these means, which are precisely those which the Spaniards had practiced with such success on the main land of South America, and which are gradually changing serfage into freedom in Russia, those only would have been liberated from the restraints of slavery who had afforded a convincing proof that they had acquired those of civilization; full justice would have been done to the planters, by their receiving in every instance the full market-value of the slave; the negro population would have been gradually mingled with a free black race, capable of influencing them by their example, and teaching them by their habits. Thus the vast transition from savage to civilized life would have been accomplished, as it had been in Europe and some parts of Southern America, so gradually as to be at once imperceptible and unattended with danger.

A cause at once simple and irresistible has, in every part of the world, in a certain stage of society, led to the establishment of slavery. It is necessary. Such is the invariable aver-

sion of savage man to continuous and severe labor, that this repugnance has never been overcome in any part of the world but by the introduction and long continuance of the forced labor which forms the essence of slavery. When the easy, but casual and precarious, supply of animal wants by the chase is exhausted, the human race would every where perish or become stationary, if, before the moral chains of artificial wants were thrown round civilized, the physical restrictions of servitude were removed from savage man. As the forced labor of slaves is thus essential, for thousands of years, to the existence and progress of the species, so, in the circumstances in which it is required, it is the greatest possible blessing even to those whom in ignorance we pity for being subjected to its severities. Bad as is often the condition of the slave, it is, in early stages of society, better than the destitution of freedom. To the captive in war it is the price of life, to the humble in peace it is the condition of existence. Food from a master is of value in all stages of society; in the early, before it can be obtained in any other way, it is inappreciable. Slavery is a blessing when it first aims to soften the rigors of war out of the necessities of pristine existence; it becomes a curse when it is continued under circumstances when, from the altered condition of society, it is no longer required.

In justice to the English nation, which forced through, against the wishes of a large portion of the Legislature, the measure of unqualified emancipation at this time, it must be stated that the colonists in the West Indies had, with unpardonable obstinacy, rejected the proposals of gradual amelioration of the negro population which had been made to them by the British Government. In particular, Mr. Canning, in 1823, had urged upon the local Legislature of the West India Islands the adoption of certain measures calculated to effect the *gradual* abolition of slavery, and in the mean time sensibly ameliorate the condition of the slaves. Resolutions in terms of these propositions were unanimously adopted by Parliament.* But they met with a very unfavorable reception in the West Indies. Great alarm was felt there, not so much at what was actually proposed, as at the idea of *interference by the imperial Legislature at all*; a state of things fraught, in their opinion, with great and immediate danger, and likely to excite the negro population to the worst atrocities. Mr. Canning's resolutions, indeed, were at first looked upon as declaratory merely—as words not likely to lead to any practical result. It soon appeared, however, that this was not to be the case. The resolutions of the House of Commons were laid before the King

* The resolutions proposed by Mr. Canning, and adopted by the House of Commons, consisted in abolishing the use of the lash in the field, or its application, under any circumstances, to females; regulating the punishment of refractory slaves; preventing the separation, by sale, of husband, wife, and children; protecting the property of slaves, admitting their evidence in courts of justice, facilitating their manumission, and providing for their religious instruction by a regular ecclesiastical establishment, with two bishops at its head, one presiding over Jamaica, the other over the Leeward Island.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. xi. p. 960, 978.

84.
Necessity of slavery in early times.

85.
Progressive emancipation was rejected by the planters.

May 24, 1823.

in council, and sanctioned by him; and soon after a circular was issued from the Colonial Office, which absolutely prohibited the flogging of women, or the use of the whip in the field.¹

These limitations of the power of the masters do not at first sight appear very serious, and certainly they are not of such a kind as to be repugnant to any humane mind. They were dangerous, however, not from what they enjoined, but from the expectations which they would awaken; and the utmost apprehensions were felt in the colonies that they might lead to a general belief among the negroes that slavery had been really abolished by the British Parliament, and that it was the local Legislatures which were withholding the inestimable boon. This danger, as appeared in the sequel, was far from being imaginary; and it was much increased by the efforts of the missionaries and Baptists, whose prudence and judgment were not equal to their zeal or humanity, and who led the slaves to expect that the day of their final deliverance was at hand.

Angry resolutions, in consequence, were passed by the Legislature in several of the islands, in which resistance was openly threatened, and severance from the mother country spoken of as probable. The well-known weakness of the colonists, however, placed between the might of the mother country on the one hand, and a vast negro population on the verge of insurrection on the other, forbade any such attempt; and the irritation evaporated in angry recriminations and strong resolutions. Riots of a very alarming character, however, took place in several districts, some arising from the indignation of the planters at the missionaries, others from the highly excited feelings of the negroes in consequence of their preachings. Shrewsbury, a missionary in Barbadoes, was a victim to violence of the first kind, and only saved his life by flying from the colony; and the imprudent zeal of another, named Smith, in Demerara, produced an insurrection among the blacks of so threatening a character that martial law was proclaimed in the colony, and continued in force for five months. Under it Smith was brought to trial on a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, concealed their intention to rise, when known to him, and refused to serve in the militia on the ground of his clerical office. At the most he was only guilty of the two last charges: of the first no adequate evidence was adduced. He was found guilty generally, however, by the court-martial, and sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted, most justly, by the home Government into banishment from the colony. Before the communication, however, could reach the colony, Smith was in his grave, having died in prison in consequence of a confinement of five months in an unhealthy situation, and in a pestilential climate.²

These unhappy proceedings, in which imprudent though benevolent zeal on the one side, were met by selfish resistance and judicial iniquity on the other, had the effect of retarding in a most distressing manner, as such

collisions always do, the progress of real and safe improvement in the condition of the negro population. Matters continued for the next eight years in a state of constrained and sullen tranquillity; the masters brooding, on the one hand, over the many real and still more numerous supposed wrongs they had received from the British Government, and the slaves waiting impatiently for the concession of freedom which they still believed had been granted to them by the Imperial Legislature, and was only withheld by those of their own island. Matters, however, were brought to a crisis by the violent collision which took place between the rival parties in the course of the discussion of the Reform Bill. Mr. Brougham, Mr. Buxton, and many other of the Liberal chiefs, aware what a popular topic the instant abolition of slavery was with a sincere and respectable portion of the people, brought it forward as a prominent topic on the hustings; and the former of these carried Yorkshire in consequence of his protestations on the subject. The accession of the Whig Government to power confirmed the hopes which these declamations had awakened, and an imprudent act of Government brought matters to a crisis. In November, 1831, during the height of the Reform fever, Nov. 30, 1831, by which every part of the empire was sufficiently agitated, Orders in Council were issued by Government, which fixed the hours of labor, appointed slave-protectors, and contained various other regulations calculated to prepare the slaves gradually for emancipation. They were to be enforced in the Crown colonies by the authority of Government; in those which had their own Legislature, by fiscal privileges granted to such as conformed to them. These regulations were considered by the slaves as amounting to unconditional freedom, and they became impatient that it was not formally proclaimed. The consequence of this not being done was, that a vast conspiracy was secretly organized among the negroes in Jamaica in the end of 1831, which ere long broke out in an open insurrection, so formidable as to justify entirely the fears expressed by the planters on the subject; and as if the severities of nature were to be added to the calamities induced by man, a dreadful hurricane about the same time devastated the islands of Barbadoes, St.

Vincent, and St. Lucie, and destroyed property to the amount of £1,700,000.¹

The first symptoms of insubordination appeared on December 20, when the negroes on several estates refused to go to their work, alleging that they were free, and not obliged to do so. From this they proceeded to break into houses and take arms, or bring out weapons of their own which they had secreted, and, assembling in large bodies, marched in every direction over the island, inciting the slaves to join them, and burning or destroying every plantation or building which came within their reach. The houses and settlements of free people of color, however humble, shared in the devastation equally with the larger plantations of the European. The unchained African marked, as he had done in St. Domingo in 1789, his first steps toward freedom by murder, conflagration, and every crime at which humanity recoils.

¹ An. Reg. 1833, 370.
² An. Reg. 1833, 370.
³ An. Reg. 1833, 370.

⁴ An. Reg. 1833, 370.
⁵ An. Reg. 1833, 370.

The whole island was illuminated at night by the light of burning edifices; the sky darkened by day with the vast clouds of smoke which issued from the conflagrations. Martial law was proclaimed on the 80th, the militia called out, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, with three hundred regular troops, marched to Montego Bay, the centre of the insurrection. Several engagements took place with the rebels, in which they were routed; but when the insurrection was put down in one quarter, it broke out in another, and it was not finally suppressed till the middle of January, before which property to the amount of above £1,000,000 had been destroyed. A proclamation was wisely issued by the governor, offering a free pardon to such as laid down their arms, excepting the ringleaders, which had a very beneficial effect; and it appeared from the confessions of some of the latter who were shot, that the insurrection had been occasioned by the assurances given to the negroes by the Baptist missionaries that the Orders in Council in November preceding had in reality given them their freedom, and that it was only withheld, 1832, 279, held by the selfish opposition of the local government.¹

This calamitous outbreak excited, as well it might, the utmost alarm among the West India proprietors. The Parliament of Jamaica solemnly protested against the Orders in Council as an unjustifiable, uncalled-for, and perilous interference with private property, and threw upon Government the whole responsibility of carrying them into execution. This example was immediately followed by such of the islands as had local Legislatures; and on behalf of such as had none, a great meeting of West India proprietors was held in London in April, at which a petition was agreed to, praying for an inquiry into the condition of the West India negroes, and what could farther be done to ameliorate their condition consistently with their own interests. So obvious was the danger, so strong the case made out at this meeting, that the prayer of the petition, which was presented by Lord Harewood to the House of Lords on the 17th April, was acceded to by Government, and meanwhile the Order in Council was suspended. At the same time, a grant of £100,000, which had been granted to the sufferers in St. Vincent and the other islands by the hurricane, was extended to £1,000,000, and made to extend to the sufferers under the Jamaica insurrection, where, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the loss by the burning of buildings alone exceeded £800,000.²

But matters had now arrived at such a point under the combined influence of the Universal Reform passion, and the anxiety for instant negro emancipation in the mother country, that rational or prudent measures were no longer practicable. The excitement on this subject throughout the whole country went on at an accelerated rate during the whole autumn and winter subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill; and the pledges exacted from candidates for seats in the first Reformed Parliament were so numerous, that it had become a matter of

certainty, before the discussion came on in the House of Commons, that Government had no alternative but to concede. The recent insurrection and frightful calamities in Jamaica, so far from operating as a warning of the danger of concession, were considered as only an indication of the reverse, because they were regarded as signs of the danger, not of granting emancipation, but of withholding it. A great part of the nation, including a vast majority of the urban constituencies, were seized with a passion on the subject not less strong than that which had carried reform, and more estimable, as being less impelled by selfish ambition, and more springing from humane feelings. In a word, the nation had arrived at one of those phases, so well known and of frequent occurrence in the later history of England, when it runs wild on a particular subject, when reason, experience, and consequences are alike disregarded, and, right or wrong, ruinous or beneficial, the thing demanded must be conceded.

Mr. Stanley, who had been transferred from the secretaryship of Ireland to the office of Colonial Secretary in order to conduct this arduous and delicate question, thus explained the ministerial project on the subject: "The present question involves interests greater, consequences more momentous, results more portentous, than any which ever was submitted to a British or any other Legislature. A commerce giving employment now to 250,000 tons of shipping, a revenue of £5,000,000, and an export of equal amount, is here to be dealt with. But what are these pecuniary interests, great as they are, to the moral and social consequences at stake; the freedom of 800,000 of our own, and many millions of foreign slaves; the emancipation and happiness of generations yet unborn; the ultimate destiny of almost a moiety of the human race, which is wound up with this question? Vast, almost awful, as are the interests involved in this question, and the difficulties with which it is beset, its settlement can no longer be delayed. We have arrived at a point when delay is more perilous than decision. We have only the choice left of doing some good at the least risk of effecting evil. We are called upon to legislate between conflicting parties, one deeply involved by pecuniary interests and by difficulties now present, and every hour increasing; the other, still more deeply interested by their feelings and their opinions, and representing a growing determination on the part of the people of this country at once to put an end to slavery—a determination the more absolute and the less resistible that it is founded in sincere religious feelings, and in a solemn conviction that things wrong in principle can not be expedient in practice. The time is gone by when the question can for a moment be entertained, whether or not the system of slavery can be made perpetual: the only point left for discussion is, the safest, happiest way of effecting its entire abolition.

"Parliament, and the King in Council, have at various times recommended to the colonial Legislatures what in their opinion ought to be, and enforced it on such as were under their direct authority;

91.
Mr. Stanley's argument in favor of negro emancipation. May 14, 1833.

90.
Universal Reform passion, and the anxiety for instant negro emancipation in the mother country, that rational or prudent measures were no longer practicable. The excitement on this subject throughout the whole country went on at an accelerated rate during the whole autumn and winter subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill; and the pledges exacted from candidates for seats in the first Reformed Parliament were so numerous, that it had become a matter of

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Continued.

but, with very few exceptions, these recommendations were nugatory. If ever there was a case which justified the exercise of the paramount authority of Parliament, it is this, when every means of remonstrance and warning has been used in vain. Government, therefore, have resolved to propose a plan which should insure the ultimate extinction of slavery, and manumit not only the future, but even the present generation; while, at the same time, it should prevent the dangers of a too sudden transition. It has not been deemed advisable to fix the expiry of slavery after the lapse of a given number of years, because it was certain that the intermediate period would be one of great excitement and irritation, possibly of insurrection and bloodshed. It was thought safer to place the slave for a limited time in an intermediate state of apprenticeship. He will be bound to enter into a contract with his master, in virtue of which his master, during a limited period, would be bound to furnish him with food and clothing, and such allowances as are now authorized by law, or to give him in lieu thereof a pecuniary compensation. For this consideration he will be required to work for his master three-fourths of his time; leaving it to be settled between them, whether that should be for three-fourths of the week, or three-fourths of each day. The remaining fourth of his time is to be at his own disposal, when he might work for wages to whom he pleased. The power of inflicting corporal punishment is to remain; but it is to be awarded only by the sentence and under the direction of a magistrate. The duration of the apprenticeship is to be for seven years.

“One of the greatest difficulties connected with this subject was the fixing the rate of wages when the negro worked on his own account. Under ordinary circumstances this was settled by, and might be safely left to, competition; but could this be applied to slaves just emerging from a state of servitude? Absolute freedom in that respect would extinguish voluntary labor, extinguish its consequent civilization, and fling back the negro population, with an insurmountable desire to revert to the indolence of savage life. A scale must be fixed; and the difficulty is, to determine how that scale is to be adjusted. The most expedient plan appears to be, to compel the planter to fix a price on the laborer at the time of enacting his apprenticeship; and enacting that the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, if given by the master, that the negro should receive annually one-twelfth of his price. In this way the master and slave will act in reference to each other; and the interest of each will serve as a check upon undue exaction of either.

“This measure, whatever its benefits may be in other respects, must necessarily occasion a certain amount of loss to the West India proprietors, and it is not fitting that upon them should be laid exclusively the losses arising from the destruction of a species of property, into the legality of which it is needless to enter, but which has repeatedly been recognized by act of Parliament. From the returns of West India property made to the Board of Trade, it appears that the net

profit arising from the cultivation of sugar is at present £1,200,000 a year; and making a reasonable addition for the profit arising from the cultivation of rum and coffee, £1,500,000 a year might be taken as the annual amount of West India property. It is proposed to give ten years' purchase of this sum, or £15,000,000, as a loan, to be repaid to the country when the immediate difficulties of emancipation have been in some degree surmounted. In addition to this, it is proposed to establish stipendiary magistrates, appointed by the Crown, for the administration of justice, and to make provision for the moral and religious instruction of the inhabitants. All children born after the passing of the act, or who shall be under six years of age when it becomes law, to be declared free.

“One very important fact seems to be completely established by the returns which have been laid before Parliament, and that is, that in all the islands, with the exception of Barbadoes and Trinidad, while the production of sugar has increased of late years, the population has declined. In Jamaica, on an average of three years, from 1828 to 1826, the annual production of sugar was 1,854,000 cwt.; on an average from 1829 to 1832, 1,889,000. In the first period, the mean population was 884,000; in the last 827,000. In Demerara, the sugar produced in the first period was 669,000 cwt.; in the last, 808,000: the slaves in the first period were 72,722; in the last, 67,000. Here, then, is a broad fact, which proves that under the existing system the severity of their labor, or the other disadvantages of their situation, are pressing even upon the principle of increase, the strongest impulse which can actuate savage as well as civilized man. The amount of punishment inflicted also in some colonies is so excessive as loudly calls for a change of system. Thus in Demerara, in 1839, when the slaves were 61,627, the number of punishments returned to the protectors was 17,859; and in 1831, the population being then 58,000, the punishments were 21,656, and the lashes inflicted 199,500! It is much to be feared that in this immense number and severity of punishments, and the excessive labor to which the slaves have been subjected, is to be found the real cause both of the general increase of production and the diminution in the negro population.

“The objections usually urged and most relied on against immediate emancipation are, that the negroes are averse to continuous labor, and that it is unsafe to manumit them till they are willing voluntarily to submit to it. If this argument proves any thing, it proves too much; for when do men ever show a disposition to labor till population presses upon food? and that will never take place as long as the depopulating influence of slavery continues. We are told that the negroes own no domestic ties, nor will they so long as you retain them in that state of slavery which debases their principles, deprives them of foresight, and takes away from them the motives to industry. The slaves have no education, and you deny them any, for as slaves they can have none. But, in truth, the reproach so often made to negroes that they are averse

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Continued.

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Continued.

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Continued.

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Continued.

to labor, is unfounded in fact. An experiment decisive of this point was lately made in Antigua, where 371 captured negroes were landed and set free. Their industry was remarkable, as well as their avidity to acquire property, and imitate the dress, manners, and speech of the Creoles. Many of the most laborious works in St. John's have been performed by them, and several of them have already amassed so much money as to be able to purchase their houses. In Bahama, the slaves are already more than half manumitted; and in the island of Cuba, which is very highly cultivated, a large quantity of sugar is raised by free labor. The example of St. Domingo, and the cessation of the export of sugar from that island, proves nothing. Such were the horrors it underwent, and the destruction of property which ensued, that it could not be otherwise. Yet sugar is raised and assiduously cultivated in St. Domingo; not, indeed, for exportation, but for their own consumption, by the hands of freemen. In Venezuela, a measure of progressive emancipation has

¹ Parl. Deb. (3d Series), xvii. 1194, 1222; Ann. Reg. 1833, 188, 191.

been adopted since the government of Spain was overthrown; and so far from the emancipated slaves being averse to labor, the only difference is, that the free laborer works with more energy than the slave."¹

So strong was the feeling in Parliament and the country on the necessity of immediately abolishing slavery, that the first resolution proposed by Mr. Stanley, which declared the expedience of taking measures for the immediate emancipation of the slaves

^{97.} Result of the debate, and parties by whom it was opposed.

under such provisions as might combine their interests with those of the proprietors, passed without a division, as did the second, that all children under six years of age, or born after the passing of the act, should be declared free. The third and fourth resolutions, however, which declared the establishment of the system of apprenticeship, and provided £15,000,000 as a loan to the West India proprietors, met with considerable opposition; not, however, as might have been expected, from the West India proprietors, but from the advocates of emancipation. It was strenuously contended by Mr. Buxton, the persevering and consistent friend of the negroes, that any delay in emancipation was unnecessary; that the negroes, if declared free, would at once work with more vigor and efficiency than they had ever done in a state of slavery; and that their taste for luxuries, comforts, and delicacies was fully as strong as that of the whites, and would prove fully as efficacious in stimulating industry. Various isolated exam-

² Ann. Reg. 1833, 195, 196; Parl. Deb. xvii. 1223, 1230.

ples, apparently establishing these assertions in different parts of the West Indies, were given; but on a division, the Government resolution was carried by 324 to 42.²

The real arguments, however, urged against the proposed measure were brought forward at a great meeting of persons interested in the West Indies, held on 27th May. The House of Commons was tongue-tied by their constituents, and did not venture to say what many of them knew to be true. The considerations urged were well summed up in

^{98.} Resolution of the West India proprietors on the other side.

the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to: "That, independently of planters, merchants, and manufacturers obviously and immediately connected with the colonies, there is a numerous class of persons, consisting of widows, orphans, minors, annuitants, and other claimants under wills and settlements, who have no support for themselves or their families, excepting a charge upon colonial property, created on the faith of existing laws, and who must therefore be reduced to beggary by any ill-advised or precipitate measure of emancipation. The scheme of emancipation brought forward by Government provides no security for the lives of our fellow-subjects in the colonies: it proposes to divest the owner of his property without any compensation; it tends to destroy colonial agriculture by entailing heavy additional expense on a cultivation already confessedly depressed; it renders an outlay of capital in the West Indies unprofitable, and thereby puts a stop to the progressive civilization of the negroes in our own colonies, while at the same time it directly encourages the slave-trade and slavery in foreign countries. There is no stronger title to property than that which is derived from positive law; and no other security against spoliation than a confidence that the Government under which they live will respect those rights and interests which have grown up under the laws it has made. The proprietors of negro slaves possess them under the sanction of British laws, which enabled and especially encouraged the people of Great Britain to convey slaves from Africa, and to sell them to their fellow-subjects in the colonies. Looking to the rights thus acquired, the West India proprietors do solemnly protest against any measure which takes away the property of their fellow-subjects without adequate compensation; a measure which, if carried through, will shake the foundations of every species of property, and establish a precedent which may speedily lead to every other species of property being similarly dealt with."¹

It was evident from these resolutions, which embodied all that was said on the subject on the occasion, that the West India proprietors regarded the question of immediate negro emancipation as settled, and directed all their efforts to obtain adequate compensation. How much soever the country might be agitated on the subject, and how violent soever the cry that the West India planters were a body of slave-drivers, who were not entitled to any compensation for the glorious act of emancipating their negroes, Government felt the justice of the appeal, and, much to their credit, they met it in a worthy spirit. The West India proprietors had intimated that £15,000,000, especially if granted in the shape of a loan, would be wholly inadequate as a compensation; but that if it was increased to £20,000,000, and converted into a gift, they would withdraw their opposition. Government agreed to this change, and Mr. Stanley brought forward the proposal for the enlarged sum, as a gift, in the House of Commons. It met with very serious opposition from the emancipation party: some contending that it was a great deal too much, and that £12,000,000 would be amply

¹ Ann. Reg. 1833, 196, 197.

^{99.} Compromise effected by the grant of £20,000,000 to the colonial proprietors.

sufficient; others that it was a scandalous waste of public money to give £20,000,000 to a body of slave-drivers, when the country which paid it was ringing with the cry of distress from side to side. Government influence, however, and the obvious justice of the measure, prevailed: an amendment, moved by Mr. Briscoe, to reduce the compensation to £15,000,000, was rejected by a majority of 304 to 56; and one by Mr. Buxton, that one half of the compensation should not be paid till the period of apprenticeship was passed, and the negroes were put in full possession of their freedom, by 277 to 142. The bill finally passed by a majority of 296 to 77. The compensation then given was on an average, for the whole negroes, who were 800,000 in number, about £22 10s. a head—not half the price of a full-grown negro on an average of the islands, nor a third in some of them, but not altogether inadequate. ¹ *Parl. Deb.* xviii. 306, 359; *Ann. Reg.* 1333, 196, 201. if the number of children, sick, and infirm, is taken into consideration.

To understand how readily the West India body withdrew any serious opposition when the compensation was advanced from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000, and converted into a grant, it must be considered in what circumstances they were placed, and in what embarrassments they had long been involved. These difficulties arose from two causes: the first was the decline in the productive powers of nature in all the islands, when the virgin riches of the soil began to wear out, which was generally the case after twenty-five or thirty years' cultivation. This was universally experienced after a certain time, and it led to two effects, each of which contributed to stimulate production to an undue degree, and increase the embarrassments of those who lived by its sale. The original proprietors, seeing the soil failing, sold their estates, and bought new ones, in which the virgin riches of the soil might be relied on for twenty or thirty years, and instantly commenced extensive plantations; while the purchaser of the old ones, finding the productive powers of these declining, borrowed money on their security, and endeavored, by increased exertions and a liberal expenditure, to restore the production to what it formerly had been. Thus, from one cause—the decline of crops after the riches of the virgin soil were exhausted—a forced and unnatural production, attended with a ruinous reduction of prices, generally took place.

The next was the enormous and crushing duty to which sugar and all West India produce were subjected, and which, when the decline of prices took place after the peace, was in a great part paid by the producer. This tax, when first augmented in 1793, was 30s. a hundred-weight on sugar, which was subsequently reduced to 27s., and in 1830 to 24s., at which it still was. A grosser and more iniquitous instance of fiscal oppression never was heard of; and it illustrates the extreme danger of oppression in a constitutional monarchy to its *unrepresented* dependencies. Most certainly the English would never have consented to a tax of this description, equivalent to one of 50s. the quarter on wheat,

on their *own produce*. But it is a very different thing to tax ourselves, and to tax a defenseless and unrepresented colony subject to our power. This immense tax had come latterly to be chiefly, if not entirely, paid by the producers. The proof of this is decisive. In 1831, the price of sugar, excluding duty, in Great Britain was 28s. 8d. the cwt., while in America, in the same year, it was 36s. The difference was owing to the duty of 24s. a cwt., being to the extent of the difference paid by the producers. They could not raise their prices in proportion to the tax, in consequence of the competition with other sugar-growing states, and the vast increase of production, from the cause just mentioned, in their own. "An absolute sovereign," says Mr. Hume, "being equally elevated above all his subjects, and not more dependent on one class than another, views them all, comparatively speaking, with equal eyes; whereas a free State is ruled by one body of citizens who have obtained the mastery over another, and govern exclusively the distant settlements of the empire, and are constantly actuated by personal jealousy and *patrimonial interests*, in their endeavors to prevent them from obtaining the advantages of equal and uniform legislation."¹

It may appear strange how this enormous and crushing system of taxation on rude produce, which amounted now to £5,000,000 yearly, on estates yielding, according to Lord Althorpe's statement, *only* £1,500,000 *profit on cultivation*, could have come to be imposed under the old Parliament, in which the West India was for a time the strongest of all local interests, and at one time numbered eighty votes among its supporters. But the reason was this, which, when once stated, is perfectly apparent, and explains the whole phenomenon. The burden of the tax was not felt by the producer during the war, when, under an adequate currency, sugar brought from 120s. to 130s. (including duty), and the tax of 30s., then wholly paid by the consumers, still left an ample price to remunerate the labors of the producers. But when, on the return of peace, and contraction of the currency to half its former amount, prices fell to 50s. or 60s. the cwt., the tax of 27s. or 24s. *absorbed half the price received*, and entirely extinguished the profits of cultivation. This, however, did not lead, as those not practically acquainted with the subject naturally supposed it would, to a diminution of production; on the contrary, it led to a great and ruinous increase. The great majority of the planters strove to compensate the diminution of price by *increase of quantity produced*, the clearing of fresh virgin land, and the rigorous exaction of a greater amount of labor from their negroes. This was the true cause of the fact observed by Mr. Stanley, that in all the West India Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes, there had been, for seven years past (ever since the suppression of small notes in Great Britain in 1826), an increase in the production of sugar, and a diminution in the number of the slaves. They were worked beyond their strength, sometimes to death, to compensate the reduction of price consequent on the contraction of the currency. This increase of production again tended still

Reasons that induced the West India proprietors to acquiesce in this arrangement.

100.

Enormous and unjust direct taxes to which West India produce was subjected.

101.

Enormous and unjust direct taxes to which West India produce was subjected.

¹ Hume's Essays, i. 247.

102.

Causes which had rendered the duty bearable during the war.

more to depress prices and annihilate the profits of cultivation; but the West India proprietors, ignorant of the real cause of their difficulties, and clinging to hope, the last refuge of the unfortunate, still went on, as is often the case, striving to obviate depressed prices by enhanced production, and got deeper into the mire from every effort they made to extricate themselves from it.

To a body of landed proprietors thus situated, and nearly all laboring under mortgages, of which they were unable even to pay the interest, the sudden offer of £20,000,000 as a free gift presented irresistible temptations. Though it was not more than a half on an average of the value of the full-grown slaves who were emancipated, nor a fifth of the real amount of the entire property endangered by the changes, which was estimated at £120,000,000, it was an immense relief in the mean time, and at once raised numbers from the depths of despair to affluence and prosperity. Many proprietors, especially of West India mortgages, saw a great fortune suddenly created in their hands, where before there was nothing but embarrassment, and were able to retire from business, and realize the ample sums they received in large estates in this country. Nearly half the entire grant was shared by the merchants of Liverpool and Glasgow: it may be conceived what a godsend this was to men who, from long-continued embarrassment, had become well-nigh desperate as to their affairs. These considerations explain the ready acquiescence of the West India body in the proposal of Government, fraught as it was, as the event proved, with ultimate danger, and tending to postpone, not remove, the causes which were finally to involve them in ruin.

But although these considerations sufficiently explain the ultimate acquiescence of the West India proprietors in the measure of Government, yet is it not the less certain that the measure itself was unwise, premature, and has been attended with the most disastrous results. It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from the parliamentary returns, that the produce of Jamaica, within three years after emancipation took effect, and the apprentice system was introduced (January 1, 1834), had decreased a

third,* and within ten years that of the whole West India Islands had *fallen off a half*. As might be expected, with so prodigious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements—that is, in the means their inhabitants enjoyed of purchasing luxuries and comforts—the exports of British manufactures to them underwent at the same time a similar diminution.† So great did it become, that within less than fifteen years of the period when emancipation took effect, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished a *half*, while those to the slave states of Cuba and Brazil, which had risen on the ruins of their less fortunate neighbors, had largely increased.‡ Perhaps there never was, in the whole history of human affairs, any change against which experience has so unequivocally declared as this, which was introduced with such benevolent intentions and transports of joy in the British Islands.

* AVERAGE PRODUCE OF JAMAICA BEFORE AND AFTER NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

Average Produce for Seven Years, ending	SUGAR.	RUM.	COFFEY.
	Hds.	Punchboms.	lb.
1832	93,156	31,354	89,963,765
1833	78,395	23,215	9,666,000
1834	77,801	20,475	17,725,000
1835	71,017	26,434	10,593,018
1836	61,604	19,938	13,446,638

—*Lords' Report*, 1838, No. 70.

† EXPORT OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES TO THE WEST INDIES, CUBA, AND BRAZIL, FROM 1827 TO 1849.

Years.	West Indies.	Cuba and Foreign West Indies.	Brazil.
	£	£	£
1827	2,569,222	649,378	2,312,109
1828	2,289,704	569,728	3,518,297
1829	3,612,685	672,176	2,516,040
1830	2,898,448	618,089	2,432,103
1831	2,581,949	663,531	1,228,371
1832	2,439,808	653,700	2,144,902
1833	2,507,589	577,226	2,575,680
1834	2,680,014	913,005	2,460,689
1835	2,167,540	787,043	2,636,767
1836	2,766,453	987,123	2,030,532
1837	3,456,745	601,713	1,694,069
1838	3,393,441	1,026,302	2,606,604
1839	3,966,598	601,686	2,650,713
1840	2,674,970	863,520	2,625,853
1841	2,504,004	895,441	2,556,554
1842	2,591,425	711,938	1,776,805
1843	2,828,441	673,797	2,140,133
1844	2,451,477	990,474	2,412,538
1845	2,789,211	1,240,015	2,493,306
1846	3,253,420	644,112	2,749,328
1847	2,102,577	896,504	2,568,804
1848	1,434,477	733,169	2,067,208
1849	1,821,146	1,036,153	2,444,715

—*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, 2d edition, 364, 367.

† TABLE SHOWING THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE EXPORTS OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS FROM 1828 TO 1841.

Years.	Sugar.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cocoa.	Peppercorn.	Shipping.	Ship.
	Cwt.	Gallons.	lb.	lb.	lb.	Tons.	
1828	4,813,636	5,630,174	20,957,078	484,909	2,247,893	272,900	1013
1829	4,156,614	5,807,264	26,911,785	684,217	3,565,694	263,968	958
1830	3,912,626	6,634,759	27,460,421	711,913	3,489,318	253,672	911
1831	4,103,800	6,752,790	20,030,802	1,491,947	4,801,355	249,079	904
1832	3,773,486	7,544,157	24,678,920	618,915	1,366,183	229,117	898
1833	3,646,204	4,713,806	19,008,575	2,124,809	4,470,255	248,378	911
1834	2,243,976	5,112,309	22,081,499	1,280,235	1,389,402	240,695	918
1835	2,524,209	5,458,317	14,854,470	439,637	2,536,358	225,179	878
1836	3,601,791	4,898,168	18,908,228	1,612,304	3,220,978	237,922	900
1837	2,306,775	4,418,349	15,577,888	1,647,145	2,026,129	226,468	855
1838	3,580,676	4,641,310	17,539,655	2,145,617	862,974	235,195	878
1839	2,824,372	4,021,820	11,485,675	950,641	1,071,570	190,715	748
1840	2,214,764	3,780,979	12,797,689	2,374,301	999,068	161,736	697
1841	2,151,217	2,770,161	9,927,689	2,920,266	797,758	174,975	677

—*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, 2d edition, 424, 425.

But disastrous as the results of the change have been to British interests both at home and in the West Indies, they are as nothing to those which have ensued to the negroes themselves, both in their native seats and the Transatlantic colonies. The fatal gift of premature emancipation has proved as pernicious to a race as it always does to an individual: the boy of seventeen sent out into the world has continued a boy, and done as other boys do. The diminution of the agricultural exported produce of the islands to less than a half, proves how much their industry has declined. The reduction of their consumption of British produce and manufactures in a similar proportion tells unequivocally how much their means of comfort and enjoyment have fallen off. Generally speaking, the incipient civilization of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation: with the cessation of forced labor, the habits and tastes which spring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race. The attempts to instruct and civilize them have for the most part proved a failure; the *dolce far niente*, equally dear to the unlettered savage as to the effeminate European, has resumed its sway; and the emancipated Africans, dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state in which their ancestors were when they were torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avarice.¹

But deplorable as these effects have been, they are as nothing compared to the heart-rending results of the change to the unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, and the frightful increase of the slave-trade in its very worst form which has ensued from it. To supply the gap in the production of sugar, which took place in consequence of the diminished supply from the West India Islands, the slave-growing states made the most astonishing efforts, and increased their production to the greatest degree. To effect this increase, a large additional supply of slave labor was indispensable, and it was speedily obtained from the opposite coast of Africa. Stimulated by the great increase in prices which took place in consequence of the diminished production of the British West India Islands, cultivation increased immensely in the slave States; the slave-trade came to be again carried on by British capital, and the rise in the production of slave-grown sugar was even more rapid than the fall in the British Islands. In 1823, Puerto Rico exported only cattle and coffee: in 1838, she exported 83,750 tons of sugar, being more than a sixth of the whole British consumption. The export of Cuba sugar, on an average of three years ending 1816, was 51,000 tons; in 1834 it was 120,000 tons. During the first period the export of Brazil sugar was, on an average, 26,250 tons: in the last year it was 70,970 tons.² The production of coffee declined so rapidly in the British West India plantations, that notwithstanding a reduction of the duty one half per pound in 1825, the ex-

port fell, on an average of five years preceding 1825, from 80,280,000 lb. to 19,812,160 lb. preceding 1836; while the quantity received from Ceylon alone, which in 1825 was only 2,000,000 lb., had risen in 1849 to 85,000,000 lb.*

The effect of this great transfer of production from the British West Indies to foreign plantations is thus described by Mr. Buxton, the able and consistent advocate of negro emancipation: "Twenty years ago, the African Institution reported to the Duke of Wellington that the number of slaves who annually crossed the Atlantic was 70,000. There is evidence before the parliamentary committee to show that about one-third was for the British Islands, and one-third for St. Domingo, so that if the slave-trade of other countries had been stationary, they ought only to have imported 25,000; whereas the number now (1838) landed in Cuba and Brazil alone is 150,000 annually, being more than double the whole draft of Africa, including the countries where it had ceased when the slave-trade controversy began! Twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson commenced their noble career; and each individual of this increased number, in addition to the horrors which were endured in former times, has to suffer from being crammed up in a narrow space, and on board a vessel where accommodation is sacrificed to speed. Painful as this is, it becomes still more distressing if it shall appear that our present system has not failed by mischance, or want of energy, or want of expenditure; but that the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily end in disappointment." Thus the effect of the emancipation of the negroes has been to ruin our own planters, stop the civilization of our own negroes, and double the slave-trade in extent, and quadruple it in horror throughout the globe!¹

We are not to imagine, from this calamitous and melancholy result, that philanthropic measures necessarily terminate in disappointment, and that nothing can be reckoned on as likely to lead to the desired effects but what is based on selfish desires. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives, or directed to philanthropic ends, but because, in the prosecution of these ends, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded. The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of destroyed slavery. In pursuing it, the heated

105.
Rumors of
facts of em-
ancipation to the
negroes.

106.
Great increase
of production
in the foreign
slave States.

1 See in particular Lord Stanley's able and instructive Treatise on the West Indies, 42-70.

2 Porter's Progress of the Nation, 3d edit. 373; Parl. Rep. on West Indies, 266.

107.
Disastrous effect on the foreign slave-trade.

108.
Reflections on this subject.

* In Cuba, the average produce of sugar for four years preceding

1831, was	82,000 tons
1835, "	100,000 "
1839, "	124,000 "
1843, "	130,000 "
1847, "	186,000 "
1851, "	225,000 "

Jamaica produced,	
In 1847	27,000 tons
" 1851	30,000 "

Slaves imported from Africa to Cuba,	
1845	43,500
1850	66,000

—EVANS'S *West Indies, Past and Present*, 219, 247.

enthusiasts forgot altogether the condition precedent requisite to render freedom either practicable or beneficial to mankind—viz., acquired habits of labor. They made the savage free, without his having gained the faculty of self-direction: thence the failure of the whole measure, and the unutterable miseries with which it has been attended. The apprentice system worked so ill that in four years after it was found necessary to abolish it. It came into operation on 1st August, 1834, and was celebrated with universal and touching rejoicings among the negroes over the whole West Indies; but it is not thus that a great law of nature can be set aside. In 1838, after four years' experience of the working of the measure, Government was compelled to abandon it, and venture on the hazardous step of total freedom, which has completed the ruin of the West Indies. Such have been the consequences of seeking prematurely to emancipate man—of forgetting the words of God, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

The remaining parliamentary proceedings of this session were more material, as indicating the strong bent of the public mind toward objects of social amelioration, and the anxious desire of the people to reap the substantial fruits of Reform, than from any important change in our laws or institutions which they effected. The subject of the limitation of the hours of labor in factories, a most important one, and loudly calling for the interposition of the Legislature, was brought before Parliament by LORD ASHLEY, who had long devoted the ardor of a philanthropic mind to the subject; and Ministers were not a little embarrassed how to act on the occasion; for on the one hand the artisans were eager for a change, and on the other, the master manufacturers were not less resolute to oppose it. After a great deal of discussion, Lord Ashley's bill was carried on a second reading by 164 to 141, which sufficiently indicated the sense of the House on the subject. Government, however, opposed the bill, and in committee its provisions were so far altered in favor of the masters, that Lord Ashley abandoned the conduct of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Ultimately the bill was carried in these terms, that the labor of children in factories, under thirteen years of age, should be limited to eight hours a day; that children under nine years of age should be prevented from working at all; that persons under eighteen years of age should never be obliged to work more than sixty-nine hours in the week. Factory inspectors also were appointed, which was a very great improvement, to enforce the due observance of the law; and provision was made for the establishment of a system of education for children in the manufacturing districts. The evidence taken before the committees on which this bill was founded, and the necessity generally felt for the bill itself, revealed a melancholy fact, illustrative of the tendency of advanced civilization, that in its later stages the thirst for gain or intoxicating spirits obliterates the strongest feelings of nature; for the oppress-

¹ Parl. Deb.

xix. 729, 841;

Ans. against whom the Legislature

An. Reg. 1833,

305, 309.

found it necessary to defend the little children were *their own par-*

ents, who sent them out to work before they were equal to its fatigue.

The session was closed on the 29th August by the King in person, who with reason congratulated the House on the important legislative changes which they had introduced, from which he anticipated the greatest advantages; and on the beneficial effects which the additional powers conferred on the executive had had in Ireland. In truth, the country had good cause to be thankful for the proceedings of the first session of the Reformed Parliament, and much reason for gratitude to the Government which had made such a use of the almost unlimited power which was placed in their hands. The changes made had in some respects been great, but they were not of the dangerous kind which had been so much apprehended; and wherever extreme measures—such as vote by ballot, confiscation of the Church property, or the like—had been proposed by Radical members, numbers had given them their decided opposition. The great measure for repressing disorder in Ireland had been attended with the most salutary effects; the revenue was still kept up, notwithstanding urgent attempts to have it ruined by the repeal of unpopular taxes; and all the great institutions of the country remained intact. By pursuing this wise and patriotic course, Government had damaged their popularity, and endangered their political existence; but they had steered the State through a great peril, and deserve the lasting gratitude of their country.¹

The succeeding year opened under brighter auspices, so far as the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country were concerned, although the extremely low prices of agricultural produce still continued a very great degree of distress among the proprietors and occupiers of land. The seasons for two years past had been uncommonly fine, and wheat, on the average of the whole year, was only 39s. 8d. the quarter—lower than it had been since the time of Oliver Cromwell. The effect of this extremely low price, of course, was to produce great embarrassment among all whose income depended on land, for their money obligations, for the most part, were contracted and fixed when prices were double; the present amount of these had undergone no diminution, though their means of defraying them had been halved. But for the very same reason a great degree of prosperity began to be felt among the manufacturing and commercial classes; for the value of their produce had undergone no corresponding diminution, and the low price of provisions had nearly doubled the portion of their income which they could devote to the purchase of comforts and conveniences. Confidence was in a great measure restored by the nation having weathered the Reform tempest, and capital, issuing from its places of concealment, where for some years it had lain hid, began again to animate industry, and spread its vivifying influence around.

At this period, too, the effects of that great change in the currency which had been made in the preceding year began to develop them-

^{110.} Closing of the session, and review of its proceedings.

¹ An. Reg. 1833, 227.

^{111.} Improved state of the commercial interests, and continued depression of land.

112. selves, and, coupled with the fine harvests in England, and the increase in the supplies of the precious metals from South America in consequence of the more pacified state of its provinces, induced the brief prosperity and long-continued disasters which ensued. As Bank of England notes were now declared a legal tender every where except at the Bank of England, they were to all practical purposes an inconvertible paper currency, except in those periods when bad harvests, foreign wars, or any other cause, induced a great drain upon the metallic resources of the country, and brought the notes back in multitudes to be exchanged for gold at the parent establishment. At this time, however, not only was there no such drain, but the very reverse was the case. So fine had the seasons been, and so great the progress of agriculture under the protective system, that the import of wheat had sunk almost to nothing: on an average of five years ending 1836, it was only 360,000 quarters; and in the two last years of the period, it was under 30,000 quarters.* Thus the gold was kept in abundance in the country, and the paper was still more so; for in consequence of the practical inconvertibility of Bank of England notes *during prosperity*, the paper in circulation, including that of country banks, had risen since 1831 nearly three millions.† No combination of circumstances could have been figured more likely to induce present prosperity, or one more certain to be durable, if the currency had been established on a proper foundation. Unhappily, based as it was upon the retention of gold, which, in the nature of things, could not be permanently retained, it stood upon a sandy foundation, and upon that gold being withdrawn numberless calamities ensued.

113. Although, however, these circumstances augured favorably for the future prosperity of the country, and promised a comparatively easy task to the future Ministers of the country, yet they did little toward removing the present difficulties of those now in power, and it was obvious from the opening of the next Parliament, that the question of their removal from office was one of time only. What was very remarkable, and certainly unexpected by themselves or their adherents, though by no means so by their opponents, these difficulties arose chiefly from the extreme parties, to conciliate whom they had made so many sacrifices,

and who had been, during the progress of the Reform contest, among their most ardent supporters. The English Radicals headed by Mr. Hume, and the Irish Catholics led by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, from the very first coalesced against them, and assailed Ministers with such violence, that on one of the first days of the session the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Sheil had to be committed to the Sergeant-at-arms, to prevent a hostile termination to their altercation. The English urban constituencies were so irritated by the resistance of Government to the repeal of the direct taxes affecting themselves, and the Irish Catholics at the passing and success of the Coercion Act, that not only was their support no longer to be relied on, but it had been converted into the most envenomed hostility.¹

To the extreme exasperation of this period must be referred the commencement of the agitation for the REPEAL OF THE UNION, which for ten years afterward distracted the mind, blighted the industry, and ruined the prospects of Ireland. The Roman Catholic leaders, seeing the success of the Coercion Act, and being entirely guided by foreign direction, resolved now to bend their whole energies to bring about the dissolution of the legislative connection between the two countries. They thought, not without reason, that if they could effect this object, now that emancipation had admitted the Catholics into Parliament, and the Reform Bill had opened the boroughs to their influence, they would acquire a majority in a local Legislature, and might thus restore supremacy of the Romish faith in the country, and possibly bring about the establishment of a Hibernian republic, in close connection with France, and constant hostility with Great Britain, and of which they themselves might obtain the direction and share the profits.

The first move in this direction was made by Mr. O'Connell on 18th February, who moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Baron Smith, an able and upright Irish judge, upon the ground that he came late into court, and sat late in the trial of prisoners, and that he had introduced politics into his charges to the grand jury. There can be no doubt that such a proceeding is in the general case greatly to be condemned; but unfortunately, in Ireland, crime and political agitation had become so closely, and indeed inseparably connected, that it was impossible to discourse on the progress of the former without running into the latter. Government, however, had not courage enough to resist the motion, and began then that wretched system of yielding to the demands of the Irish agitators, which, for ten years afterward, so seriously paralyzed the administration of justice and blasted prosperity in that country. So obvious was the weakness exhibited by Government on this occasion, that the House of Commons themselves were ashamed of it; for after having, by a majority of 167 to 74, voted for the going into a committee, they rescinded the vote a few nights after by a vote of 165 to 159. But this very vacillation only increased the confi-

* WHEAT IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1831 TO 1836.

Years.	Quarters.
1831.....	1,401,631
1832.....	325,435
1833.....	82,346
1834.....	64,653
1835.....	26,483
1836.....	24,826

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 140.

† BANK OF ENGLAND AND PRIVATE NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Bank of England.	Country Banks.	Total.
1832	£ 18,485,310	£ 8,221,895	£ 26,707,205
1833	17,531,919	10,152,104	27,684,014
1834	19,195,500	10,153,100	29,347,000
1835	18,085,000	11,184,000	29,244,000

—*Parliamentary Reports*, 1835, p. 734.

dence, and strength of the agitators, by showing that such was the embarrassment into which they had thrown the Government, that they had made them, within one week, contradict themselves.¹

The question as to the repeal of the Union was formally brought forward by Mr. O'Connell on April 23. "There never," he maintained, "was a greater mistake than to say England had any right of dominion over Ireland. She had no right over it by conquest, and still less by inheritance. The year 1614 was the first time when the power of the King of England and Scotland had been recognized in Ireland. Before that, and so early as 1246, the Irish people had made application to have the benefits of the English constitution extended to them; but the application, though made under the sanction of the English king, excited the jealousy of the English barons, and it was unsuccessful. Similar applications were made, with no better result, in the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., and Henry VIII., they having all been defeated by the same jealousy. The anxiety of the people of the country to obtain the protection of British laws was always successfully opposed by the barons, who desired to be permitted to pursue unmolested their schemes of spoliation and robbery of the unhappy natives.

"The union of the two countries, in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., was brought about by the most revolting crimes. The powerful were arrayed against the weak, the father against the son, the illegitimate against legitimate; and thus the command of the country was at length acquired, not by open conquest and fair subjugation, but by a series of the most unmitigated cruelties inflicted by one portion of the community against the other. The history of Ireland, during these disastrous reigns, teems with unparalleled cruelties and crimes. Under James I., in particular, who made it a boast what he had done for Ireland, its history was nothing but one of rapine and duplicity, equaled only by the crimes and wretchedness that disfigured the reign of his immediate successor. During all this disastrous period, however, the right of Ireland to a separate Legislature had never been questioned; and any attempt at an authoritative interference on the part of the Parliament of England had been considered an act of usurpation. The resources of Ireland were thus gradually unfolded, her commerce extended, and her wealth increased. In 1782 she asserted once more the principle of legislative independence, and his Majesty, to repress the ferment, recommended such measures as might allay the prevailing discontents. These measures had a beneficial effect. The industry, wealth, and population of the country rapidly increased, and the improvement in its social condition, between 1782, when the rigor of the English commercial code in regard to Ireland was first relaxed, and 1797, was greater than in any former period of its existence. Such was the auspicious state of things, such the dawn of prosperity to Ireland, when the Rebellion ensued, followed by the Union of 1800, which entailed calamities without number on the sister island.

"The means by which that disastrous Union was effected has now become matter of history. The army was increased in proportion as the necessity for it had diminished, and it was let loose upon the country in such a state of license and insubordination, that Sir Ralph Abercromby, who in 1797 was intrusted with its command, said, in a public proclamation, it was formidable to all except the enemies of its country. Public meetings were at one time suppressed, at another secretly encouraged, in order to furnish a pretext for still further oppression, and a more entire abrogation of the liberties and independence of the country. To intimidation was added bribery and the most unjustifiable abuse of Government influence. All persons suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of the Union were straightway dismissed; the most worthless characters, so as they supported it, were caressed and promoted. To such an extent was actual corruption carried, that Mr. Grattan stated that three millions of money had been squandered in that way, which statement had never been contradicted. Peerages were created without end to purchase votes, and rotten boroughs bought with the public money, for the single purpose of forcing upon an unwilling country the legislative union with another.

"The conditions of the Union bore internal evidence of the utter disregard of all private right or equity which had dictated it. Ireland was charged with 2-17ths of the expenditure of the two countries instead of 1-18th, which was the proportion of its real previous contributions to the public service. The consequence was that Ireland was utterly broken down by the proportion of burdens thus unjustly fixed upon her. Two millions have been added to her taxation in the vain attempt to extract an additional revenue from her impoverished inhabitants, and yet the sum total of its revenue 'has not increased: a decisive proof of the destitute condition of the country. That injustice, great as it was, was even surpassed by what was perpetrated by the proportion in which the united Legislature was divided between the two countries. Looking to the amount of her commerce, revenue, and population, Ireland was entitled to 165 members of Parliament, whereas she got only 108. The legislative oppression which had followed this forced and unnatural Union would exceed belief if not proved by the official records of Parliament. By one act of the British Parliament, power was given to distrain for Irish tithes and church-rate; by another, Ireland was summarily ejected from the whole blessings of the English constitution. By an unbroken succession of insurrection acts, martial law, and coercion bills, there had been in Ireland for twenty years a complete prostration of all constitutional rights.

"As these were the remote consequences of the Treaty of Union, so the more immediate results were not less detrimental to the interests of Ireland. Absenteeism is one of the many evils of Ireland, and it can not be denied that it has been greatly aggravated by the Treaty of Union, which has removed so many of our richest proprietors to the British metropolis, in quest either of business or amusement. Taxation being increased,

¹ Ann. Reg. 1834, 15, 17.

116. Mr. O'Connell's argument for the repeal of the Union. April 23.

118. Continued.

119. Continued.

120. Concluded.

wealth diminished, capital lessened, what remains to induce either rich or poor to remain in their own ill-starred land? It is a mere fallacy to suppose that the commerce of Ireland has prospered since the Union. There has been an apparent increase, but it is apparent only. The export of raw material and the import of manufactured goods by no means proved the existence of a profitable trade. It only proved that manufactures were required because the people had none of their own, and that food was exported because they had no money to buy it at home. In a word, the British Parliament had never been competent to legislate for Ireland. The Union had been effected by a series of the most unparalleled crimes; its financial conditions were unjust; Ireland had been stripped of her constitution, her people deprived of the means of existence, and final separation might ere long be the result of obstinate resistance on the part of England. It is not yet too late, however, though it may soon become so:

1 Part. Deb. xlii. 1092, 1159: Ann. Reg. 1834, 19, 23.

at once satisfy both countries, and re-establish harmony and good understanding between them."

On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr. Spring Rice: "Without reverting to barbarous periods, many of the acts of which, in all countries, can neither be palliated nor excused, it is sufficient to observe, that ever since the conquest of Ireland in 1262 by Henry II., the right of domination has been exercised by the English over Ireland, without dispute and without intermission. Down to 1782 the two countries were governed by separate Legislatures, and the Crown was the only connecting-link between them. But so ill adapted had that system proved for the purposes of civil government, that while England remained in tranquillity and peace, Ireland was on the verge of being plunged into a foreign war with Portugal, and the proceedings of her domestic Legislature were overawed and controlled by a violent assembly out of doors, having no less persons than Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan at its head.

"It is said the Irish Parliament had no power to bind the country by the Treaty of Union. If this were true, Ireland could not be bound by the acts of the British Parliament; and consequently, the seats of the Catholic members, and Mr. O'Connell himself, obtained by the Emancipation Act, were illegal, and they should be ejected from the House of Commons. Before the concession of Catholic Emancipation, it was constantly represented as the strongest argument for that measure that its effect would be to consolidate the Union and render it perpetual, as being founded on the solid basis of equality and justice. Now that it has been obtained, that concession is made the ground for demanding the repeal of that very Act of Union! We are not called upon now to defend the conduct of the English Government toward Ireland prior to the Union, any more than the gentlemen opposite are the wisdom of the Irish Parliament prior to that event. Probably both parties will find much which they would willingly draw a veil over, if they make such an attempt. As little

are we called upon to justify the means by which the Act of Union itself was brought about; although, if the account given by the gentlemen opposite of the ready reception of those measures by the Irish gentry be well founded, it says little for their fitness to discharge the duties of separate legislation. The sole question now is, Whether the Union, having passed, should be maintained? And that question is to be determined, not by a reference to the means by which it was brought about, but by a consideration of the effects it has produced, and a comparison of the state of the country before it was passed, and since that event.

"The absurdity of saying that Government fomented and encouraged rebellion

in Ireland; in order to have a pretext for pursuing measures of severity against that country, is such that it requires no serious refutation. Authentic history disproves, human nature revolts at the supposition. Instead of having, as asserted on the other side, passed only insurrection or coercion acts in regard to Ireland, the Imperial Legislature has been incessantly occupied with legislative measures which might foster and encourage industry in that country, and lessen the evils which the existence of a separate and mutually jealous Legislature for each of the two countries had brought about. The free trade in corn and cattle, which had been introduced in consequence of the Union, was in itself an incalculable benefit. Under the Irish Parliament, Ireland was dependent on England for the importation of corn; now, having secured the vast market of England within a day's sail of her shores, she exports largely both corn and cattle. Her trade has been disencumbered of several vexatious regulations; her banking system improved; her fisheries and mines encouraged; her public credit supported; her Tithe Commutation Bill amended; her courts of law amended; her public charities liberally supported—all public benefits forgotten or concealed on the other side. Education in Ireland, prior to the Union, was prohibited at home, and made penal if received abroad; that was one of the blessings which her domestic Legislature had conferred upon Ireland! Since the Union, a board of education has been established, charities founded, prisons erected, crown lands improved, and large sums of money judiciously distributed in public or private charity. As a natural consequence, trade and navigation have immensely increased, and the general prosperity of the country has augmented to an incredible degree. The rental of houses in Dublin has been augmented to a great degree since the Union, and manufactures formerly unknown are springing up in various parts of the country, the natural consequence of the unrestricted commerce so happily established with the sister island.

"This is not a question of party; it is one of life or death to the whole empire, and especially to Ireland herself. To repeal the Union, and at the same time hope to maintain a profitable commerce with Great Britain, is obviously out of the question. A constitutional monarchy would, in the Emerald Isle, be quickly overthrown, and succeeded by a fierce democracy. The people of Ireland are not prepared for a native Legislature: the

123. Continued.

124. Concluded.

just as certainly as emancipation had bequeathed that which carried the Reform Bill.

And in truth the agitation was by no means hopeless; on the contrary, it had ^{127.} *Circumstances* much greater chances of success than those who lived through the period were at the time aware, or *which gave it a* than had attended the first beginnings of either of the preceding movements. *great chance of success.*

This arose from the state of parties in the British Parliament, which had already become so split into separate sections, so nearly balanced, that a foreign power, keeping its followers together, and watching its opportunity, was very likely to acquire a decisive influence, and be enabled to dictate its own terms to the Government. The House of Commons was very far from, in reality, being as united as it showed itself on the question of the Repeal of the Union: on the contrary, it never had been so thoroughly broken up, nor was Government, recently so powerful, ever so little secure on some subjects of commanding a majority. Success in this, as in other cases, had induced division, because it had brought into play separate interests, and awakened separate ambitions. The vast coalition which, borne forward on the shoulders of the people, had forced reform on the King and the Peers, was already divided from the very magnitude of its own triumph. Each section of which it had been composed deemed the time come for realizing the advantages, real or supposed, to itself, which had brought it into the ranks of the coalition. The Catholics were impatient to see their own faith re-established in Ireland, and the Church lands in that island resumed, as the first step to similar measures being adopted in Great Britain; the Chartists looked for the immediate concession of the six points of the Charter; the urban constituencies for the instant repeal of the house and window tax, and the lowering the duties on corn, tea, sugar, and spirits; the Dissenters were clamorous for the placing them on a level in all respects with the Established Church; while the Government, pressed on all sides by their former supporters, could only command a majority to withstand their multifarious demands by appealing to the known patriotic spirit of the Conservatives, who never failed to come up to the rescue whenever matters had come to that point that a serious inroad on the constitution or the finances could not otherwise be averted. In this divided and distracted state of the House of Commons, the natural consequence of its being the representative of a divided and distracted people, there was considerable probability that the Irish Catholic party, which could command forty votes, might at some critical moment appear with decisive effect on the theatre of action.

The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and they appeared first in that very matter of Ireland where so much unanimity had just been exhibited. The vexed question of the Irish Church was far from having been settled by the conciliatory measures of the last session, and the large reductions made in the number of Irish bishoprics; on the contrary, these concessions only led to fresh demands, and the clamor for still

more sweeping changes. The Cabinet itself, as the event soon showed, was divided upon the question; the majority thinking that it was necessary, in order to appease the Catholics, to yield more to them; the minority, that enough had now been done for the purposes of conciliation, and that on the great question of the appropriation of Church property to *secular purposes* it was necessary to make a stand. The Government, as a whole, would willingly have avoided a question so likely to make shipwreck of its fortunes, and reveal the latent schism in its bosom, and they accordingly brought forward no motion on the subject. But it was no part of the policy of the Catholic party to let it rest; on the contrary, they entertained the most sanguine hopes—and, as the event proved, not without reason—of being able by means of it to split the Cabinet, and avenge the success of the Coercion Bill by the destruction of its authors. Mr. Ward, accordingly, one of the members for St. Alban's, brought forward a motion on the 27th May on the subject, the purport of which was, that vital and extensive changes in the Irish Church had become indispensable, and that "the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced."¹

When Mr. Ward's speech was concluded, Lord Althorpe requested an adjournment of the House, in consequence of circumstances which had recently come to his knowledge. These were, that the divisions in the Cabinet on the question had come to such a point, that a resignation of a considerable portion of it might be looked for if the motion were acceded to by the Government. It was at first attempted to elude the difficulty by agreeing to the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, and report on its situation, and the necessity for Protestant spiritual instruction in the various provinces, and the cost at which it is afforded. The agreeing to such a commission, however, appeared to the minority in the Cabinet to involve the admission of the principle, that if the report were to be in a certain way the motion was to be conceded, and accordingly the dreaded separation took place. Mr. Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies; Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General; and the Earl of Ripon, Lord Privy Seal, tendered their resignations to his Majesty, which were accepted. Mr. Stanley was succeeded in the Colonial Secretaryship by Mr. Spring Rice; Lord Auckland was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Carlisle, Lord Privy Seal; and the Marquis of Conyngham, Postmaster-General. Mr. Poulett Thompson was promoted to be President, instead of Vice-President, of the Board of Trade; Mr. Abercromby, Master of the Mint; Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, Judge-Advocate; and Mr. R. Grant sent to India as Governor of Bombay.²

It is seldom that an Administration long survives so considerable a secession from its ranks as had now taken place. It may get over it at the time, but the latent weakness ere long re-

¹ Parl. Deb. xxiii. 1370, 1399; Ann. Reg. 1834, 37, 41.

² Resignation of Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon.

³ Ann. Reg. 1834, 41, 42, 43; Mart. ii. 118; Parl. Deb. xxiv. 7, 14.

^{128.} Divisions of the Government on the Irish Church question.

veals itself, and induces its fall. So it was in the present instance. Earl Grey's Administration lingered on for a few months after it had lost so considerable and influential a portion of its members, and it was fondly hoped by its adherents that, as the "Canning heaven" had now been expelled, it would be more united and efficient in its action. To strengthen the hands of Government at this crisis, Lord Ebrington, who had so often come up to their support on similar crises, got up an address, signed by a large number of the Lower House, entreating Lord Grey to keep his place, and expressing unshaken confidence in his Government. Lord Grey's answer was valuable as revealing the real weakness of the Government, and the real difficulty in carrying it on, which his own Reform Bill had done so much to augment. "In pursuing," said his lordship, "a course of salutary improvement, I feel it indispensable that we shall be allowed to proceed with deliberation and caution, and, above all, that we should not be urged, by a constant and active pressure from without, to the adoption of any measures the necessity of which had not been fully proved, and which are not regulated by a careful attention to the settled institutions of the country, both in Church and State. On no other principle can this or any other Administration be conducted with advantage or safety."¹

This division in the Cabinet augured ill as to the ultimate success of the measure which had occasioned it, and it soon appeared that a higher personage than any of the Ministers who had resigned participated in their apprehensions on the subject. On the 28th May, being the day kept as the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, the Irish bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Armagh, presented an address, signed by upward of fourteen hundred clerical names, against hasty alterations in the Church. The petitioners professed their readiness to co-operate in the removal of any real abuses that might be found to exist, but trusted that no alteration would be made in the discipline or service of the Church, except with the sanction and by the recommendation of its spiritual guardians. To this address, by the reading of which he was much affected, his Majesty replied: "I am, from the deepest conviction, attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this Church, of which I am the temporal head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving in this land. I can not forget what was the course of events which placed my family on the throne which I now fill. These events were consummated in a Revolution, which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not, as has been sometimes most erroneously stated, for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the preservation of the religion of the country that the settlement of the crown was made which has placed me in the situation which I now fill; and that religion, and the Church of England and Ireland, the prelates of which I see before me, it is my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain. If any of the inferior arrangements of the Church require amendment—which, however, I greatly

doubt—I have no distrust of the prelates now before me to correct such things, and to you I trust will be left to correct, with your authority unimpaired and unshackled. I have completed my sixty-ninth year, and can not expect I shall be very long in this world; and it is under this impression that I now tell you that while the law says I can do no wrong, while there is no earthly power can call me to account, this only makes me the more deeply sensible of the responsibility under which I stand to that Almighty Being before whom we must all one day appear. When that day shall come, you will know whether I am sincere in the declaration which I now make of firm attachment to the Church, and resolution to maintain it. The threats of those who are the enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church to speak out. The words you have heard from me are indeed spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart."¹

These words, evidently unpremeditated, and pronounced by the aged King under deep emotion and with tears in his eyes, made an immense impression on the country. They revealed the state of coercion under which he had long been to the Ministry forced upon him by the House of Commons: the old, all but disrowned King stood face to face with his people. The speech he made was immediately printed, and widely diffused through the country. The impression it made was the greater that it demonstrated a breach on a vital point between the King and his Ministers. It was generally supposed at this time that Earl Grey would have resigned after so great a declared divergence of opinion between him and his Sovereign, for it was well known that he coincided with the majority of the Cabinet in thinking that very considerable changes in the temporalities of the Irish Church had become indispensable. In deference, however, to the declared opinions of the great majority of the House of Commons, he consented to continue in office, and a sort of middle course was submitted to the King, and agreed to by him, which adjourned the difficulty without removing it. A commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish Church, composed entirely of laymen, which was directed to inquire minutely into the circumstances, both spiritual and temporal, of every parish in Ireland, directing its inquiries to Catholics as well as Protestants, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, and charged to ascertain in an especial manner the number of persons of each persuasion in every parish.²

There could be no doubt that the concession of a commission composed of persons appointed by the Cabinet favorable to yielding the vital point in dispute, as to the disposal of Church property to temporal purposes, and directed to inquire into these matters, was a great triumph to the enemies of the Church and the movement party. It was, in fact, a virtual concession of the matter at issue, and proposed to lay the only solid foundation for useful or wise legislation on the subject, by ascertaining in a comparatively au-

130.
Effects of this
secession
upon the Gov-
ernment.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1834, 43.

131.
King's decla-
ration on the
Irish Church.
May 28.

132.
Great effect of
this speech;
Ministers hold
on.

² Parl. Deb.
xlv. 9, 10.

133.
The move-
ment party re-
solve to force
on Mr. Ward's
motion.
June 4.

thetic manner the real facts of the case, which, from the real of the partisans on both sides, had been to a great extent exaggerated or perverted. It was too slow and wise a course of proceeding, however, to meet the views of the movement party, who, relying on their majority in the Lower House, resolved to push forward Mr. Ward's motion, in the hope that they would either concuss the Cabinet into a direct and immediate recognition of the principle for which they contended, or, in the event of refusal, force upon the Crown a Cabinet more to their mind. Ministers did not venture to meet the motion by a direct negative, but merely moved an amendment; and Lord Althorpe and Lord John Russell declared in the course of the debate, that they would agree with Mr. O'Connell if the ground was taken that the "other purposes" to which the Church property was to be applied were to be of a religious character. This was an immense concession to the Catholics, for by watching their opportunity they might hope are long to extort from Ministers an admission that these "other religious purposes" might be the re-establishment of their own faith. The Dissenters also might reasonably hope for the same; and in this state of matters, when so many might hope and so few could feel assured,

1 Parl. Deb. xiv. 9, 60; the amendment of Ministers was Ann. Reg. carried by a majority of 886 to 1834, 47, 57. 120.¹

The real views of Government on this trying question were soon after more distinctly brought out in the House of Peers. On June 6th, Lord Wicklow opened the matter in that House by moving for a copy of the Royal Commission. In the course of the debate, Earl Grey said that he "should not oppose the motion for a copy of the Commission; but he denied that any thing like spoliation of the Church was contemplated. Government anticipated a great alteration, but nothing more. The issuing of the commission was not intended as a step to the seizing of Church property; it had been issued with a view to its regulation, or to a different appropriation of the Church revenues. The rights of the present possessors would be held sacred; but he must maintain that the property of the Church was a subject for the exercise of the discretion of Parliament; and there were few persons who did not think that the state of the Irish Church required the most careful consideration. Sir Robert Peel himself had stated the principles which had actuated Government in issuing the commission, when he said, as he had done on a late occasion in the other House, that 'the time might come when they ought to consider whether or no measures ought not to be devised for appropriating a portion of the Church property of Ireland, not to other objects, but to facilitate the propagation of *divine truth*, which was the great end and aim of the Establishment.' This was an acknowledgment that a different appropriation of revenue from that which now existed might be necessary and beneficial. If a considerable excess of revenue should remain beyond what was required to support the *xxiv. 242, 244*; efficiency of the Church, and the *Ann. Reg. 1834*, other purposes connected with true religion,¹ he avowed the principle

that the State *had a right to deal with that surplus, with a view to its exigencies* and the general interests of the country."

These declarations were in themselves moderate, and when applied, as they were by Earl Grey, solely to the Irish Church, which was well known to be altogether disproportioned to the amount of the inhabitants within its pale, could not be said by any dispassionate person to be unreasonable. But in all political questions, especially when the minds of men are in a state of excitement from external causes, the great point to be considered with measures of change is, not what they in themselves are, but what are they likely to lead to—what expectations will they keep alive—what demands will they generate? This was painfully experienced by the Government at this crisis. The minds of men were in such a state of agitation, from expectation and hope of great ecclesiastical changes on the one side, and conscientious dread of them on the other, that this declaration satisfied neither party, and on the contrary augmented the excitement of both. The Liberal party sounded the alarm in the strongest terms, warning the people in their journals and at public meetings that the affair was only "patched up" to get through the session; that the Irish commission was a mere delusion to evade the immediate concession of the question; that the Cabinet was in the hands of the King, and the King of the Bishops; and that, without a vigorous effort on the part of Reformers, the Ministry would be changed, and the whole fruits of reform lost. On the other hand, the old Tories and the Church party declared that the commission had been merely issued to obtain a pretext for spoliation; that confiscation of Church property to temporal purposes was the object really in view, and not denied by the Prime Minister himself; and that the recent split in the Cabinet proved that these views were so seriously entertained by the majority of its members, that the more conscientious minority were under the necessity of leaving it, even at the hazard of breaking up the Liberal Government.¹

In this excited and divided state of the public mind on every thing connected with Church temporalities or ecclesiastical questions, it was scarcely to be expected that any measure of rational or practical improvement could be carried through the Legislature on such subjects. This, accordingly, was the fate which attended the Tithe Bill, which they had introduced at an early period of the session, and which in itself was founded on such rational principles, that it deserved, and at any other time would probably have received, general support. On the 20th February, Mr. Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary, brought forward the new Government measure on the subject, which was based on the principle which had been so happily introduced into Scotland two hundred years before by the decrees of Charles I. In support of the measure, he stated, that of the grant of £1,000,000 made by the Parliament of last year, £751,000 had been expended in meeting claims obviously good, and £20,000 more would suffice for that

135.

Effect of these declarations on the part of Government.

¹ Spectator, 1834, 506; Mart. ii. 130: Ann. Reg. 1834, 58-61.

136.

Tithe Bill; its progress.

purpose. He added that the tithe was split into such minute portions that it was more vexatious than burdensome; for out of 7005 tithe-payers in one part of the country, *one third paid sums under ninepence each*; and a very large proportion of the defaulters owed debts *under a farthing*. It was not, therefore, the magnitude or oppressive nature of the burden which rendered it the subject of such general clamor and irritation, but the fact of its being, however small, payable to a different Church from that to which the parties owing it belonged. To remedy these evils, he proposed—1. That from 1st November next the payment of tithe should *entirely cease* in Ireland, and in lieu thereof a land-tax should be imposed, payable *to the Crown*, and to be collected by the Commissioners for Woods and Forests. 2. This land-tax to be redeemable at the end of five years by all who had a substantial interest in the estate from which it was payable. 3. The price to be fixed by commissioners, on the principle of the fee-sim-ple of tithes, being four-fifths of that of land in the same part of the country.¹

¹ Parl. Deb.

xxiv. 572, 598.

An. Reg. 1834.

Feb. 20.

Apart from the proposal to make the composition in lieu of tithe payable to the Crown, instead of the incumbent entitled to it, which tended to make the clergy stipendiary merely, as in France, and might give the Exchequer a dangerous hold of this species of property, there can be no doubt that this bill was founded on the true view of the subject, because it went to remove the incessant irritation arising from the collection of tithes by clergy of a different profession of faith from those who paid them. For this very reason, it became from the very first the object of the most impassioned hostility to the extreme parties on both sides. Moderate men and their proposals are always thus assailed during the heat of party conflicts. It was hard to say whether it was attacked with the greater violence by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, the avowed enemies of the Protestant Church, or by Mr. Shaw and Sir Robert Inglis, its resolute supporters. The former assailed it because it did not involve the principle of the extinction of tithes, or at least a transference of two-thirds of them to the Catholic Church: the latter objected to it, because it took Church property altogether out of the hands of the clergy, and rendered them mere stipendiaries, dependent on the Crown. The bill, however, passed the second reading in the Commons by a majority of 167, the numbers being 243 to 76. The bill accordingly went into committee; but its progress there was very slow, and various material modifications were proposed by Ministers in its progress, which gave their opponents a ground for taxing them with inconsistency, without in reality obviating the real objections to it. It is not surprising it was so, for in truth the difference between the two parties was irreconcilable; the one party struggling for a recognition of the principle that Church property was at the disposal of Parliament, and might be "appropriated" to secular purposes, or the support of other creeds than the Protestant; the other contending as strenuously that it was altogether inalienable, and could not be so applied without spoliation as violent as wresting from

private individuals their estates. The bill was slowly dragging its weary way through committee, and had been the subject of repeated June 7. and fierce debates, when matters were brought to a crisis, and its farther progress stopped in this session, by an important event connected with the same subject, which June 20. finally overturned Earl Grey's Administration.¹

1834, 74, 81.

This event arose out of the Irish Coercion Bill. That bill, as already mentioned, had worked wonders in stopping the agrarian crimes in Ireland, and the authorities in that country had not only strongly reported in its favor, but recommended its renewal, with the omission only of the court-martial clause, for another year after its expiry, which took place in August following. On this point the Cabinet were united; but they were divided on another point still more precious to the Irish agitators. This was the renewal of the clause prohibiting political meetings, unless under the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant. This was a vital point for the Catholic leaders, for it struck at the system of agitation by means of vast public meetings, by which they intended to convulse the country, and ultimately hoped to coerce or terrify the Government into a concession of a repeal of the Union. On it, accordingly, there was a serious division in the Government. The Lord Lieutenant deemed the re-enactment of this clause unnecessary and inexpedient; and he was supported in this opinion by Lord Althorpe, Lord Durham, and a minority in the Cabinet—highly important by their talents and consideration. On the other hand, Earl Grey, with the fearless determination of his character, was decidedly of the opposite opinion, and a majority of the Cabinet went with him. In these 138. circumstances, a spark was only 1107; Mr. H. wanting to produce an explosion, 125, 123; An. and that spark was not long of fall- Reg. 1834, 75, ing on the combustible elements.²

² Parl. Deb.

xxiv. 1100.

1107; Mr. H.

125, 123; An.

Reg. 1834, 75,

87.

Trusting to the known opinion of the Lord Lieutenant against the renewal of the political meetings' clause, and anxious to disarm the opposition of Mr. O'Connell on the approaching contest in Wexford, Mr. Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary (now Lord Hatherton), in ignorance of the opinion of the majority of the Cabinet, communicated to Mr. O'Connell, in strict confidence, the secret of the disinclination of the Irish government to renew the political meetings' clause in the proposed renewed Coercion Act. In consequence of this communication, Mr. O'Connell withdrew the Repeal candidate from the Wexford election, and the Government one walked the course. Afterward, when it was too late to restore matters to the state in which they stood before the election, Mr. Lyttleton communicated to Mr. O'Connell the determination of the majority of the Cabinet to renew the Coercion Act *with* the clause against political meetings. The latter was naturally very indignant at this change, and deeming himself, as he said, "tricked out of his election," he conceived himself absolved from his obligation of secrecy, and revealed the whole transaction in Parliament. Mr. Lyttleton com-

139.

Negotiation

of Mr. Lyt-

tleton with

Mr. O'Con-

nell.

plained loudly of the breach of confidence, but his explanation did not differ substantially from that of Mr. O'Connell. The schism in Government was now patent to all the world; and such

¹ Parl. Deb. xiv. 1337, 1341; Ann. Reg. 1834, 103, 107; Mart. ii. 122, 123.

was Lord Grey's agitation in consequence, that his voice was scarcely audible in moving the second reading of the Coercion Bill, with the clause, on 4th July, and his own son-in-law, Earl Durham, opposed him.¹

Next morning Mr. Lyttleton resigned; but, notwithstanding all that had passed between him and Lord Grey, his resignation was not accepted; for so great was the unpopularity of Ministers that they had little hope, on a vacancy, of filling up his place with an able

140.
Resignation of Mr. Lyttleton, Lord Althorpe, and Lord Grey.

man who was sure of a seat in the House. Matters had now come to such a pass that the wound could not be healed by an attempt to skin it over. Two days after, Lord Althorpe resigned; deeming it inconsistent with honor to

June 7. remain in office when, on so important a question as the renewal of the clause against public meetings in Ireland, he differed from the head of the Government. No persuasions, and many were tried, could induce him to remain in office. In fact, he saw that the external popularity of the Administration was so much impaired, and its internal divisions had become so serious, that it could not possibly go on longer. This blow was fatal to the Government. Earl Grey felt that he could not possibly carry on the affairs of the nation after the secession of a colleague so influential and highly esteemed, both in the House and the country, as Lord Althorpe; and he was not sorry of an opportunity of abandoning a task which was every day becoming more irksome and difficult. He also, accordingly, tendered his resignation to the King, July 8, which was accepted, and the Ministry was dissolved. On Wednesday, the 9th July 9. July, Earl Grey made his parting address in the House of Peers, in terms worthy of his own character, and of the solemnity of the occasion. Such was the agitation of the veteran statesman, that he was twice compelled to sit down and pause at the opening of his address.

The Duke of Wellington kindly gained time for him, by presenting a few petitions, and having regained his composure, he addressed the House as follows, in a feeble and tremulous voice:²

"I really feel ashamed of the sort of weakness I have shown upon this occasion. I have recently been honored with an interview with his Majesty, and the personal kindness I have experienced has quite overpowered me. I have, however, a duty to perform, and whatever be my present incapacity, I will to the utmost of my ability discharge it. I address you no longer as a Minister of the Crown, but as an individual member of the Legislature, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing the Coercion Act, in order to invest the Government of Ireland, into whatever hands it may fall, with a power which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of law and order in that country. My opinion on the necessity of that act has never undergone any alteration; and this was so

141.
Earl Grey's parting address as Minister. July 9.

entirely the opinion of my colleagues that I had given instructions to the Attorney General to draw up the bill now on the table. On the 23d June I received a confidential communication from the Lord Lieutenant, which I felt it my duty to lay before my colleagues in office, which had been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious person, of whom I can not speak too highly, as by certain considerations which had been suggested to him by others without my knowledge or privity. The consequence has been that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who conducts the affairs of Government in the other House, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, felt that the ground was swept under him by these disclosures, and that he could no longer retain office. This event has determined me to retire also. Since the commencement of the present session, several of the most powerful members of the Government have separated from it, and my resolution to retire also was then so decidedly taken that I thought nothing could have shaken me from it. This resolution, however, was abandoned in consequence of the urgent representations of my friends that my retirement would break up the Government. But to remain is now impossible. Former breaches have weakened it: this new breach has placed us in a situation when it is impossible to be of any service to the country, for the Government has lost its right arm. In acting as I have done, both on this occasion and in the course of the Administration of which I was the head, I feel that I have acted in conformity with the spirit of the age, neither advancing before nor falling behind it."³

Earl Grey's resignation, however, was an insulated act; it did not, as was at first supposed, lead at the time to Lord Melbourne's entire change of Government. The other Ministers did not resign; and on the contrary, Lord Brougham changes in the declared in the House of Lords next day, "that he should not discharge his duty, if, at all sacrifice of his comfort, at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so might be, of his own peace of mind—he did not stand by that gracious monarch and that country whose support, whose gracious and hearty support, he had received during the three years and a half he had been a member of the Government." And when the laughter which these words excited had subsided, he added, with characteristic naïveté, "Do your lordships think that there is any thing very peculiarly merry or amusing in being Minister at the present time? If they do, I invite them to take a part in the reconstruction of the Government."⁴ Notwithstanding the difficulties which these words so candidly admitted, the other members of the Cabinet did not resign, and a way was discovered of patching up a Government in the mean time—with what success the result in a few months showed. Lord Melbourne was made Prime Minister, Lord Althorpe resumed his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, as without his aid the head of the Administration declared he could not carry on the Government; Lord Duncannon was appointed

² Parl. Deb. xiv. 1323.

³ Parl. Deb. xiv. 250, 259; Ann. Reg. 1834, 117, 119.

⁴ Parl. Deb. xiv. 1323.

to the Home Office, Sir J. C. Hobhouse to the Woods and Forests, with a seat in the Cabinet, and Lord Carlisle, who had become Privy Seal on the retirement of the Earl of Ripon, resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave.

¹ An. Reg. 1834, 123. With these exceptions, the remodeled Cabinet remained the same as it had been before Earl Grey's resignation.¹

But although the Cabinet was thus reconstructed with little apparent difficulty from the old elements, yet in reality an important blow had been struck at the monarchical government, and the first indication of the vital change worked in our institutions by the Reform Bill had been the destruction of its author. Earl Grey had been overthrown and driven from the Government, not by the Conservatives, but by the Catholics; not by Sir R. Peel, but by Mr. O'Connell; not by his opponents, but by his supporters; and that, too, with a House of Commons which had recently divided in his favor by 528 to 88 on the question of the Repeal of the Union! No stronger proof could be figured of the momentous change which had taken place in the frame of the Constitution from the recent organic change, or of the insecurity of the basis on which any Government, even the strongest in appearance, in reality now rested, from the confusion of parties which had taken place from its effects. This immediately appeared when Lord Melbourne had kissed hands as Premier, and the Cabinet was reconstructed. His very first act was to announce the intention of Government to bring in a Coercion Bill *without the clauses against public meetings*, which Mr. O'Connell had objected to, and which had broken up the late Ministry. Lord Brougham supported this change, alleging as a reason that they could no more carry the bill with the former clauses in the House of Commons than they could repeal the Reform Bill. The former bill accordingly was abandoned, and on the next day Lord Althorpe brought in the modified Coercion Bill into the House

of Commons. By the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and High Sheriff to public meetings was only to be necessary in districts previously proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, and the bill, such as it was, was to endure only till August, 1835. The change of course afforded room for ample sarcastic reproaches on the part of the Conservatives against Ministers, for having succumbed to the great agitator, and reopened Ireland to all the consequences of his inflammatory meetings, but it passed the House by a large majority, the numbers being 60 to 25. In the Lords it passed without a division, the Duke of Wellington having merely moved the restoration of the omitted clauses

to give him an opportunity of recording a protest against their omission, which he accordingly did, signed by himself and twenty-one other peers.²

² "6. Because it appears from the papers laid upon the table of this House by his Majesty's Ministers, that the Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 4, wherever it had been carried into execution, had been effectual in preventing agitation, and in a great degree disturbance and outrage, and in bringing to trial those guilty of such offenses; that witnesses had come forward to give their testimony on injuries done to themselves or others; that magistrates and juries had performed their duties; and that the districts of the country where the act had been enforced were be-

The same predominant influence of the Irish agitators appeared in the next great measure which was in progress before Parliament—the settlement of the tithe question. That involved, in like manner, a direct conflict with the Irish agitators, if the clause, styled in common parlance "the Appropriation Clause," which put the surplus of Church property, after providing for religious purposes, at the disposal of Parliament, were omitted, as it was the object of the greatest anxiety and vehement demand on the part of the agitators. On the 29th July the House went into committee on the Tithe Bill, already before the House; and after having been defeated by a large majority in an attempt to throw out the bill altogether, Mr. O'Connell moved, as an amendment, that tithes, instead of being commuted into a rent-charge on land, should be instantly abated 40 per cent. "This," said he, "would be intelligible to the people of Ireland. Every man can understand the difference between twelve shillings and twenty shillings—and if adopted, my opposition shall cease, and the bill may pass in two sittings." This offer proved irresistible to a Government so recently shaken to its centre by this very Irish question. Deeply as the proposed clause trenchoned on the principle of the bill, and obviously as it admitted that of extinguishing Church property for temporal purposes, it was tacitly admitted by the new Government. Mr. O'Connell's amendment was carried, against a very feeble and simulate opposition on their part, by a majority of 82 to 33; and such was the subsequent departure from the original bill, that Mr. Lyttleton moved, amidst much laughter, the omission of seventy clauses "at one fell swoop;" and when the bill at last passed, it consisted only of 111 clauses, instead of 172, the original number. In this mutilated state it was read a third time without a division. But as the weakness of Ministers, in thus submitting to have a foreign bantling forced upon them instead of their own offspring, was now evident to all, and had gone far to discredit them, the House of Peers mustered up courage to throw out the bill entirely, which was done by a majority of 67, the numbers being 189 to 122.¹

To Earl Grey's Administration belongs the

gaining to feel the effects of returning tranquillity, security, and happiness.

"7. Because it is obvious that the bill now under consideration can not prevent agitation in associations in large towns. Yet it is to these associations that the Lord Lieutenant (Wellesley) attributes the system of violence and outrage in effect and cause; and he states that 'he can not separate the one from the other of the unbroken chain of indissoluble connection by any effort of his understanding.'

"8. Because the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has declared it as his opinion that 'agitation (which it is the object of the clauses now omitted to prevent) for the combined object of the destruction of tithes and the repeal of the Union, had in every instance excited and inflamed the disturbances existing in Ireland,' which his Excellency had described as being 'of a disorderly, discontented, and turbulent character, such as 'secret combination, contrived organization, suppression of all evidence of crime, and the ambition of usurping the government, and of ruling society by the authority of the common people, and of superseding the law by the decrees of illegal associations.' That the system of agitation had 'for its inevitable consequence combinations leading to violence and outrage; that they were inseparably causes and effect.'"
Ann. Reg., 1834, p. 146, 147, note.

credit of an important measure, which was only

145. finally matured and passed under their Poor-Law successors, and which at the time excited a much greater interest and anxiety than its subsequent effects would appear to justify.

This was the POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL, which, although not, like all those relating to Ireland, a party measure, yet excited the utmost interest in the country, from the magnitude of the interests involved in, and the persons affected by it, and the immensity of the burden which it was the object of the act to reduce. Numerous abuses had in process of time insensibly ingrafted themselves on the original wise and humane system introduced by the 43d Elizabeth; and they were the more serious, that they had arisen from benevolent feelings on the part of the Legislature, or those intrusted with the administration of the laws, and had come by the people to be regarded as not the least valuable part of their birth-right. In particular, the 36th Geo. III., c. 39, had established the principle that the relief to paupers should be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. However desirable it might be to effect this, if practicable, by legislative enactment, the operation of the act was most serious in practice; for as the poor were undoubtedly more comfortable in their own houses than they could ever be made in public work-houses, the practice became general of ordering the poor out-door relief, and of this being done by magistrates at a distance from the applicant, and often very little acquainted with the real circumstances of each particular case. From this had arisen another evil still more serious, which was the system of *making up wages*, as it was called, which consisted in the justices giving the applicant an order to get his wages made up to a certain amount, in proportion to the number of his family, from the parochial funds, if he could not earn so much by his own labor. Farmers, manufacturers, and all the employers of laborers, were not slow in taking advantage of this system to throw a considerable part of the wages of their workmen, especially during winter, upon the parish; and to such a length did this go, that in many of the counties, especially the agricultural ones in the south of England, nearly half of the entire sums paid annually for the wages of labor had come to be de-

frayed by the parishes, to the effect of entirely swallowing up the whole rental.¹

146. Serious as these evils were, they did not excite any general attention as long as they were partial, or confined chiefly to particular localities. But during the last fifteen years another cause of general influence had come into operation, which had rendered the evils complained of universal, and engendered a general feeling of the necessity of its removal. This was the *contraction of the currency*, the prolific parent of all the social and political changes which have taken place in Great Britain during the last thirty years, and the effects of which are far from being yet exhausted. The burden of the poor-rates between 1810 and 1818 was, on an average, about £6,000,000 a year; and in the last of these years it had attained its maximum amount before or since, hav-

ing reached £7,870,000. Still no great complaints were heard, and no demand for a change arose; for the profits and remuneration of industry were in the same proportion. Wheat was, before 1810, at 88s. But by the alteration in the monetary laws introduced in 1819, this auspicious state of things was immediately changed. By the contraction of the currency by the law of that year, and by the bill of 1826 suppressing small notes, which came into full effect in 1829, prices were so far altered that the remuneration of industry was reduced fully a half. And such was the effect of this cause, coupled with the three fine harvests preceding 1834, that in that year the price of wheat fell to 39s. 8d., and in the next to 39s. 4d., being less than a *half* of what it had been when the change was introduced. Add to this, that from the terror inspired by the Reform agitation, the flames of Nottingham and Bristol, employment of every kind had sensibly declined, and the number of those thrown on the poor-rates by being deprived of bread had greatly increased. The effect of these two concurring causes was such, between the year 1829, when small notes finally disappeared from the circulation and the Reform agitation began, and the spring of 1834, that the burden of the poor-rates in England and Wales, as measured by the number of quarters of wheat required to provide for them (the true measure, since they were paid exclusively by the land), had increased *fourfold* since 1800, and *doubled* since 1811, though the population in the same period had only advanced 45 per cent.* The effect of this vast increase in the burden of the poor, contemporaneous with the reduction in the resources of those who were to pay it, was the same as always occur in the case of a great reduction of wages paid to workmen. Both employers and employed go sharply to work, and look closely into small sums, and numerous grievances are discovered and complained of which had passed unnoticed in previous and more prosperous times.

* The following Table, compiled by Mr. Porter, puts the increasing weight of the poor-rates, from the change in the value of money since 1810, in a clear light:

Years.	Sums expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Average Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Poor-rate in Quarters of Wheat.
1801	4,017,871	8,872,980	115 11	693,234
1803	4,077,891	9,148,314	57 1	1,428,751
1811	6,656,105	10,163,676	92 5	1,440,455
1814	6,294,581	10,775,034	73 1	1,748,740
1815	5,418,846	10,979,437	63 8	1,702,255
1816	5,784,839	11,160,137	76 2	1,503,940
1817	6,910,925	11,349,730	94 0	1,470,409
1818	7,870,801	11,524,389	83 8	1,881,466
1819	7,516,704	11,700,963	73 3	2,080,748
1820	7,330,716	11,893,163	65 10	2,296,913
1821	6,959,249	11,978,875	54 5	2,557,763
1822	6,358,702	12,313,810	43 3	2,940,440
1823	5,772,958	12,506,956	51 9	2,231,034
1824	5,736,898	12,699,098	62 0	1,850,612
1825	5,786,589	12,881,906	66 6	1,740,447
1826	5,928,581	13,056,931	56 11	2,063,865
1827	6,441,088	13,242,019	56 9	2,260,987
1828	6,298,000	13,441,913	60 5	2,064,855
1829	6,332,410	13,680,701	66 3	1,911,671
1830	6,890,843	13,811,467	64 3	2,125,773
1831	6,798,688	13,897,187	66 4	2,049,916
1832	7,036,968	14,185,647	58 8	2,398,966
1833	6,790,799	14,317,239	52 11	2,566,601
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,786,717
1835	5,526,418	14,703,028	44 3	2,502,528
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, p. 90.

147. So great was the clamor raised by these causes, that Earl Grey's Ministry, soon after their accession to office, had appointed a committee to inquire into the operation and present state of the poor-laws; and they had made most extensive inquiries, and brought to light a great number of important facts, particularly illustrative of the extreme inequality of the burden of the poor-rates, not only in different counties, but in different parishes in the same county, and even in those immediately adjoining each other. The report was printed and extensively circulated; and such was the effect it produced, as well as the general sense of the necessity of the case, that Government, though perfectly aware of the difficulties with which the question was beset, and the violent resistance which any proposed change would meet with, resolved to grapple with it, and Lord Ann. Reg. Althorpe brought forward the Poor-1834, 222, 223; Laws Amendment Bill in the House of Commons on the 17th April.¹

On the part of Government it was argued by Lord Althorpe and Mr. Lyttleton: 148. "The necessity of interference arises in support from this, that the poor-laws, as at of the bill. present administered, tend directly to the destruction of all property in the country. Even to the laboring classes, whom they have been intended to benefit, nothing could be more fatal than to allow them to continue in their present course. It was the abuse of the system, however, not the system itself, which was to be condemned. These abuses were scarcely older than the commencement of the present century, when a feeling got abroad that discontent prevailed among the working classes in the country, and the principle was adopted by the 36th Geo. III., that relief to paupers ought to be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. The effect of this law had been to give the magistrates the power to order relief to be given to the poor in their own dwellings, which has introduced an entirely different class—viz., laborers working at *low wages*—into the roll of the paupers; and the effect of this has been, not only greatly to augment the numbers of those who received relief, but to extinguish all feelings of independence in many parts of the country among the laboring poor; and instead of paupers being placed in a state of comfort, all the laboring classes in many districts of the country have been brought into a state of deplorable misery and distress. So great are the dangers of allowing matters to remain as they are, that it has become absolutely necessary to meet the difficulties of the case, to adopt sounder principles, and carry them unflinchingly into execution. In some districts, under the pressure of absolute necessity, parishes have adopted a different and improved system of administration; in others, where the former system prevailed, cultivation has been entirely abandoned; and in consequence the poor have been compelled to resort to the neighboring parishes, which in their turn have become pauperized, and from each of these, as from a centre, pauperism has spread in every direction.

149. "To check these great and growing evils, Government propose to erect a Board Continued. of Commissioners, to whom the gen-

eral administration of the poor-laws is to be intrusted. The Board will be invested with great and extensive powers, heretofore an anomaly in the constitution; but this has been rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the case. A discretionary power must be vested somewhere, either in the Government, the local magistrates, or the Commissioners. The first is objectionable, as being engrossed with the general affairs of the empire; the second, as immersed in the details of their separate localities, and without the sources of information requisite to form a proper opinion on the subject. The Commissioners alone, being exclusively devoted to the subject, and in possession of the whole information regarding it, are in a situation to form correct opinions concerning it. The first thing to be done is to terminate the *allowance system*, as it is called, or the system of making wages, when low, up to a certain level, from the funds of the parish—the source of all other evils, and without the extirpation of which, all attempts to amend the poor-laws will prove nugatory. It is proposed to terminate this ruinous system in the ensuing summer, when the laborers are in full employment. Then the Commissioners are to have power to make rules and regulations as to the mode of relief and the regulation of work-houses, which are to receive the sanction of the Secretary of State before they become obligatory, and which will have the effect of establishing one uniform system of administration over the whole country.

"Power is to be given to the parochial authorities to unite parishes, and form large work-houses for several parishes 150. massed together. The power of ordering out-door relief is to be taken from the justices, so as to subject all applicants for relief to the 'work-house test;' this is only bringing matters back to what they were before 1796. The law of settlement, at present extremely complicated, and the fertile source of litigation between parishes, is to be simplified by making the settlement of every child up to sixteen follow that of the parents, and after that, be determined by the place of birth. The power of removal to the parish of the birth is also to be restricted to the grounds specially set forth in the notice. Lastly, the power given to the mothers of illegitimate children of swearing the child to any man she chooses to select, which at present renders prostitution a source of gain to profligate women, is to be taken away, and the mother rendered liable for the support 151. of her child in the same way as a pauper widow."¹

So strongly were the evils of the existing system felt, that the second reading of the bill did not meet with any serious opposition. Sir Samuel Whalley, Alderman Wood, and Mr. Walter, strongly objected to the bill as a whole, on the ground of its multiplying offices and the patronage of Government *ad infinitum*; vesting the Commissioners with arbitrary powers exceeding those of an Eastern pacha; centralizing power, and depriving the local authorities of all real authority; and offering a premium to immorality and infanticide, by throwing the burden of bastard children exclusively on one of the parties concerned in begetting them,

¹ Parl. Deb. xxii. 874, 888; An. Reg. 1834, 222, 227.

The bill is carried by a great majority.

and that the one often the least in fault, and generally the least capable of maintaining them. There was much to be said on these points, but they went to change the details of the bill, rather than resist its general principles; and after a very short debate, the second reading was carried by an immense majority, the numbers being 819 to 20.*

But although the principle of the bill was thus carried, a more serious opposition arose in committee, when the details of the proposed measure came to be taken into consideration. The great point objected to was the clause throwing the burden of bastards on the mother, to the relief of the father, which was strongly opposed, on the ground both of its injustice and inexpediency. There could be no doubt that the old system of allowing a woman to fix a child upon any man she chose, by simply swearing that he was the father, had led to numberless abuses, and was itself absurd, and contrary to the first principle of justice, because it permitted a party interested to be judge without appeal in her own cause. On the other hand, to lay the burden exclusively on the mother was equally unjust, as it saddled one of the parents, and in general the one least able to bear it, with a burden for which both, as equally implicated in its formation, were obviously responsible. The bill, as originally proposed, passed the Commons by a majority of 187 to 52. So strong, however, was the public feeling on the subject, that a very vigorous opposition to this clause arose in the House of Peers, and at length it was obviated, and the bill passed, on an amendment proposed by the Duke of Wellington, that the mother should still be allowed to give her oath as to who was the father, but that it should not be conclusive unless supported by other evidence. This is evidently the just and reasonable view of this delicate matter, and which had from time immemorial formed part of the common law of Scotland on the subject; another instance among the many which contemporary history affords, that from some unknown cause the remote and poor realm of North Britain had been far ahead of its southern neighbors in wise and salutary legislation, and that nearly the whole real improvements introduced into the laws of England during the last half century have been nothing but transcripts of the old Scottish statutes 271, 277, 1058, one hundred and fifty years before.**

* The last sentence will sound strange to English ears, and in fact the thing itself is so extraordinary that it is almost inexplicable to those best acquainted with Scotland, and most versed in its laws. Ample proof for the incredulous, and they will probably be many, will be found in the Author's essay on the "Old Scottish Parliament," *Essays*, vol. II. If the point should be contested, he will, in a future edition, give such a list of instances where the Scotch law, during the last seventy years, has been imported into England without any acknowledgment, as will bring conviction to the most incredulous. It is impossible to suppose that this early precocity in wise legislation was owing to the superior wisdom or experience of the Scottish nation or Legislature, for the former was rude and barbarous, the latter divided and ignorant. It probably arose from its poverty and inexperience, which, affording the nation no precedents or information of its own whereon to found legislation, led to the introduction, on all points between man and man, of the Roman law, the most stupendous monument of uninspired wisdom

The third reading of the bill was carried without a division, but on the bastardy clause, as it originally stood, the majority was only 11; and the Commons adopted the Lords' amendment without a debate, so that the bill became law. A still more serious opposition arose when it came to be carried into execution, from a regulation of the Commissioners, that when admitted into the work-house, husband should be separated from wife. It was soon, however, found to be utterly impossible to carry into execution the intentions of the Act in regard to refusing relief except in the work-houses; and accordingly, ever since the passing of the act, the paupers receiving out-door relief have been fully seven times those admitted into the public establishments.* This great preponderance of out-door recipients in a great degree alleviated the hardships of the regulation, as of course, when the money was given to the poor in their own houses, no separation of families took place. In the case of old and infirm persons, there can be no doubt that the separation of partners in life, who have "summered it and wintered it together," is one of the most melancholy severances that can be figured. It would seem as if it were intended purposely to foreclose that termination of the journey of life together which the poet has justly described as the best alleviation of declining years.† It may be doubted, however, whether such a regulation is not absolutely unavoidable, especially with young persons, for whom the "work-house test" is more particularly required; and probably the most advisable way to solve the difficulty is to apply it only to persons in early or middle life, and administer relief to those in advanced years in their own houses.

It was confidently expected that this great change would effect a very great reduction in the burden of English poor-rates, and the diminution which appeared in them for some years after the passing of the act seemed in some degree to justify the anticipation. The result, however, after the lapse of

which the annals of mankind had exhibited. It is to the same cause that the ready adoption and universal retention in so many countries of Europe of the Code Napoleon is to be ascribed. That is little more than a transcript of the treatises of Pothier, which are nothing but a digest of the Institutes and Pandects; but they were the result of eight hundred years of thought and experience among the most civilized people upon earth.

* PAUPERS RECEIVING IN-DOOR AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF, FROM 1840 TO 1848.

Years.	In-door Recipients.	Out-door Recipients.	Total.	Of whom able-bodied.
1840	169,232	1,030,297	1,199,529	497,321
1841	197,106	1,106,948	1,299,048	469,114
1842	222,642	1,304,545	1,427,187	411,880
1843	235,560	1,300,830	1,539,496	466,365
1844	250,818	1,346,748	1,477,561	431,464
1845	215,325	1,235,645	1,470,970	430,090
1846	200,276	1,131,819	1,332,099	392,417
1847	265,037	1,456,813	1,721,350	502,336
1848	265,140	1,361,061	1,626,201	666,338

—PORTER, 3d edition, p. 94.

"John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thigither,
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither:
Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we'll gae,
And sleep thigither at the foot,
John Anderson my jo."—BURNS.

a considerable time, has by no means been equally favorable, and the burden, after fifteen years had passed over, became nearly as great, whether measured in money or quarters of wheat, as before the bill passed. The amount levied is still on an average from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000, and the number of persons relieved from 800,000 to 900,000 a year. This is the more remarkable from the consideration that for seven years preceding 1854 the annual emigration from the empire has been on an average 266,000, and in one year had reached 368,000. The effect of this vast exodus upon the labor market must have been very great, but it has by no means produced that decrease in the poor-rates which might reasonably have been expected. The truth would appear to be, that the excessive multiplication of poor is a universal and irremediable evil in the advanced stages of society, springing from the vast accumulation of wealth in one section of it, and of laborers in another, and is one of the means by which Providence, in such circumstances, induces the decline of aged communities, and provides for the dispersion and renovation of mankind.*

Parliament was prorogued by the King in 155. person on the 15th August, and his Majesty congratulated the House in Parliament. warm but not undeserved terms on the legislative achievements of the preceding session. He said: "I have not failed to observe, with the greatest approbation, that you have directed your attention to those domestic questions which more immediately affect the general welfare of the community; and I have had much satisfaction in sanctioning your wise and benevolent intentions, by giving my assent to the act for the better administration of the poor-laws in England and Wales. It will be my duty to provide that the authority vested in commissioners nominated by the Crown be exercised with temperance. To the important subjects of our jurisprudence and municipal corporations, your attention will necessarily be directed next session. The continued increase of the revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of so many taxes, affords the surest proof that the resources of the country are unimpaired, and justifies the expectation that a perseverance in judicious and well-considered measures will still further promote the industry and augment the wealth of my people. It gives me great

satisfaction to believe that, in returning to your several counties, you will find a : *Ann. Reg.* prevalence of general tranquillity, 1834, 330, 331; and of active industry among all *Parl. Debates*, classes of society."¹ *xiv. 1297.*

In one respect, the flattering assurances contained in these words were well 156. founded. The public funded debt Financial in this year amounted only to state of the country. £751,658,000, and the total annual charge on Great Britain and Ireland was £27,782,000; and the unfunded debt was £28,884,000. In 1815 the funded debt was £816,000,000, and the unfunded £42,000,000; and in 1888 it had been only £743,675,000. During the twenty years that had since intervened, therefore, the nation had paid off, notwithstanding the copious bleedings the Sinking Fund had undergone, no less than £73,000,000 of funded, and £12,000,000 of unfunded debt—in all, £85,000,000. These figures deserve to be noted, as marking the lowest point which the public debt had reached since the peace, and the lowest which it has ever since attained. The £20,000,000 borrowed this year to meet the claims of the West India proprietors brought the debt up by that amount; and, subsequently, the disorder of the finances, from the effects of the contraction of the currency, became such, that for a course of years debt was annually contracted, instead of being paid off. In 1847 the debt was £777,000,000. If the Sinking Fund had been kept up to its amount of £15,000,000, which it had reached in 1815, by not repealing the indirect taxes from which it arose, the sum annually paid off would, by the year 1834, have come to exceed £35,000,000, and the debt would have been reduced by £450,000,000. As it was, the Sinking Fund this year amount- ¹ *Finance Ac-* ed only to £1,440,000! Such had counts, as on Jan. 5, 1834; *Parl. Deb.* been the effect of the contraction of the currency, cheapening system, *xiv. p. viii.* and consequent unavoidable reduction of indirect taxation.² *xvii. xix., Appendix.*

But Government had ere long objects of more pressing concern to attend to than 157. the ultimate liquidation of the public debt. Before the session closed, Government, the weakness of Ministers had become apparent; and such was the irritation of the Irish Catholics and English Radicals, that the Reform party, recently so powerful, was in a manner broken up, and it was doubtful whether, on any trying question, the Administration could even command a bare majority. Aware of this, Mr. O'Connell renewed his exertions to promote agitation and confusion in Ireland; and with that view, addressed in autumn a series of letters to Lord Duncannon, in which, not confining himself to Earl Grey, who was now not worth assailing, being out of office, he attacked the whole Whig party as the worst enemies of Ireland, and the authors of the whole calamities under which the country labored. "Never," says he, "was there a more ungenial or hostile Administration in Ireland than that which has subsisted since Earl Grey first obtained office, and still subsists. I am ready to give a detail of the follies, the faults, and the crimes of the Whigs in Ireland. I will not 'set down aught in malice,' but will give a full and unexaggerated detail of the prin-

* POOR-RATES IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1834 TO 1849, MEASURED IN MONEY AND IN QUARTERS OF WHEAT.

Years.	Sum expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Poor-rate in Quarters of Wheat.
	£		s. d.	
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,736,717
1835	5,596,418	14,703,709	44 2	2,502,596
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723
1837	4,044,741	15,105,009	52 6	1,540,853
1838	4,193,604	15,307,363	55 3	1,492,684
1839	4,491,719	15,508,816	60 4	1,275,494
1840	4,576,965	15,710,270	68 6	1,336,340
1841	4,760,929	15,911,757	65 3	1,459,288
1842	4,911,498	16,113,214	64 0	1,534,843
1843	5,208,097	16,314,271	54 4	1,917,065
1844	4,976,093	16,716,128	51 5	1,935,595
1845	5,039,703	16,917,685	49 3	2,050,048
1846	4,954,804	17,119,042	53 2	1,860,733
1847	5,208,787	17,320,042	50 0	1,796,199
1848	6,180,764	17,521,956	64 6	1,916,515
1849	5,792,963	17,723,413	49 1	2,360,460

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, third edition, p. 90.

principal acts of *folly, fatuity, and crime*, committed toward and against the people of Ireland by the Ministry since November, 1830. I

write more in sorrow than in anger, more in regret than in hostility. It is true, you have bitterly deceived me—bitterly and cruelly deceived Ireland. But we should have known you better. You belong to the Whigs, and after four years of the most emaciating experience, we ought indeed to have known that Ireland had nothing to expect from the Whigs but insolent contempt, and malignant but treacherous hostility.”¹

The incitement to agitation thus given by the Apostle of Discontent in Ireland, was not long of bringing forth its appropriate and well-known fruits. Predial outrages, which had so rapidly declined under the operation of the Coercion Act, increased as quickly with the yielding of Government, and in the beginning of winter assumed a most alarming character. Resistance was openly made in many different places to the levying of tithes, by large bodies of men, for the most part armed, which was only overcome by the employment of considerable military forces. On December 18th a body of 600 men assembled at the end of a lane at Rathcormack, which was blocked up with a car which had been overturned, to resist the levying of tithes. The Riot Act was read, the soldiers assailed by volleys of stones, which knocked down several of the men and officers, and the riot was not overcome till they received orders to fire, by which several persons were killed and wounded. So far from repressing, the highest Catholic authorities openly justified these rebellious acts. Dr. M'Hale, an able man, who, since the death of Dr. Doyle, had been elevated to the See of Tuam, in a published letter at this time to the Duke of Wellington thus expressed himself: “All the united authorities, and the Senate, can never annex the conscientious obligations of the law to enactments that are contrary to right reason and justice; and hence the stubborn and unconquerable resistance of the people of Ireland to these odious acts (I will not call them laws), which have even forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise. After paying

the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor, nor agent shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe, or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or any other country.”²

So rapid had been the change in general opinion, in consequence of the resistance of Government to the demands of the English Liberals and Irish Catholics, that the whole London press, lately so unanimous in their support, with the exception of the *Morning Chronicle*, expressed contempt for them. The *Times*, in particular, which had so recently recommended the brickbat and the bludgeon to beat down the Conservatives, and insure the retention of power by the Liberals, now exerted itself to the utmost to expose their

weakness and incapacity, and ridicule, in particular, the erratic eccentricities of the Lord Chancellor, who was on a tour in Scotland, and signalized his arrival at every considerable town by oratorical displays, not altogether consistent, to say the least of them, with the decorum and discretion expected from a person of his station and talents. At Inverness, he assured his admiring audience that he would write to his Majesty that very night to assure him of their loyal sentiments. At Edinburgh, a great banquet was given to Earl Grey, in a pavilion on the Calton Hill, specially erected for the occasion, on the 15th September, at which the divisions of the Cabinet, and especially the schism between Lord Brougham and Lord Durham, were painfully conspicuous. The former earnestly counseled moderation in political expectations, and a slackened pace in the career of reform; the latter “regretted every hour which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses.” These words were received with loud and prolonged cheers: Lord Brougham attempted no explanation at the moment, though he assailed Lord Durham shortly after at a public meeting at Salisbury, who retorted in very strong terms at another at Glasgow.* The schism in the Ministry was evident, and of such a kind as gave pain to those who witnessed it at the Edinburgh banquet.¹

These appearances, and especially the general hostility of the press to the present Government, induced the King to imagine that the time had come when a change of Ministry might with safety be attempted. He mistook the loudly-expressed dissatisfaction of the Reformers at the retarded progress of change for a reaction against reform itself, and he was not sorry of an opportunity of getting rid of a Ministry to whom he had never forgiven the coercion put upon himself on occasion of the passing of the Reform Bill. An opportunity ere long occurred for putting his intentions into effect. The death of Earl Spencer, which took place on November 10, necessarily raised his eldest son, Lord Althorpe, to the Upper House, and it became indispensable to appoint a new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also to be leader of the House of Commons. Lord Melbourne, a few days afterward, waited on the King at Brighton, to take his pleasure on the subject, and suggested Lord John Russell as the person to fill both situations. His Majesty expressed his doubts whether the Government could be carried on as proposed, and stated, it is said, that he had objections to the continuance in office of the Lord Chancellor, and disapproved of the persons ap-

* “He (Lord Brougham) has been pleased to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. He is a practiced orator and a powerful debater; I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance, in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy in an unwilling majority. He knows full well his superiority over me in this respect, and he knows, too, that in any attack he may make upon me in the House of Lords he will be warmly supported by them. With all these advantages, almost overwhelming, I fear him not. I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he is pleased to call my criticisms.”—LORD DURHAM’S Speech at Glasgow; *Spectator* for 1834, p. 1933, 1094.

^{159.} Hostility of the press. Lord Brougham’s journey in Scotland.

² Dr. M’Hale to Duke of Wellington, Dec. 9, 1834; Ann. Reg. 1834, 333, 334.

¹ England’s Seven Administrations, 114. Mart. II. 158, 160; Ann. Reg. 1834, 335.

^{160.} The King dismisses the Ministry, and sends for the Duke of Wellington.

Nov. 10.

pointed to frame the Irish Church Bill. He therefore stated to Lord Melbourne that he would not impose on him the task of completing the existing arrangements, but would apply to the Duke of Wellington on the subject. The same evening a letter to his Grace was dispatched by Lord Melbourne, and on the following day the Duke waited on the King, and advised him to send for Sir R. Peel. As Sir Robert, however, was at the time at Rome, whither he had gone with Lady Peel with the intention of spending the winter in Italy, the Duke offered in the mean time to carry on the Government. The temporary arrangements were soon concluded. On the 21st, Lord Lyndhurst received the Great Seal, and took the oaths as Lord Chancellor, and a messenger was dispatched to Rome for Sir R. Peel. He made the journey in a surprisingly short time, having arrived in Rome on the evening of the 25th November. Sir Robert immediately set out, and reached London on the 9th December, and on the same day he had an audience of the King, and accepted the office of Prime Minister. In the interim the Duke of Wellington had singly discharged the duties of the three secretaries, which led to the good-humored remark, that, as the country was to have a military Government, it was right to begin with a dictator.¹

The fall of Earl Grey, and with him, after a brief interval, of the Reform Administration, is one of the most remarkable events in British history, and, like the parallel one of Necker and the Girondists in French story, strikingly illustrative of the moral laws which, under every variety of climate, circumstance, and national character, influence, and in the end, control, great political movements such as that in which he was engaged. It was no casual event, no unlucky jealousy, which overturned his Administration; it was the inevitable collision of great principles which occasioned his fall. He perished by the work of his own hands. It was the difficulty of coercing a democratic movement, which he himself had had a large share in creating, which was the cause of the ruin of himself, as it had been of so many of his predecessors engaged in a similar career. The quarrel between Mr. Lyttleton and Mr. O'Connell was no casual or personal occurrence; it was the collision between the movement and the Conservative party in Ireland. Lord Brougham's schism with Lord Durham was the collision between the same parties in England. Men could not understand how that which had been encouraged and lauded by Government during the Reform struggle should suddenly become the object of discouragement and prosecution when the objects for which alone they supported the Reform Ministry came to be demanded. This is the usual, it may be said the invariable, fate of the leaders in such organic changes. They are continually advancing before a devouring fire flaming close in their rear. If they advance before it, they *for a time* save themselves, but they destroy their country; if they halt, they destroy themselves, but they may save their country.

On this account Earl Grey and his Administration deserve the very highest credit, and have earned the lasting gratitude of their country, for the patriotic and unselfish use which they

made of power when it was placed in their hands, almost without limitation, by the passing of the Reform Bill. No one can doubt that they might have preserved their immense popularity and prolonged their tenure of office by conceding the principal demands of the agitators. O'Connell and the Romish priesthood would have been entirely satisfied by the confiscation of the Irish Church property or the extinction of tithes in the Emerald Isle; the English Radicals would have been converted into their noisy supporters by the repeal, without any equivalent, of the house and window tax, and of all duties on the importation of grain. When, therefore, instead of yielding to these demands, the Government manfully resisted them, they insured, indeed, their own downfall, but they deprived a great social revolution of its chief dangers, and got over a time the most critical that had ever occurred in English history without farther inroads on the Constitution. Their legislative measures during the next two years, when they enjoyed unlimited power, if we except Negro Emancipation, which was not their own, but forced upon them by the people, were wise and judicious, and have been decisively vindicated in the result by their beneficial consequences to the country.

Earl Grey's conduct on this momentous occasion proves that the great and irreparable change in the Constitution, which was effected by the Reform Bill, was done by its promoters, not in the spirit of revolution, but from want of practical acquaintance with the people with whom they were surrounded. This is the great defect observable in aristocratic leaders when they adventure on measures of social change: we often respect their motives, but we seldom fail to lament their ignorance and want of practical familiarity with affairs. One of the ablest of the Liberal annalists has thus characterized his Administration: "His chief error was an induced incapacity through the evil operation of aristocratic station, uncorrected by timely political labor, and the extensive intercourses which are a privilege attendant upon it. He knew no more of the British people than he did of the Spaniards or Germans. *He did not see the scope of his own Reform Bill*, and could not bear the consequences of his own greatest act, the fruition of the aim of his whole life. When he had himself taken up the House of Lords in his hand, broken its fastenings, and set it down in a lower place, he insisted that it was still where it was before, and 'he would stand by his order' against any who declared to the contrary."¹ Making allowance for some exaggeration incident to the sex and disposition of this able writer, there can be no doubt there is much truth in these observations. But if the great Reform leader erred, and erred grievously, from ignorance of the effect of his own measure, he redeemed his fault by his subsequent conduct, though in so doing he underwent the penalty of his previous transgression. His fate stands forth as a memorable warning to all such as may adventure on a similar career. Earl Grey destroyed the old Constitution of England, and the first victim of the new Constitution was Earl Grey himself.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1834, 335, 336. Mart. ii. 160, 161.

161.
Reflections on Earl Grey's fall.

Great merit of Earl Grey in resisting the movement after the bill was passed.

163.
Review of his administration.

¹ Mart. ii. 125.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TURKEY, GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE EAST, FROM THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE IN 1829, TO THE TREATY OF 15TH MARCH, 1830.

SUCH are the natural strength and incomparable local advantages of Constantinople, that it has, both in ancient and modern times, enabled the empire of which it formed the head to survive the usual causes of decay, which, after the lapse of a few generations, generally prostrate the most powerful Asiatic monarchies. Depending entirely on the vigor and capacity of the chief of the State, and having no lasting support from the intelligence and energy of his subjects save under such direction, they commonly fall into decay when the corruptions of the harem or the luxury of the metropolis have enfeebled the race of monarchs who wield their destinies. The first appearance of this decrepitude is seen in the revolt or independence of the distant provinces of the empire. Escaping the control of a firm and vigilant hand in its centre, the remote dependencies raise the standard of revolt, hoping merely to avoid the burden of a tribute, and gain the sweets of independence. The Byzantine empire in ancient, not less than the Turkish in modern times, have felt, during the reigns of imbecile monarchs, the influence of this cause of ruin, and the dependencies of the empire began to break off long before the power of the centre was exhausted. But the strength of Constantinople, and the vast resources it derived from the immense commerce of which it was, and ever will be, the emporium, has in both long preserved it from the ruin which otherwise would centuries before have overtaken it. The Turks were settled in European Turkey, and Adrianople was their capital, long before the cannon of Mahomet II. made the fatal breach in the walls of Constantinople; and statesmen and philosophers have been for above a century speculating on the approaching fall of the Ottoman Empire, and yet the Crescent still predominates over the Cross on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Although, by the happy audacity of Diebitch, and the ignorance of the European diplomatists at Constantinople of the real state of the army which he had led across the Balkan, Russia made the narrowest possible escape at the conclusion of the late war, and dictated a glorious peace at Adrianople, at the very moment when a disaster rivaling the Moscow retreat awaited her arms,¹ yet was the moral influence of the Osmanlis, and their sway over the various nations which obeyed their rule, not the less weakened by that event. The nations of Asia, equally with those of Europe, were dazzled by what seemed to be so decisive an overthrow; they considered the Muscovites invincible, because during several generations they had never ceased to conquer; and the distant pachas, deeming the ruin of the empire at hand, began to take

measures for their separate safety or aggrandizement. It had long been the policy of the Divan at Constantinople, as it had of the feudal monarchs of Europe, to veil their real weakness under the strength of their vassals, and to purchase the aid of one feudatory in suppressing another by promising him the spoils. It was thus that in the last age the formidable insurrection of Ali Pacha, which for years defied the whole strength of the Sultan, was at length overcome by the forces of Chourchid Pacha, the satrap of Macedonia. But now there appeared on the field a more formidable rebel than had yet tried the Ottoman arms; and the Muscovite shock roused to the dream of independence the most powerful vassal of the Sultan, and one whose forces, as the event proved, the Turks were unable to resist.

EGYPT, at this critical period, was under the direction of MEHMET ALI, one of those remarkable men who often Mehemet Ali: arise on great emergencies, with his character talents capable of determining their and policy. direction. Unlike other Asiatic despots, he was keenly alive to the signs of the times, and not only saw and appreciated the advantages of the European system of government and war, but resolved himself to adopt and profit by it. Too powerful and far removed to be under the actual control of the Government at Constantinople, he had, for many years before the Greek war broke out, enjoyed, practically speaking, an independence on the banks of the Nile. Strongly impressed by the result of the war in Egypt in 1801 between the English and French, of which he had been an eye-witness, with the superiority of European discipline and arms, he had labored assiduously to introduce them into his own territories, and by the aid of several French and English officers, whom he had induced by high rewards to enter his service, he had been eminently successful. Aware of the vital importance of a naval force in all wars in the Levant, he had been indefatigable in his endeavors to establish a respectable marine. His admirals had cautiously avoided disaster, at the expense perhaps of their reputation for courage, in the war with the Greeks; the catastrophe of Navarino had been repaired; and with such success had his efforts been attended, that he now possessed a fleet of seven sail of the line and twelve frigates—a force at least equal to any which the Ottomans could bring against it. Taking warning from the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, he had deepened the entrance to the harbor of Alexandria, so as to enable it to admit ships of the line without unloading their guns, and its arsenals were amply stored with every thing requisite for the equipment of a powerful navy. The superiority of the Egyptian troops and discipline had been fatally experienced by the Greeks in the war of Hellenic

¹ Ante, c. xv. § 146.

independence, and the desultory bands of the Morea had proved unable to withstand their disciplined battalions. It was by their aid that the blood-stained ramparts of Missolonghi had been surmounted, and the Christians reduced to subjection, till the fire of Navarino lighted again the flickering flame of their independence.¹

Imitating not less adroitly the civil system of the Europeans than their military tactics, Mehemet Ali had contrived to establish a government which united the order and regularity of the European to the force and disregard of private right of the Asiatic, and which gives for a brief space, and till its effects have been fully experienced, an amount of resources and a degree of strength which neither, taken separately, could by possibility realize. The strength of the European system of government consists in the vast resources which a regular and just administration permits to grow up in the State, and which on an emergency may be rendered available to its necessities; that of the Asiatic, in the ruthless vigor with which, despite all efforts at resistance, these resources can be extorted from its inhabitants. But a system which combines the order, method, and perseverance of the West with the energy and despotic character of the East, must for the time command an amount of resources capable of rendering it invincible. This is the Russian system of government in Europe, and the British in India, and hence the uniform success which for a very long period has attended the arms of both. The French occupation of Egypt, and their system of administration, carried to such perfection under Kleber and Menou, had not been lost on Mehemet Ali. His career had been facilitated by a slaughter of the Mamelukes, which equalled in perfidy and rivaled in atrocity that of the Strelitzes by Peter the Great, and that of the Janizaries by Sultan Mahmoud; and having thus got quit of the chief of his refractory subjects, he succeeded in establishing a pacific despotism in Egypt, which rendered it for a brief season one of the most powerful states on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The war commenced from a trivial incident 5. hardly adequate to account for a con-
Origin of test fraught in its ultimate results with
the war. such disastrous consequences to the Ottoman Empire. Some thousand fellahs, or peasants of the Delta of Egypt, discontented with the endless and systematic exactions of the Egyptian government, had crossed the deserts which separate Asia and Africa, and sought refuge in the territories of the pacha of Acre, by whom they were received with open arms in the autumn of 1831, as likely to bring a valuable accession of agricultural laborers to that province, which, like all parts of the Ottoman dominions, stood much in need of them. For that very reason, however, they were a serious loss to Mehemet Ali, who could ill spare them, and he therefore sternly demanded their redelivery. This the pacha of Acre, little aware of the magnitude of the force he was going to provoke, refused to accede to, and Mehemet Ali immediately fitted out a powerful army, under the command of his son Ibrahim Pacha, to compel their restitution. In this he had a more im-

portant object in view than the recovery of a few thousand runaway peasants. Experience had before this taught him that Syria would form a most important appendage to his dominions, and was in fact indispensable to the dream of independence which already flitted before his eyes. It abounded in all the productions of which the valley of Egypt was destitute. It was watered by the dew of heaven, instead of being an arid, waterless wilderness fertilized only by the floods of the Nile; it had woods, pastures, and mines of iron and coal; its inhabitants were numerous and warlike, and the transit of the caravans of Mecca through its territory added considerably to its riches. Above all, Mehemet coveted Acre, the key in every age of Syria, and which, from having repelled the arms of Napoleon, had recently acquired an importance much beyond its real value. He gave orders to Ibrahim Pacha to cross the desert and enter Syria with the whole forces at his disposal, which consisted of forty battalions of in-¹ Duc de Ragues, Voy-
ages, ii. 250, ages, ii. 250, and 4000 Bedouins, forming in all 351; An. Hist. xiv. 392, 395.

The physical structure of Asia Minor and Syria is very peculiar, and an acquaintance with it can alone explain the im-^a Physical
portant military and naval events of description
which it ere long became the theatre. of Syria.
Extremely mountainous in almost every part, it is so much so in Syria as to confine military communications to the sea-coast, and consequently render, as in every part of the Levant, the command of the ocean of the very highest importance in operations on land. The great chain of Syria, which under various names traverses its whole extent, follows the coast of the Mediterranean, from which it is never above six or eight leagues distant. So entirely is this the character of the country, that, in approaching it in any part from the westward, the mountains, like the Andes, as seen from the Pacific, appear to rise from the water's edge, and the snows of Lebanon shut in the scene as completely as those of Chimborazo do in the southern hemisphere. This chain rises to its greatest elevation between Acre and Tripoli, in which quarter it is above ten thousand feet in height. It is divided into two distinct ranges, which bear the names of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, both of which run parallel to the Mediterranean, and which are separated by a deep valley, in the bottom of which the Jordan flows. In the lower regions of these vast mountains Nature appears in her most enchanting aspect, and tradition still points to one of the valleys as the scene of the Garden of Eden, the birthplace of the human race. Immense forests of sweet-chestnut and olive clothe the mountain sides; vines, apricots, peaches, and nectarines ripen on every rocky declivity; maize is to be seen in every level hollow; and cool streams flowing from the perennial snows, or fed by the showers which are frequent in the higher regions, diffuse an enchantment which can be appreciated only by those who have toiled under the rays of an Eastern sun. The southern extremity of this range rises to the enormous peak of Mount Cassius, which still, as in ancient days, ^a Ammianus "raises in the air a peaked summit Marcellian, girdled by forests;" and the higher xxii. c. 32.

regions in general are clothed to the edge of the snow with dark bands of larch and pine. It is on one of these lofty plateaus, at an elevation of seven thousand feet above the sea, that the enormous forests of cedar once stood coeval with the first work of creation, which beheld the march of Sesostri's columns, which were old when Troy was young, and from whose massy ¹ Maite Brun. boughts the Temple of Jerusalem was formed.¹ To these relics of a primeval world, even more than the fane which stand in solitary grandeur on the Ausonian plains, the lines of the poet are applicable :

"Mid the deep silence of the pathless wild,
Where kindlier Nature once profusely smiled,
Th' eternal cedars stand ; unknown their age,
Untold their annals in historic page !
All that around them stood, now far away,
Single in ruin, mighty in decay !
Between the mountains and the neighboring main
They claim the empire of the lonely plain.
In solemn beauty through the clear blue light
The leafy columns rear their awful height !
And they are still the same : alike they mock
Th' invader's menace and the tempest's shock :
And ere the world had bowed at Cæsar's throne,
Ere yet proud Rome's all-conquering name was known,
They stood ; and fleeting centuries in vain
Have poured their fury on the enduring fane,
While in the progress of their long decay,
Thrones sink to dust and empires melt away."²

This peculiar conformation of Syria and Asia

Minor, and the immense mass of mountains which every where intersect their inner parts, explain the campaigns which from the earliest times have occurred within their limits. The sea must always be the base of land operations, because it can alone furnish the means of conveyance to supply the contending parties. It was by the aid of their ships that the Greeks at last took Troy : had Hector succeeded in his project of firing their galleys, it had been all over with the host of the King of Men. Alexander the Great did not venture to cross the Lebanon till he had made himself master of Tyre, and he spent seven months before its walls ere he effected its subjugation. The great strife of the Crusaders and Saracens was for the sea-port of Ptolemais ; when it was won, the united hosts of France and England would, had they remained united, have found the march to Jerusalem an easy operation. Napoleon said that, had he taken Acre, he would have changed the face of the world, and that, by defeating him in its assault, Sir Sidney Smith made him miss his destiny. The only way of passing from Asia Minor into Egypt is by the sea-coast road, of which Acre and Jaffa are the keys. When they are won, the career of conquest is open to a powerful invader coming from either side : till they are carried, all progress between the wilderness and the sea is impossible. This narrow strait has been traversed by the armies of Asia and Africa with alternate success from the earliest times. It was through it that the hosts of Sesostri issued to assert the dominion of Africa over Asia, and by the same route that the reffluent tide of Asiatic conquest penetrated to the banks of the Nile and the temples of Memphis. The army of Egypt, which Homer has immortalized in the *Iliad* as coming from the city of the hundred gates to the support of Priam, followed the path which was afterward trod by the

¹ Lines on Pictures. By the Hon. G. HOWARD.

Saracen host which Tasso has sung as hastening to the conflict of Europe and Asia before Jerusalem, and on which Napoleon entered when dreaming of revolutionizing the East. It is not manners and customs alone which remain forever the same in the oriental regions ; nature has imprinted one lasting character, and marked out one only channel for conquest in every age.

IBRAHIM PACHA, who possessed the genius of a great general, and had profoundly studied the strategy of modern Europe, began his operations, as Napoleon had done, with the siege of Acre. Following the footsteps of his great predecessor, by Suez and Jaffa, he threaded the narrow pass between the sea-shore and the rocks of the desert, which are strewn with the skeletons of three thousand years ; and leaving on his left hand the ghastly heaps of bones which still mark the massacre of Jaffa, he sat down before Acre in the middle of December. A fleet of five sail of the line and seven frigates attended his footsteps, and furnished the artillery and stores requisite for the siege. Abdallah Pacha, the pacha of Syria, had thrown himself into the fortress with 2500 men, being wholly unable to face in the field the forces, ten times more numerous, with which he was assailed. The siege, notwithstanding the great superiority of force on the part of the besiegers, made very slow progress ; and the Egyptians who held the trenches during the inclement months of January and February, suffered extremely from the hardship and sickness incident to such a service at such a season. This obdurate defense gave the Turkish government time to collect three armies to raise the siege ; and being at length roused to a full sense of their danger from the progress of their rebellious vassal, they made the most vigorous efforts to effect this object. Before the end of March, Ibrahim received information that a body of 18,000 Turks, advancing from Constantinople, had reached Homs, on the Orontes, the ancient Emesa ; while another army of equal force was moving up from Anatolia, under Hussein Pacha, the far-famed destroyer of the Janizaries ; and a third, of half the amount, under Osman Pacha, had already occupied Tripoli, and barred all farther progress by the great road on the sea-coast. At the same time, a firman was published at Constantinople, declaring Mehemet Ali a rebel and traitor, and offering his pachalic to the faithful pacha who should effect his destruction.¹

Assailed by such formidable antagonists, Ibrahim displayed the decision and conduct of a great general. Imitating the course of Napoleon before Mantua in 1796, and of Suwarroff before Tortosa in 1799, he quickly raised the siege, leaving only a small force sufficient to guard the trenches, and with the bulk of his troops took post at Balbek, in a position central between the converging armies, and at the same time covering from afar the siege of Acre. Finding that the enemy did not approach, he moved forward with his light-horse to attack the force stationed at Tripoli. The Turkish corps withdrew at his approach, and Ibrahim attacked, defeated, and

¹ Due de Raguse, Voyages, li. 351, 352 ; Ann. Hist. xv. 395, 396.

April 7. Skillful operations of Ibrahim, and capture of Acre.

pursued them as far as Kosseir. Halting there, he left a considerable part of his troops to watch the enemy, and returned with the remainder to the siege of Acre, the garrison of which was now reduced to extremities. The siege had been very unskillfully conducted, the Egyptian troops being unused to that species of warfare; and the besiegers had sustained enormous losses from hardship and disease before the walls. Ibrahim, however, by his return infused new vigor into the operations, and a breach having at last been effected, the assault was ordered on

27th May. Such, however, was the vig-
May 27, 1692. or of the defense, that the assailants were

repulsed with great slaughter. Upon this, Ibrahim, with one blow, cut off the head with his own hand of a captain who was flying, and immediately turned a battery charged with grape-shot upon the fugitives. Thus constrained to return to the charge, and being strongly reinforced, the assailants at length made themselves masters of the breach, and entered the town. The walls of Acre, however, on this occasion maintained their ancient and

1 Ragusa, ii. 333, 334; An. deserved fame; the conquerors lost
Hist. xv. 396, 512 killed and 1429 wounded in
397. that single assault.¹

Secured by this important conquest in a base of
10. operations and easy communication with
Battle of his fleet, the Egyptian general proceed-
Homs. ed to commence the important opera-
July 26. tions he meditated in the field. Still retaining a considerable corps in the important strategical position of Balbek, he himself advanced, at the head of 18,000 men, to Kosseir, where 35,000 Turks were assembled. Finding the enemy so strong, he brought up his whole disposable forces, and drew up his troops, now raised to 25,000 men, in three lines, ready for the attack. Instead of remaining in their position, the Turks advanced to meet the Egyptians, and the two armies met in an open plain in front of Homs. The Ottomans were drawn up in two lines, and presented a very formidable appearance, though, to a practiced eye, their unsteadiness in movement was apparent. Ibrahim's order of battle, which was very peculiar, was admirably calculated to take advantage of that deficiency. The first line, which was deployed, consisted of twelve battalions; the second, which was in column, consisted of the like number of battalions; the third also in column of four. The cavalry was stationed on the flanks of the three lines, also in line and column like the foot-soldiers, the artillery in front of the first line. When the two armies approached each other, and the firing began, the four battalions on the right of the second line moved to the right, and deployed, taking a position oblique to the first line on its extreme right. At the same time, the four battalions of the first line nearest to the right moved forward, and came into line with the four come up from the second, forming thus eight battalions on the Turkish left flank; while the battalions thus moved aside were replaced by the like number, who deployed, and advanced up from the second line. The same movement was made by the cavalry on the right in both lines, while that on the left moved forward and threatened the Turkish right, to prevent their sending succors to their left, where the real attack was to be made: at the same

time, the artillery kept up an incessant fire along the whole front. The effect of these movements was to compel the Turks to throw back their left wing, to avoid being outflanked; but this operation, performed by unsteady troops under fire, soon led to general confusion. Attacked vigorously in front and flank while executing their retrograde movement, they speedily fell into confusion, and fled, leaving 2000
1 Ragusa, ii. slain on the field, and 3000 pris- 356, 358; An. oners, with twelve guns, in the 397, 398. hands of the victors.¹

So completely was this victory the result of the superior generalship and discipline on the part of the Egyptians, 11. that they sustained very little loss. The Egyp- tians enter
Next day they were in a condition to July 8. pursue their advantages, and entered

Homs, which the Ottomans evacuated at their approach, leaving 1500 men, chiefly wounded, and twelve more guns, in the hands of the victors. The Turkish army upon this retired to Aleppo, and formed a junction with the corps commanded by Hussein Pacha. The united force attempted a stand in front of that city, but it was a show only. No sooner had Ibrahim brought up his reserve than they retired in two columns—that on the right by Kliss, and that on the left by Antioch; while the Egyptian army took possession of Aleppo, where they found repose, and the stores and provisions necessary to recruit them after their fatigues, but 2 Ragusa, ii. unfortunately with them the chol- 358, 359; An. era, which soon made alarming rav- Hist. xv. 359, 360. ages in their wearied ranks.²

When his soldiers had in some degree recovered from their fatigue, Ibrahim again 12. took the field, and moved against the Battle of Turkish army, which was by this time Beylan. concentrated in the neighborhood of July 29. BEYLAU, while detachments of light-troops were sent out, some toward the sources of the Euphrates, some toward Antioch, in order to ascertain what forces of the enemy were to be found in that direction. The Turkish forces, however, 36,000 strong, were concentrated in front of Beylan, on the southern slope of one of the branches of the Taurus, and covered in front by rude intrenchments, hastily thrown up, after the Ottoman fashion. Behind them the heights rose rapidly, and as they were not occupied by the Ottoman forces, the Egyptian general ordered a select corps, by a detour, to gain the eminence, so as to threaten the rear of the Turkish force. As soon as their standards were seen crowning the heights, the signal to attack was given. Finding themselves attacked in front and menaced in rear, the Osmanlis made scarcely any resistance, but instantly began to retreat, those on the right by the road to Beylan, those on the left by the mountains. The first having to retire under the fire of four Egyptian battalions, posted on heights which commanded the road, suffered severely, and ere long fell into confusion, the troops disbanding, and seeking safety in isolated flight. The last, having no road to retire by, were in disorder from the first, and fled in utter confusion over the mountains toward Alexandretta, leaving behind them 25 pieces of cannon and 74 caissons. The Turks next day abandoned Alexandretta in utter confusion, abandoning 14 more pieces of

cannon, and immense magazines of ammunition and provisions; and, notwithstanding the rapidity of their flight, the Egyptian light-horse brought in 1900 prisoners. This battle was fought close to the spot where Alexander encountered and defeated the army of Darius on

the Issus: so uniformly does the conformation of the country in Asia Minor bring contending armies into the same field of conflict.¹

By these successive victories Ibrahim had gained the command of the whole sea-coast of Syria, from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus: Acre, Tripoli, and Aleppo had successively fallen into his hands; he had taken eighty pieces of cannon, killed or

made prisoners 13,000 men, dispersed two armies, and driven the remains of them into the defiles of the Taurus. These great successes at length roused the Divan from their apathy, and made them sensible of the necessity of making a vigorous effort to avert the approaching dismemberment of their empire. The command-in-chief was taken from Hussein Pacha and given to the Grand Vizier, Redeschid Pacha, already celebrated by his victories in Albania and Bosnia, and the subjugation of the rebels in those provinces. His character was noble and lofty, and he possessed all the personal and mental qualities which in all armies, but especially the oriental, are so important an element in success. A fresh army of above

50,000 men, for the most part regular soldiers, with a numerous artillery, was intrusted to his orders.²

Informed of the approach of such formidable forces, the Egyptian army was concentrated at Adana, still, however, holding Aleppo, and keeping up the communication by sea with Egypt, while six battalions, with a corps of irregular cavalry, took post at Orfah, in order to secure the pass by the Diarbekir, over Mount Taurus, to Sivaz and Erzeroum. There it remained, recovering from its fatigues, and receiving reinforcements, till the 13th October, when

it moved forward in two columns toward the passes of the Taurus. The main body marched on Nimroud, in the front of the Turkish position, while the irregular troops were moved on Tchekau, to turn the position. These movements had the effect of compelling the Ottomans to abandon their ground in the mountains, and the Egyptian van-guard took possession of Erekli, without opposition, on the 22d October. The troops remained there, being excessively fatigued, till the 11th November, when, being provided with bread for six days, they moved direct upon Koniéh, where the Turkish army was concentrated; while a body of irregulars, by a circuit through the mountains, threatened to gain their rear by the route of Karaman. This march was made by Ibrahim with every precaution, and he was prepared, at a moment's warning, to form order of battle. The troops moved in five columns. The artillery was in the centre, then a column of infantry on the right and left—the cavalry on either flank. This was as nearly as possible

Cæsar's order of march when near the enemy,

and very different from that of Korsakoff from Zurich in 1799, who put the artillery in the rear of the column, and thereby lost the whole, and occasioned the total defeat of his army.¹

The Ottomans, however, did not await Ibrahim's approach, but, after a slight

skirmish of cavalry, evacuated Koniéh, leaving behind them immense magazines of ammunition and provisions. The rudeness of the season now

compelled inactivity to both armies, during which the Egyptian general was indefatigable in his endeavors to reinforce and strengthen his position. He selected a field for battle in front of Koniéh, which he studied with the utmost care, and on which he frequently exercised his troops in the manœuvres which he anticipated in the approaching conflict. Several cavalry combats took place during this period, in which the superior generalship and discipline of the Egyptians prevailed, and in one of which they took five hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Every thing conspired in favor of Ibrahim: the discipline and equipment of his troops were obviously superior to that of the enemy; they had been victorious in every encounter, and the religious spirit of the Mussulmans, which had been severely depressed by their long train of disasters, rapidly revived under a chief who led the Arabs out of their deserts to victories almost recalling those of the early days of Islamism. He seemed an instrument in the hand of Providence to reinstate the true faith, and punish the degenerate Turks, who had departed from the precepts of the Prophet. "How far will you advance?" was he asked one day. "As far as I am understood in Arabic," was the significant reply.²

Pressed by reiterated orders from Constantinople to exterminate the invader, the Turkish army at length broke up from Ladik, which was about fifteen miles from Koniéh, and advanced to give battle. The Turkish force was triple that of the Egyptian; the ranks of the latter having been severely weakened by fatigue and sickness, and a considerable part of the army necessarily left behind to keep up the long line of communication with Egypt. Ibrahim had only twenty battalions of infantry (about 10,000 combatants), sixteen squadrons of cavalry, mustering 2600 sabres, 86 guns, and 4000 irregular horse; in all not more than 17,000 men. The Ottoman force was above 48,000; but its discipline and equipment were by no means equal to those of its opponents: the troops, in great part newly raised, were little inured to war; they were ignorant of each other, had no mutual confidence, and went into battle with that sad pre-sentiment of defeat which so often works out its own accomplishment.³

Informed of the approach of such a formidable army, Ibrahim drew up his little force in the position which he had studied with so much care, and on which they had been so sedulously exercised during the last month. They were arrayed in two lines. The first, consisting of eight battalions, was drawn up in line; the second, also of

¹ Ragusa, ii. 344, 345; An. Hist. xv. 402, 403; Cæsar, de Bell. Gall.

² Preparations for a decisive battle.

³ Ann. Hist. xv. 401, 403; Ragusa, ii. 346, 347.

⁴ Forces on both sides.

⁵ Ann. Hist. xv. 404, 405; Ragusa, ii. 346, 347.

⁶ Battle of Koniéh. Dec. 21.

eight battalions, in columns of battalions at deploying distance. The columns on the left and right of this second line were drawn up in hollow squares, and a little thrown forward, so as to cover by their fire both the flanks of its own line and those of the line in front. The four battalions of the Guard were stationed in reserve, and on its two flanks the cavalry, also in column. The artillery was divided, one half being on the wings of the first line, and the other half in reserve, beside the cavalry in the third line. These positions were taken up and the movements executed with the utmost precision, under cover of a thick fog, which entirely concealed them from the enemy; and when the mist cleared away, like the raising up of a drop-scene on the theatre, the Ottomans beheld their antagonists marshaled as on a parade, in the finest order. Their force, though much inferior in discipline, was greatly superior in number, and far outflanked on either side the Egyptian host. The Turks were drawn up in four lines; the first deployed, the three others in column, the cavalry on either flank and in reserve, the artillery in front of the first line. Their position was well chosen; their right resting on the mountain of Silâ, their left on the morasses of Konieh, both of which were impenetrable for cavalry or artillery; but this was of the less importance, that their force, being ¹ Ragusa, ii. 348, 349; An. Hist. xv. 404, obviously charged with the duties of attack.¹

The battle began with a general discharge of the Turkish artillery along the whole line, to which the Egyptian replied with a well-directed fire, though from half the number of pieces, and soon the fire of musketry became extremely warm on both sides. Ibrahim wisely drew back his left, so as to compel the enemy, if he followed it, to abandon the strong cover of the mountain of Silâ; if not to render a part of it disposable for the attack on his right, where he meditated the chief onslaught, as the ground in that direction was level, and practicable for all arms, and if successful, he might cut the enemy off from the road to Ladik, and force them to abandon their artillery. The Turkish army showed at first a good countenance, and advanced in tolerable order against the Egyptian; but not having calculated the distances correctly, a huge gap was left between the infantry on their left and the cavalry. Ibrahim no sooner perceived this opening than he prepared to take advantage of it, by advancing his reserve infantry, and nearly the whole of his cavalry, into the undefended space. They came up immediately in admirable order, and turning sharp on the Ottoman horse, now entirely severed from support, defeated them entirely, and drove them to a distance from the field of battle. The Grand Vizier, to repair this disaster, brought up his best infantry, and charged the Egyptian Guard, now established in the opening, with great vigor. But they were received with not less intrepidity, and ere long the close and well-directed fire from the Guard threw them into confusion, and they fled behind the second line, which advanced, headed by the Grand Vizier in person. The contest now was short and terrible, but it

terminated in the entire defeat of the Turks. Their best battalions, assailed by the Egyptian Guard in front, and the cavalry, which had returned from the pursuit of the discomfited horse, were forced to lay down their arms, and were made prisoners, with the Grand Vizier at their head.

While this desperate conflict was going on on the Turkish left, the Egyptian left ^{19.} was exposed to the greatest danger. The Turkish right there advanced in such force as completely to envelop the Egyptian battalions, which were speedily surrounded by a surging mass of turbans, while the artillery made huge gaps in their ranks. Formed in square, however, they kept up a rolling fire, and though sorely weakened by constantly closing up their ranks, succeeded in maintaining their ground, till Ibrahim, with the victorious right, came up to their support. Meanwhile a corps of three thousand Turkish horse, by a headlong charge, succeeded in breaking through the Egyptian centre, and, passing straight on, reached Konieh, which they pillaged, and spread far and wide the report that all was lost. But this success, considerable as it was, could not compensate the disaster sustained on the centre and the Turkish left, and the capture of the Grand Vizier with the flower of the army. Soon the intelligence of this catastrophe spread through both armies, and the Ottomans, seized with a sudden panic, and being cut off from the line of retreat to Ladik, dispersed in all directions. It was no longer a battle, but a carnage: the victorious Egyptians continued to pursue and cut down the fugitives, till their wearied arms could no longer wield a sabre; and before nightfall, fifteen thousand Turks had been slain or made prisoners, with forty-four guns, and the whole ammunition, magazines, and camp equipage of the army.¹

Such was the great and decisive battle of Konieh, which, in the skill with which it was conducted on the part of the victors, and the immense results with which it was attended, recalls the days when the Macedonian phalanx led by Alexander, or the Roman legions headed by Lucullus and Pompey, dissipated the countless hordes of the Asiatic cavalry. Not less than the battles of the Issus or Arbela, it was a blow which prostrated at once the strength of the Ottomans, and, but for the intervention of Russia, would beyond all doubt have changed the ruling power at Constantinople, and altered the whole face of the East. Great as the victory was, it was exceeded by its effects. Since the days of Timour and Bajazet no such shock had been felt in the East. The army which had fought at Konieh completely dispersed; not two battalions or three squadrons could be collected next day around the standards of the Osmanlis. Had Ibrahim taken advantage of the first moments of consternation, and marched direct upon Constantinople, he would beyond all doubt have made himself master of that capital, and dethroned the race of Othman. But the Egyptian general was ignorant of the magnitude of his own success; he could not conceive that the

18.
Decisive
movement
of Ibrahim
on his right.

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 404, 405; Ragusa, ii. 351, 352; Ibrahim Pacha's Official Account, Dec. 22, 1833; An. Hist. xvi. 324 (Doc. Hist.).

power of the Sultan was so soon to be overthrown; the empire of Constantinople, in its last extremity, was protected by the shadow of its former renown. He remained inactive at

Jan. 20. Konieh till the 20th January, when he

advanced without opposition toward the Bosphorus, declaring his intention of letting the Oulemas determine between him and the Sultan, and had reached Kutahieh, near Scutari, on

Feb. 1. the 1st February, when his farther prog-

ress was stopped, as will immediately appear, by the armed intervention of Russia and the diplomatic efforts of Europe. But the fame

of his victories had preceded him; the sensation in the East was immense; and the whole

warlike tribes in Asia Minor were prepared to have joined his standard, and established a new

dynasty on the throne of Constantinople. Universally he was regarded by the Mussulmans as

the man of destiny who was to punish the backslidings of the followers of the Prophet, and re-

establish in their pristine purity the usages of the faithful. Even in Europe the marvelous

successes of the Egyptian army attracted great attention among the thoughtful. The interpre-

ters of prophecy were rife, as they always are on any considerable events in the East; and

it was said by many that Ibrahim's triumphs were foretold in the words—"The King of the

South shall push at him:" forgetting that the Egyptians were even more orthodox Mussul-

mans than the Turks, and that it

was not to be supposed that the Enphrates was to be dried up by the swelling of one of its tributary

streams.¹

In this extremity the Porte had recourse to

the only power which, in the circumstances in which Turkey was placed, could be solicited without

danger. The Divan applied to England, the ancient and steady ally

of the Ottoman Government, which

in 1789 had rescued them from the jaws of Russia, and in 1801 saved them from dismember-

ment by France, and whose remote situation removed its Government as much from territorial

ambition in the East as its powerful navy gave it the means of effective support to its

allies in that quarter. Never was such an opportunity afforded for the establishment of a powerful

and efficacious barrier against Russia in the East: imagination itself could not have conceived any thing more favorable. The British

Government was now applied to by an ancient ally for succor against a rebellious vassal, and

an opportunity was afforded of rendering a service to the Ottoman rulers of so essential a kind

as to insure future gratitude and dependence, and counteract in a great degree the growing

influence of the Muscovites at the court of Constantinople. Incalculable would have been the

effects of such aid, if promptly rendered; it would probably have restored the balance of

power in the East, and averted, if not altogether prevented, the terrible war of 1854 in the Black

Sea. Unhappily, England was not at this period in a condition to take advantage of the extraordinary good fortune thus thrown in her way,

and she now began to experience the fatal effects upon her external influence of the political

passions by which her people were convulsed,

and the new line of foreign policy which the triumph of the Liberal party had imposed upon

her Government. So great had been the reduction of her land and sea forces in consequence

of the growing passion for economy which had prevailed ever since the peace, and which the

contraction of the currency had now rendered a matter of necessity, that Great Britain had no

forces at her disposal adequate for an Eastern war, and the few which she had were, as will

immediately appear, absorbed in propping up a rickety and unpopular government against the

feelings of the Portuguese at Lisbon. The Cabinet of St. James's accordingly returned for answer to the Turkish application for succor, that

however much inclined to have rendered it, they had not at that moment the means of affording the

assistance required.¹

France was the power which, next to England, seemed capable of rendering

the most efficacious aid to the Porte in its distress, but there were many reasons which rendered it unadvisable, and indeed hopeless, to make any applica-

tion in that quarter. The French had never lost sight of the ambitious designs which Napoleon had entertained in regard to Egypt, and

their recent expedition to, and permanent occupation of Algiers, had proved that change of

dynasty had made no alteration in the views of their government in that respect. Even if the

cabinet of Louis Philippe had been as favorably inclined as possible to succor the Porte, they

had not the means at that period any more than the English of doing so. They had only just

recovered from the double shock of the Royalist insurrection in La Vendée, and the Repub-

lican in Paris; and a great expedition was preparing to march into Flanders, to unite with the

British fleet in planting the tricolor flag on the citadel of Antwerp. Nothing, therefore, could

be hoped from France in this emergency, yet something absolutely required to be done, for

Ibrahim's forces might in a week reach Scutari, and his approach, it was well known, would be

the signal for an immediate insurrection, and probable dethronement of the Sultan.²

In this extremity the Divan had recourse to

Russia, and skillfully represented the revolt of the pacha of Egypt as a part

of the general system of insubordination which had invaded Europe, and which all its monarchies, and

Russia in particular, were deeply interested in crushing. The Emperor of Russia, as may well

be believed, was not slow in accepting the offer of *exclusive protectorate* thus made to him by the

Sultan. The Russian consul was immediately recalled from Alexandria, and a tender made

of a Russian fleet under Admiral Greig, with 5000 troops on board, and a *corps d'armée* of

25,000 men to operate on the Danube. These offers gave the most extreme satisfaction at

Constantinople, and their gratitude was evinced in a circular to the other European powers,

which bore, "The rebellion of Mehemet Ali will, without doubt, be considered by the other

powers of Europe, as it has been by the Emperor of Russia, as a criminal enterprise, which

nothing can justify, and which should be pun-

¹ Ragusa, ii. 353, 359; An. Hist. xv. 403, 405, and xvi. 448.

² The Porte applies to England for succor, and is refused.

¹ Cap. vi. 307, 308; An. Reg. 1832, 267; An. Hist. xvi. 448.

² Reasons for not applying to France.

¹ Cap. vi. 308, 309; An. Hist. xvi. 448, 447.

² The Porte applies to Russia for aid.

ished by the recall of the ambassadors of all the powers who are interested in the maintenance of legal order. The insurrection which the troops of the Sultan are at this moment combating, has its origin in the vilest ambition and rapacity: it menaces the commercial interests of all nations which are attracted to the shores of Egypt by their riches. The true way to ruin it is to isolate it. Such a measure, adopted by the Emperor of Russia, and imitated by the other powers of Europe, will at once evince the sincerity of their friendship for the Sublime Porte, and advance the interest of their own subjects, none of whom can be indifferent to the fatal example of rebellion given by Mehemet Ali, and many of whom, if it succeeds, will be inclined to imitate it.¹ The auto-

¹ Note of the Turkish minister, Jan. 31, 1833; Cap. vi. 308, and vii. 101.

graph letter of the Sultan to the Emperor of Russia requesting assistance, is still preserved in the imperial archives of St. Petersburg, and is justly regarded as one of the proudest trophies of the Russian empire.

The Cabinet of St. Petersburg stood in no need of these skillful and well-conceived considerations to accord the assistance requested by the Sultan. The long-wished-for opportunity had at length arrived: Turkey was so reduced that she was compelled to solicit the assistance of her inveterate enemy—

"Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas."

Fortune, the revolutionary passions, and political nullity of the French and English people, had now thrown the much-coveted prize within her grasp; and not only without increasing the hostility, but with the concurrence, and even by the advice, of the Western Powers. No sooner, therefore, had the Porte, under this pressure of the advance of Ibrahim from Konieh toward Scutari, solicited the immediate support of a Russian corps of 4000 or 5000 men sent by sea, than the Russian minister, M. Boutenieff, at once promised not only that aid, but the assistance of an auxiliary corps of 80,000 men, who were to cross the Danube and advance to the support of the capital. So wise had been the foresight, so active the preparations of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, that every thing was prepared at Sebastopol to turn the crisis to the very best account. The troops were ready to step on board the ships of the line prepared to receive them, and set sail, and the admirals prepared with secret instructions to take their orders from the ambassador at Constantinople. No sooner, accordingly, did the formal demand for succor from M. Boutenieff arrive, than the Russian squadron of four sail of the line and six frigates, having on board 6000 troops, set sail from Sebastopol, made straight with exulting hearts for Constantinople, and reached the

² Ann. Hist. xvi. 448, 450. Bay of Bourgas, near the mouth of the Bosphorus, on the 20th February.³

Before they arrived, however, the imminence of the crisis had passed, and the Porte was fain to be delivered from the perilous protection of the Muscovites. The French government, more alive than the British to the incalculable consequences of Constantinople being occupied by a

Russian subsidiary force, had sent Admiral Rouassin with a squadron to Constantinople, and hastened by negotiation to avert the danger, and proposals for an accommodation had been transmitted to Ibrahim, at Kutaya, which had been accepted by Halil Pacha on the part of the Porte, and occasioned the halt of the forces of the conqueror at that place. These terms consisted in the cession of the entire pachalic of Syria, with the district of Adana and Egypt, in perpetuity to Mehemet Ali. The Divan agreed to these terms, very much in order to avert the dreaded intervention of the Russians, and in consequence the Reis Effendi intimated to M. Boutenieff that the aid of the Russian auxiliary force was no longer required, and that it might retire. The Russian admiral, however, would only agree to anchor his fleet in the Bay of Bourgas instead of entering the Bosphorus; and while lying there, intelligence arrived which caused the breaking off of the negotiation, and the military occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Mehemet Ali positively refused to ratify the treaty proposed by the French, and agreed to by the Turkish government, and his emissaries, dispersed through Asia Minor, occasioned such a ferment that it became evident that the hearts of the entire inhabitants were with him, and that the dethronement of the Sultan, if he advanced to Scutari, would be effected without firing a shot. Wherever his emissaries appeared, his authority was recognized, and the Turkish officials dispossessed; and without violence or resistance, the richest part of Asia Minor, including the great city of Smyrna, had already passed under the power of the Egyptians.¹

No sooner did the Russian Government receive intelligence of the rupture of the negotiations, than they dispatched couriers in all directions to hasten the march of the troops they had prepared in various quarters, and embark them at Odessa. This was accordingly done with the greatest expedition. The embarkation took place there on the 29th March, and immediately set sail under the convoy of a division of the Russian fleet, commanded by Admiral Roumani. They effected a junction with the expedition which had come from Sebastopol, in the Bay of Bourgas, and the united squadrons made sail for the Bosphorus. There they arrived on the 5th April, and immediately passed the straits and disembarked the troops on the Asiatic shore, within sight of Constantinople, opposite Buyukdere and Therapia. At the same time, to evince the concurrence of the Western Powers in this extraordinary occupation, the English and French consuls struck their colors and left Smyrna, then in the hands of the Egyptians. Thus, as if to demonstrate the universality of the change in the policy of the whole European powers by the effects of the Revolution of July in Paris, at the very same time an English and French force combined for the siege of Antwerp, and its restoration to the sway of the tricolor flag, English and French diplomacy united in destroying the barrier erected by Marlborough and Wellington in Flanders against France; an English fleet was busied in establishing a revolutionary throne in Lisbon; and with the consent of France

¹ Ann. Hist. xvi. 452, 453; Cap. vi. 310, 311.

² Fresh Russian expedition sails from Odessa. March 29.

³ April 5.

and England, a Russian fleet passed the Bosphorus, and a Russian army of 12,000 men took post on the Mountain of the Giant, within sight of Constantinople.¹

Matters had now reached such a crisis in the East, that, how much soever the Western powers might be occupied with their internal convulsions, it was impossible any longer to overlook them. Lord Durham was accordingly sent to St. Petersburg on the part of England, to unite his efforts with those of Marshal Mortier on that of France, and Count Pozzo di Borgo, to endeavor to obtain some amelioration of the lot of the Poles, who were languishing under the severity of military occupation, and to effect a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question, and the dispute between Mehemet Ali and the Porte. Lord Durham was received in the most distinguished manner at St. Petersburg, and all the graceful flattery and high-bred attention, of which the superior classes in Russia are such perfect masters, were lavished upon him. He was almost an inmate of the imperial palace; a succession of magnificent reviews gave a dazzling picture of the military strength of the empire; balls, concerts, and receptions in profusion, of the wealth and splendor of its nobility. But amidst all this external homage and consideration, the Czar was careful to abate nothing of his pretensions either as regarded Turkey or Poland. On the contrary, at that very time appeared an "organic statute," which forever incorporated Poland with Russia,* and abolished all distinction between the government and armies of the two countries. And as to Turkey, while incessantly professing the utmost moderation and disinterestedness, the Czar was careful not to withdraw his troops from the Mountain of the Giant, nor his squadron from the Bosphorus, till he had secured for Russia advantages greater than could have been hoped from a series of the most successful campaigns, and which, in effect, left Turkey entirely at the mercy of its colossal neighbor.²

To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise that Mehemet Ali, finding that, if he persisted in a farther advance to Scutari, he would have the forces of Russia as well as Turkey to combat, changed his policy, and, relinquishing the dream of establishing a new dynasty on the shores of the Bosphorus, confined himself to the more limited object of securing substantial advantages to himself from the successes of Ibrahim in Syria. He lent a willing ear, accordingly, as soon as he was informed of the Russian intervention, to the

French proposals of accommodation, and the result appeared in a firman, entitled a *firman of amnesty*, from the Porte, which, without expressly recognizing the Pacha of Egypt as an independent power, secured to him all the substantial advantages of victory, by confirming him in the governments of Crete and Egypt, and adding to them those of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Damascus, and the government of Adana. These great concessions were accompanied by an absolute amnesty to all the subjects of the Porte who had revolted in Anatolia, and were declared to be granted in consideration "of the assurances of *fidelity and devotion* given to me by the Governor of Egypt and his son Ibrahim Pacha." Having no longer any pretext for remaining in his advanced and threatening position at Kutaya, Ibrahim now withdrew his forces across the Taurus, and took quiet possession of the ceded districts of Syria.^{1*}

The Ottoman Government being thus delivered from the hostility of its rebellious vassals, nothing remained but to emancipate itself from the still more formidable protectorate of its zealous and officious friends. But this was a more difficult task even than combating Ibrahim's battalions: it is one thing to invoke the succor of a great power; it is another, and a very different thing, to shake off the obligations imposed upon the succored party. The ascendancy acquired by Russia in Turkish councils by this prompt and effective interposition was so great that it became altogether irresistible, and issued in a vast concession on the part of Turkey, which in effect left its capital at the mercy of the Muscovites, and rendered the Ottoman Empire virtually a tributary power to the Czar. Faithful to its fixed policy of avoiding all open or visible strides toward universal dominion, the Russian Cabinet gave orders to its fleet and army to retire from the Bosphorus, in accordance with the demand of France and England, as soon as Ibrahim Pacha's troops had recrossed the Taurus. But not less faithful to its equally fixed system of incessantly pursuing that object, and securing *in secret* all the advantages which might preface it, they did not do so till they had extorted from the weakness or gratitude of the Ottomans a concession which left them entirely at the mercy of their northern neighbors. This was effected by the treaty of UNKIAR-SKELESSI; one of the most important diplomatic acts of modern times, and from which, as a necessary consequence, the great Eastern war of 1854 took its rise.²

By this treaty, which was arranged in the most

* "Les assurances de dévouement, et de fidélité qui m'ont été données en dernier lieu par le Gouverneur d'Egypte, Méhémet Ali Pacha, et son fils Ibrahim Pacha ayant été agréées, je leur ai accordé ma bienveillance impériale. Les gouvernements de la Crète et d'Egypte ont été confirmés à Méhémet Ali. Par égard à sa demande spéciale, je lui ai accordé les départements de Damas, Tripoli, de Syrie, Sey de Safid, Alep, les districts de Jérusalem et Naplouse, avec la conduite des pèlerins et le commandement de Djidda. Son fils Ibrahim Pacha a eu de nouveau le titre de Scheik-el-haram de la Mecque et le district de Djidda; j'ai en outre acquiescé à la demande qu'il m'a faite du département d'Adana, régi par le Trésor des Fermes à titre de Mohajul."—*Firman*, May 6, 1833; *Ann. Hist.*, xvi. 168 (Doc. Hist.).

1 An. Hist. xvi. 455, 456; Cap. vi. 311, 314.
27. Mission of Lord Durham to St. Petersburg, April, 1830.
the part of England, to unite his efforts with those of Marshal Mortier on that of France, and Count Pozzo di Borgo, to endeavor to obtain some amelioration of the lot of the Poles, who were languishing under the severity of military occupation, and to effect a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question, and the dispute between Mehemet Ali and the Porte. Lord Durham was received in the most distinguished manner at St. Petersburg, and all the graceful flattery and high-bred attention, of which the superior classes in Russia are such perfect masters, were lavished upon him. He was almost an inmate of the imperial palace; a succession of magnificent reviews gave a dazzling picture of the military strength of the empire; balls, concerts, and receptions in profusion, of the wealth and splendor of its nobility. But amidst all this external homage and consideration, the Czar was careful to abate nothing of his pretensions either as regarded Turkey or Poland. On the contrary, at that very time appeared an "organic statute," which forever incorporated Poland with Russia,* and abolished all distinction between the government and armies of the two countries. And as to Turkey, while incessantly professing the utmost moderation and disinterestedness, the Czar was careful not to withdraw his troops from the Mountain of the Giant, nor his squadron from the Bosphorus, till he had secured for Russia advantages greater than could have been hoped from a series of the most successful campaigns, and which, in effect, left Turkey entirely at the mercy of its colossal neighbor.²

29. Treaty between the Porte and Mehemet Ali. May 6, 1833.
Turkey to combat, changed his policy, and, relinquishing the dream of establishing a new dynasty on the shores of the Bosphorus, confined himself to the more limited object of securing substantial advantages to himself from the successes of Ibrahim in Syria. He lent a willing ear, accordingly, as soon as he was informed of the Russian intervention, to the

profound secrecy between the Russian ambassador, Count Orloff, and the Turkish Government, and signed on the 8th July, it was provided that for the period of eight years there should be an alliance offensive and defensive between the two powers, in pursuance of which, Russia agreed to put her whole fleets and armies at the disposal of the Porte. In addition to this, it was specially stipulated that, to prevent the embarrassment which might arise to the Porte from furnishing material assistance to Russia in case of attack, "the Ottoman Porte should be bound, in virtue of its obligations toward Russia, to close the Straits of the Dardanelles—that is to say, not to permit any ship of war of a foreign power to enter those Straits under any pretense whatever. This separate and secret article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the public and patent treaty." By the public treaty, nothing whatever was provided in regard to the closing of the Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war; but a close alliance, offensive and defensive, was agreed upon, and the 128: An Hiss. mutual furnishing of succor in case xvi. 456, 457. of attack by any foreign power.^{1*}

How desirous soever the parties to this important treaty may have been to shroud its secret articles in entire darkness, they were too vital in the Eastern question to admit of being long concealed. The public treaty, which contained an alliance offensive and defensive, soon became known, and in spite of the utmost efforts to conceal it, the existence of secret articles, of a still more alarming character, was ere long surmised in diplomatic circles. Indeed, the closing of the Dardanelles against all foreign vessels of war was a public step involv-

* The public treaty of Unkar-Skelessi was in these terms:

"I. There shall be forever peace and alliance between the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of the Ottomans, their empire and subjects, by sea and land. That alliance having singly for object the common defense of their territories against hostile attack, their Majesties engage to come reciprocally to an understanding, without reserve, on all the objects which regard their respective tranquillity and security, and to afford each other, to that end, the most effective material succor. (The secret article was declared to be in supplement of this.)

"II. The treaty of peace concluded at Adrianople on Sept. 2, 1829, as well as all the other treaties enumerated in it, and the convention signed at St. Petersburg on April 14, 1830, and the arrangement concluded at Constantinople on the 9 (21) July, 1832, relative to Greece, are confirmed, in their whole tenor, by the present defensive treaty of alliance, as if their respective provisions were inserted in the present treaty word for word.

"III. As a consequence of the principle of conservatism and mutual defense, which constitutes the basis of this treaty of alliance, and in pursuance of their sincere desire to insure its durability, and the maintenance of the entire independence of the Sublime Porte, the Emperor of Russia, if the case should again arise when the Sublime Porte should require the assistance of the naval or military forces of Russia, though such a contingency, please God, is not at present to be anticipated, engages to furnish as many forces by land and by sea as may be judged necessary. In that case, the forces by land or sea which the Sublime Porte may require shall be at his disposal.

"IV. Although the two contracting parties are sincerely disposed to maintain their alliance to the most distant times, yet, as time may prove the expedience of some modifications, its duration is at present limited to eight years. Constantinople, 8th July, 1833. ALEXIS ORLOFF, A. BOUTENIEFF, HAMED MEHMET PACHA, FREZI-AKHMET PACHA, HADJI MEHMET-AKIF-EFFENDI."—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 129, 131.

ing at once the interests of all nations interested in the ocean, the great highway of the world, which of necessity soon proclaimed itself. A French corvette of war presented itself at the entrance of the Dardanelles, and was refused a passage. Explanations were at once demanded on the subject by the English and French ambassadors, and the Divan were not a little perplexed what answer to return. The secret treaty was disavowed, but the treaty offensive and defensive admitted and justified. The Porte alleged that that treaty was purely of a defensive character; that it concerned no states but Turkey and Russia, whose dominions so closely adjoined each other that their interests were identical; that Turkey, being an independent state, was at liberty to contract alliances with any power that it might deem proper, and was under no obligation to justify its conduct to any foreign government. These explanations were accompanied by a communication of the public treaty. But as the Dardanelles remained closed to the vessels of war of all nations except Turkey and Russia, the existence of a farther secret treaty became self-evident. Thenceforward the Eastern Question swelled up to colossal proportions; from being Egyptian it became European. By the closing of the Dardanelles, and the entire subjugation of the Porte to Russian influence, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had acquired such a preponderance in the East that its power could hardly have been more thoroughly established if the Cross had been replaced by Muscovite hands on the dome of St. Sophia. But meanwhile the thing was done, and could not be undone; the Dardanelles were closed to all but the Russian flag; the Euxine had become a Russian lake, and Sebastopol was rising in impregnable strength on its northern shore, threatening instant destruction by its fleets to the imperial city in the event of any disobedience to the dictates of the Czar! But the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had chosen its time well for this vast aggressive stride. It had only taken advantage of the facilities afforded for making it, by the temporary alienation of reason on the part of the Western Powers. England and France, distracted by political passions, had not only become indifferent to foreign interests, but insensible to the strongest of all animal instincts—that of self-preservation. Antwerp, the great outwork of Napoleon against England, ceded, and the Flemish barrier abandoned in the north, and Constantinople, the Queen of the South, virtually ceded to Russia, were melancholy proofs of the infatuation which had seized upon the nations in Europe the most boasting of their intelligence; and they bequeathed one, probably two, dreadful wars in future times to the British people.

The independence of GREECE was secured by the heroism of its gallant inhabitants and the flames of Navarino; but much required to be done before Greece since its boundaries and government could be settled by the intervention of the allied Powers, and still more before the brand of fifteen hundred years of slavery could be erased from the foreheads of its inhabitants, or the descendants of the heroes of Marathon and Plataea became qualified to emulate the civil virtues of their immortal forefathers. The great

majority of men are always too impatient on these subjects, and the consequence is that their expectations so often end in disappointment. They expect nations to be instantly converted by a change of institutions—men to be at once regenerated by the construction of an improved frame of government—forgetting that, as human degradation is the slow and melancholy result of centuries of oppression and misgovernment, so public elevation is the not less tardy growth of centuries of pacific industry and expanded energies. That men are to be at once changed by a change of the institutions under which they live, is the dream of the enthusiastic, the dogma of the revolutionary, but there is no one opinion which is more constantly negated by the experience of mankind. The course of events in every age has demonstrated that such expectations are not less chimerical than to expect that a child is to attain the strength of manhood by simply putting on the dress of older years, or a colt the steady daring of a war-horse by merely clothing it in the panoply of battle. Every thing, however, must have a beginning, and good things can never be begun too soon. It is no imputation on the wisdom of the authors of the treaty of 6th July, 1828, to say that the State they rescued from Mussulman oppression has not yet attained the strength and maturity expected of it, any more than it is to say that he who has redeemed a child from the hands of gypsies has not been able in a few months to give it the habits and knowledge of civilized manhood. But it is no slight imputation on the political wisdom and information of a nation to say that they become disheartened with a noble and generous act because such expectations have not been in the outset realized.

The government and institutions of Greece, upon the termination of its revolution, were arranged with no regard to the character or necessities of its inhabitants, but entirely on the principle of compromise between the powers which had taken a part in its liberation. Emerging from a frightful and desolating war of six years' duration, which had destroyed half of its inhabitants, and almost annihilated its industry, Greece was in the situation in which France was after the expulsion of the English invaders, or Scotland after the liberation of its wasted fields by the genius and heroism of Robert Bruce. What it absolutely required was peace-protection under a strong government, and the extinction of the power of the feudal chieftains, who had acquired so great a sway over their followers during the war with the Turks. But these sober and rational ideas were but little in accordance with the views of any of the allied Powers who had signed the treaty of July, 1828. England and France, carried away with the Liberal delusion of the times, thought they insured the happiness of the semi-barbarous Greeks just emerged from four centuries of Ottoman servitude, when they gave them a popular and aristocratic Assembly and elective president; the Russians, better informed as to the real tendencies of savage tribes, disquieted themselves little about the representative bodies, and were satisfied with the nomination of the chief who was to wield the military power of the State. To effect a compromise be-

tween these conflicting principles, it was agreed that the infant State should be governed by a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and president, and that the choice of the latter officer should be accorded to the Emperor of Russia, ^{Ann. Hist. iii. 406, and xiv. 407, 411.} who conferred it upon his private secretary, Count Capo d'Istria.¹

The consequences of intrusting the government of a young State, composed partly of warlike mountain tribes, who is soon who owed a feudal obedience to their chiefs, and partly of island traders, whom necessity and suffering had forced to become pirates, to a representative assembly composed of such heterogeneous materials, were soon apparent. Capo d'Istria did not long enjoy the honor bestowed upon him by the favor of Russia. Jealousy of the foreign influence to which he had owed his appointment obliterated the recollection of all his services to the Hellenic cause. To such a degree did this feeling proceed, that he was assassinated at Napoli on the 24th October, 1831, and anarchy for some time succeeded his decease. At length the presidency was bestowed by the Senate and Provisional Government on Count Augustin de Capo d'Istria, brother to the deceased, on 10th November, 1831. This election was followed by a convocation of the entire national Assembly, and it at once revealed the magnitude of the dangers with which, under such a form of government, the country was threatened, and the violence of the parties by which it was torn. The island deputies, forty-five in number, met at Hydra, and opened a negotiation with the Provisional Government, the chief object of which was an absolute and unqualified amnesty to all the deputies. This, which was intended to secure the murderers of Capo d'Istria, the Government refused, tendering instead one from which the perpetrators and abettors of that crime were to be excluded. The opposition declined these terms, and in order to prevent the Hydra deputies from joining the Assembly, which was to meet at Argos on 10th December, the majority asked and received the assistance of Russian ships of war to blockade the island, and prevent the refractory deputies getting out! This ominous commencement was not belied by the future proceedings of the Greek Assembly. The majority at Argos, who were in the Russian interest, confirmed the election of Augustin Capo d'Istria by the Provisional Government; the minority protested against the election until the Hydra deputies were admitted, and constituted themselves into a separate assembly. This schism in the Legislature was speedily followed by sanguinary contests between the two parties in the streets of Argos. Blood flowed on all sides; a hundred persons were slain, and after two days' fighting, Capo d'Istria and Colocotroni, with the government, retired to Napoli di Romania, and the opposition, headed by Condurriottis, Coletti, and some other chiefs of the rival party, established themselves and elected a separate government at Corinth. Public opinion favored the opposition. Capo d'Istria stigmatized as a Russian slave, the armed bands from the mountains all flocked to the standard of Coletti, who soon found himself at the head of seven thousand men, while the forces of the Government were

23.
First settle-
ment of
Greece under
the presi-
dency of
Capo d'Istria.

not half the number, and its authority did not extend beyond Argos and Napoli. The consideration of the opposition government was soon increased by the appearance of the Hydra deputies, who had contrived to elude the vigilance of the Russian cruisers, and arrived safe at Corinth. As this accession of strength raised their numbers to one hundred and forty-five, they were the majority of the Assembly, and they immediately proceeded to pass a decree annulling the election of Capo d'Istria to the presidency, and declaring him an usurper, and author of all the calamities in which the country was involved.¹

These violent dissensions, and the assassination of Capo d'Istria, sufficiently proved that Greece, in its present state, was unfit for an elective and popular form of government, and that its longer continuance would only perpetuate bloodshed and anarchy in the country. The allied Powers accordingly wisely resolved on a monarchical constitution; but much difficulty was experienced in the choice of a sovereign, chiefly in consequence of the refusal of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to whom the crown had been offered, to accept it. At length, as a sort of compromise between the contending influence of Russia on the one side and France and England on the other, it was agreed to offer the crown to Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, a youth still in minority, and little qualified to hold the helm through the storms with which the infant State was environed, but who had the advantage, inestimable in the eyes of rival powers, of being in a certain degree exempt from the influence of either. The offer was accepted, and as the future kingdom was destitute of credit or resources, and a prey to civil war, the allied Powers bound themselves to furnish material succor to establish him on the throne. They engaged to guarantee a loan of £2,400,000, to be raised in London, and paid to the young king as soon as he arrived in his dominions, and an auxiliary force of 3500 men was to be raised in Bavaria, and accompany him to relieve the French troops which hitherto had occupied the principal military points in the Morea. Finally, an important treaty was signed at Constantinople on the 21st July, by which, in consideration of the sum of £1,000,000, to be paid to the Porte by the Grecian government, and guaranteed by the allied Powers, it was agreed by the Divan that the frontiers of the new kingdom should be extended beyond those originally stipulated by the treaty of 1829, to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo, which embraces the whole districts which properly fall under the denomination of Greece. Candia and Rhodes, however, were still excluded, and remained parts of the Ottoman dominions.²

But while the allied Powers were thus definitively arranging the affairs of Greece, on a footing much more likely to be suitable to the country and durable in its existence than the ridiculous pageant of a republican government, terminating in the real tragedy of civil war which had preceded it, affairs had taken a very differ-

ent turn in Hellas itself, and the feeling of that country in favor of the popular opposition had been unequivocally manifested. So rapid had been their progress, so general their success, that the civil war might be said to be at an end. District after district, town after town, declared in their favor, and at length the insurgents appeared before Napoli itself, and Augustin de Capo d'Istria was too happy to agree to a convention, in virtue of which he abdicated the government, and embarked with the body of his brother, never more to return. His departure was celebrated by the Hellenes as the downfall of Russian preponderance in Greece; Conduriotis was chosen president, with an executive council of seven persons to administer the government till the arrival of the prince chosen by the conference of the allied Powers at London. But before Otho had time to arrive, fresh disturbances broke out in the country: Colocotroni and some other chiefs refused to recognize the authority of the new government, and a fresh congress met at Patras, to which the majority of the nation sent in their adhesion, and the opposition soon found their power limited, as that of their predecessors had been, to Napoli and Argos. Combats took place in every part of the country between the adherents of the two factions, which were nearly equal in numbers, courage, and determination. The soldiers, having received no pay, plundered without mercy; a large part of the deputies themselves were carried off to the mountains as a security for their ransom; and such was the misery produced by this desolating warfare, that the people came to regret the comparatively tranquil days of Ottoman oppression.³

So exhausting and ruinous were the effects of this interminable guerrilla strife, that all came at length to sigh for the arrival of the foreign power whose forces might at length terminate it. Even the presence of the French soldiers could not restrain the fury of the contending factions; and in Argos itself a French soldier was slain and eighteen wounded by a band of assassins—an outrage which was immediately avenged by the indiscriminate slaughter of above 800 of the inhabitants of the town. At length, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who had reached the very last stage of suffering, the fleet which bore King Otho and the German auxiliaries hove in sight, and on the 6th February he landed at Napoli amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who had flocked from all quarters to hail his arrival. His first act was to publish a general amnesty, without exception, for all political offenses whatever; and so general was the feeling of the necessity of this measure that all parties acquiesced in it, and for a brief season universal tranquillity and peace prevailed in the land. The public offices were filled up with moderate persons of all parties—the partisans of Russia and extreme Republicans were alike excluded. The effect of this judicious policy speedily appeared in the revival of industry, and increase of transactions, and growth of confidence; and so general was

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 406, 408; him an usurper, and author of all the calamities in which the country was involved.
² Treaties, May 7, July 31, and April 30, 1833; Ann. Hist. xv. 215, 218 (App. Doc. Hist.).

³ Otho is elected King of Greece.

¹ Ann. Hist. xv. 409, 410, 413.

² Arrival of King Otho, and joy of the inhabitants.
 Jan. 17.

Feb. 6.

the satisfaction which prevailed, that it was deemed practicable to leave unrestrained the public press, which returned the obligation by generally supporting the measures of Government.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xvi. 461, 463.

Measures of a very important kind were soon adopted by the Government, which went far to consolidate the infant State. Three criminal tribunals were instituted for the speedy prosecution of offenders; the proceeding before them was summary and without appeal, and the laws they administered, taken from the ancient criminal code of Venice, extremely severe, though probably not more so than was necessary, considering the wild and unsettled state of the country. The territory of the State was divided into ten departments; and the army was fixed at ten regiments of light infantry and eight of the line, six squadrons of cavalry, and artillery in proportion, mustering in all 8904 combatants. These forces, though much beyond what the kingdom could maintain from its own resources, were amply provided for in the mean time from the loan guaranteed by the allied Powers, and a melancholy proof was soon afforded that they were not larger than was required to preserve domestic peace in the country.

Institutions and military force of the infant State. 38. In the night of the 25th May, a band of robbers, several thousand in number, having collected in the neighboring hills, descended on the town of Arta, in Epirus, which they immediately began to pillage in the most systematic manner; the unfortunate inhabitants underwent all the horrors endured by those of a town taken by assault; the houses of those who made any resistance were instantly burned; those which opened their doors saw every room rifled, the women violated, the men in part murdered; and after continuing these outrages deliberately for three days, the brigands retired without molestation to their mountains, carrying with them the principal inhabitants, to be ransomed only for enormous sums. At the same time, bands of robbers reappeared in the Morea; and the King having gone on a cruise to the islands of the Archipelago, the regency he left in his absence was so weak that its authority did not extend beyond the walls of the city.

May 25. In July, a Synod of the Church was assembled, which declared the King the head of the Church, and evinced such antipathy to Russia that none of the phrases even of the Greek ritual were admitted into their Liturgy. At the same time, the French troops, which for five years had occupied the fortresses of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, and were of essential service in the distracted state of the country, were collected and embarked for their own country, leaving Greece to the guardianship of its own forces, aided by the 3000 Bavarians who had followed King Otho from the German plains.²

The armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, and retreat of his forces across the Taurus, for a considerable time terminated the difficulties of Turkey; and the settlement of King Otho on the throne, joined to the support of the loan and the Bavarian guards, by degrees diminished the license and subdued the barbarity of the

² Ann. Hist. xvi. 460, 463.

39. Causes of discord still remaining in the East. The armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, and retreat of his forces across the Taurus, for a considerable time terminated the difficulties of Turkey; and the settlement of King Otho on the throne, joined to the support of the loan and the Bavarian guards, by degrees diminished the license and subdued the barbarity of the

Greek tribes. But other complications ere long arose—the Eastern Question was adjourned, not adjusted; and before many years had elapsed, it threatened to involve all Europe in conflagration. The remote cause of this was the magnitude of the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi and closing of the Dardanelles, joined to the indelible coldness and jealousy which subsisted between the courts of France and Russia, from the one being the head of the Revolutionary, the other of the Legitimist, party in Europe. Conscious of the immense accession of power which Russia had acquired from that treaty, and jealous of the preponderance which it gave her in the Levant, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe sought for a counterpoise in cultivating a good understanding with Mehemet Ali, whose strength had been so signally evinced in the recent war with the Turks in Asia Minor, and whose geographical position on the northeast corner of Africa would, in connection with their own establishment at Algiers, give France the command of the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean.

Nothing could be more natural than that the French Cabinet should entertain these views, or seek in self-defense 40. Jealousy counterpoise to the preponderance awakened in of Russia in the Euxine, in such an English alliance. But the same circumstances which made them desire, caused the English Government to dread, the establishment of Gallic influence on the shores of the Nile. Egypt had long been an object of contention between France and England; the eagle eye of Napoleon had early discerned its importance; his victorious arms were first directed there in the assault upon this country; and the bitterest mortification which he for long experienced was, when his troops were expelled from it in 1801 by the arms of England. Its importance to Great Britain as a stepping-stone to India, great at all times, had been augmented tenfold by the discovery of steam navigation, and the consequent restoration of the direct communication from Europe with the shores of Hindostan to its original channel by the Red Sea. Thenceforward, if not the possession, at least a preponderating influence and secure transit through the dominions of Mehemet Ali, was a matter of absolute necessity to Great Britain, if her empire in the East was to be preserved; and thence it was that the Emperor Nicholas, in his confidential conferences with the English ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, declared his willingness, in the event of a partition of the Turkish Empire being agreed to by the European Powers, to permit Egypt and Candia to be ceded to Great Britain.

These considerations, which suggested themselves so naturally to the statesmen 41.

of the two countries that they may Divergence of views on the Eastern Question be considered as unavoidable, of necessity led to a divergence of views between the Cabinets of France and the Cabinets of England on the Eastern Question, of London and Paris. as soon as the termination of domestic strife, and the stilling of political passions in the two countries, permitted public attention to be turned to foreign affairs, and the lasting national interests of the two countries, rather than their fleeting passions, to be pursued

by their respective Governments. France sought to counteract the predominance of Russia at Constantinople by establishing a similar sway at Cairo; England endeavored to regain her influence with the Divan by abetting the cause of the Turks in the quarrel with the Egyptians, and making use of her maritime superiority to overawe the Government of Mehemet Ali, and secure the means of transit through his dominions to her possessions in the East. These opposite views went far to disturb the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, and break up that alliance between these ancient rivals which had sprung from identity of political feeling, and had for the time rendered them all-powerful in Western Europe. These tendencies had subsisted for some time without producing any other effect than an increasing coldness between their respective diplomatists, when a series of events occurred which again lighted up the flames of war in the East, and all but brought France and England into open collision.

The immediate or at least principal cause of this coldness between France and England, was the cessation of the revolutionary action in Western Europe, and the general calming of the passions which arose from the undisputed triumph of the Conservative principle in Germany, the termination of the civil wars in Spain and Portugal by the final defeat of the Carlists, and the establishment of a firm Government, based on force and corruption, in France. These events, by calming the passions, gave room for the revival of differences from interests; and France and England are too near neighbors, and both too powerful, not to have many such causes of discord, when the temporary alliances arising from common feeling come to an end. The East ere long furnished abundant matter for the revival of the old jealousies: England, sensible at last of the immense advantages which Russia had gained in the Euxine during the eclipse of British intellect, under the influence of the Reform delirium, by rendering that succor to the Porte which the Cabinet of St. James's had refused, made the greatest efforts, by separate negotiation, to recover its lost ground with the Divan, and these efforts proved in a certain degree successful.

In June, 1838, Lord Palmerston, then June 7, 1838. Minister of Foreign Affairs, concluded a treaty of Commerce with the Turkish Government, which contained important stipulations in favor of British industry, and in some degree neutralized the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. By this treaty it was stipulated "that the English ships should enjoy in the Turkish harbors all the advantages accorded to the most favored nations; that the English merchants should be permitted to purchase every article of rude produce in the Ottoman dominions, subject only to the same duties as the Turkish subjects; free transit and exportation were permitted without paying any duties, and the Dardanelles was thrown open to British commercial vessels, and every facility given to their navigation of the Black Sea." This was the nearest approach yet made in modern Europe to the principles of free trade; and it appears singular, at first sight,

that it should have taken place between the greatest manufacturing and a semi-barbarous State. In reality, however, there was nothing surprising in this: between such States, free trade is always beneficial, because the industry on the opposite sides does not come into collision. It is when they are both in the same line, as both agricultural or both commercial, that the divergence appears, and the danger is experienced.¹

This great step toward the re-establishment of British influence in the Levant was soon after followed by another hardly less important. This was a treaty of commerce with Austria, concluded on terms of entire reciprocity, and which promised to open, in the most advantageous manner, the markets of each country to the staple articles of the other. By this treaty it was provided that the ships of each of the contracting Powers should pay the same duties in their respective harbors; that the goods of the two countries, whether rude or manufactured, should be reciprocally admitted on the same terms, whether passing northward by the Elbe, or eastward by the Danube; and that all merchandise not the produce of the inhabitants of the contracting parties, but brought in by the vessels of the latter, should be charged no higher duties than if they were native produce. This treaty, also, was an application of the principles of free trade to a case in which there could be no doubt of their wisdom; for the Danube and the Elbe were not likely to interfere with any important branch of industry in Great Britain; and the opening of the markets of the two countries to their mutual industry was an obvious and reciprocal advantage.²

These important treaties, so likely to augment the influence of Great Britain in the Levant, by largely increasing its commercial relations, excited no small disquietude in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, to whom the ascendancy of England in the East was ever more an object of jealousy than that of Russia. Naturally, as the ascendancy of Great Britain increased at Constantinople, France endeavored to find a counterpoise to it in cultivating the closest relations with the Pacha of Egypt. Insensibly there arose a kind of tacit and understood accord on the two sides; on that of England with the Sublime Porte, on that of France with the Government of Cairo. The influence of Louis Philippe was visibly declining at Scutari; that of Victoria as evidently at Alexandria. Among other causes of discord between the two former Powers, was a demand on the part of the Porte of an annual tribute from France for Algiers, as coming in place of the Bey, one of the vassals of the Turkish Empire, or the payment of a large sum at once in lieu of it. This was made the subject of a special embassy to Paris, which, as might be expected, when such a demand was addressed to so great a power as France, met with a very cool reception, and was entirely unsuccessful. The very fact of its being advanced at all, proved on what distant terms France and Turkey already were.³

42. Causes of the coldness of France and England. Commercial treaty between the latter and Turkey.

43. And with Austria, July 7, 1838.

44. Increasing coldness of Porte with France.

¹ Cap. ix. 437, 438; Ann. Hist. xxi. 332, 341.

Encouraged by the prospect of being supported respectively by such great Powers as France and England, the half-smothered animosity between Mehemet Ali and the Porte now broke out afresh, and threatened instant hostilities. Both sides, it must be confessed, had sufficient grounds of complaint. On the part of the former, it was urged, in a diplomatic communication addressed to the consuls of France and England at Alexandria, that it was high time that his ambiguous situation should be terminated, and his just rights openly recognized by the Western Powers; that the best, and, in fact, the only way to effect this object, was to emancipate him from the sovereignty of the Porte, and put an end to the humiliating tribute, which, without adding to the real strength of Turkey, was a perpetual source of discord between them; and that if France and England understood their interests, they would, instead of opposing, strongly support such an arrangement. On the other hand, it was urged by the Divan, that the only way to accommodate matters was to restore the sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt, and reduce Mehemet Ali to his proper rank as a vassal of the Grand Seignior; that as long as Egypt was independent, it would be constantly intriguing against Turkey, of which the troubles which for a course of years it had succeeded in exciting in Syria afforded the clearest proof. There was in reality a great deal of truth on both sides in these recriminations; matters had come to that point, that their mutual pretensions, like those of England and America in the preceding century, were altogether irreconcilable, and could be decided only by the sword.¹

Feeling assured of the support of England in any contest which might take place, the Porte now openly made preparations for war. The banks of the Euphrates were crowded with troops, the Turkish fleet in the Dardanelles was equipped for sea, and large bodies of men were assembled at Constantinople ready to be put on board. The Pacha, on his part, strongly reinforced his forces in Syria, and every preparation was made to put the fleet and batteries of Alexandria in a respectable posture of defense. France and England, however, were still so far united as to be desirous to avert hostilities, and their interposition for a short period prevented them. Admiral Roussin intimated to Redschid Pacha that he had positive orders from his Government not to permit the Turkish squadron to leave the Dardanelles;* and Lord Palmerston intimated to the Pacha, through the British consul at Alexandria, that if he put in execution his avowed threat of commencing hostilities, the English squadron would take part with the Turkish to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.† These declarations

were made with the entire concurrence of the allied Powers, who were, one and all, anxious to avert hostilities, the issue of which no man could foresee, and which might end in involving the world in a conflagration.¹

Although, however, these decisive steps, on the part of the great maritime powers postponed, they did not avert the dreaded rupture. The impatience of Sultan Mahmoud for the punishment of his rebellious vassal was so great, and increased to such a degree with his advancing infirmities and irritability of temper, that in the spring of the following year it broke through all bounds. A great degree of activity was observed for some months previously in all his forces by sea and land, and in the middle of June the Turkish fleet issued from the Dardanelles and made sail for the coast of Egypt. At the same time, the Sultan addressed a note to the ambassadors of Austria and Russia, in which he declared "that he preferred any event to the present uncertain state of things; that he could no longer tolerate the insolence of his rebellious vassal, who, trampling under foot the principles of Islamism, had not scrupled to expel by force the guards placed by his sovereign at the tomb of the Prophet; refused of his own authority the passage of Suez to Great Britain, a power in alliance with the Porte; done every thing he could to prevent the English getting possession of Aden, in the Red Sea; and excited rebellion in the provinces of Bassorah and Bagdad, forming part of the Turkish Empire." At the same time, an envoy was sent to Alexandria, who summoned the Pacha, in the name of the Divan, to "re-establish the Turkish guards at the tomb of the Prophet, to pay regularly his tribute to the Sultan, and to renounce formally all rights of sovereignty over Egypt, except in so far as it might be formally conceded to him." These were the demands put forth in the East; but the views of the West dived a great deal farther into the depths of futurity, and the attention of the British Cabinet was with justice mainly fixed on preventing hostilities in order to take away from the Russians all pretext for a second visit to Constantinople, and drawing yet closer the fatal provisions of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.**

suite aussi flagrante, et empêcher le démembrement de l'Empire Turc. Le Pacha se tromperait gravement s'il supposait que des rivalités entre les Puissances Européennes les empêcheraient de prêter au Sultan tout le secours qui, dans de pareilles conjonctures, serait nécessaire pour soutenir ses droits légitimes. PALMERSTON."—*LORD PALMERSTON au COLONEL CAMPBELL, Consul Britannique à Alexandrie, July 7, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, Europe depuis 1830, x. 441.*

* The views of Lord Palmerston and the English Cabinet at this juncture were thus expressed to the French chargé d'affaires at London, 17th June, 1839: "Lord Palmerston m'a dit, 'Vous avez eu jusqu'ici mon propre sentiment sur la Question de l'Orient, je vais vous donner aujourd'hui l'opinion arrêtée du Conseil.' Et il examina toutes les parties du sujet, proposant de forcer le Sultan et le Pacha de déposer de ne point laisser entrer les Russes à Constantinople. Le Conseil a examiné ensuite le cas où, devancés par les événements au-delà des bornes d'une provision raisonnable, nous trouverions les Russes établis à Constantinople, ou en marche vers la capitale de l'Empire Ottoman. Cette immense question a été discutée sous la profonde impression qu'a causée cette phrase d'une dépêche de votre Excellence, 'Je crains qu'on n'ait pris à Londres bien facilement son parti d'une seconde expédition Russe à Constantinople.' Le Conseil a pensé

* "L'Amiral Roussin déclara à Redschid Pacha, d'après les ordres positifs du Gouvernement Français, que la flotte Ottomane ne pourrait sortir des Dardanelles, et que l'escadre de l'Amiral Gallois bloquerait le passage, si on tentait de le forcer."—*Note de l'Amiral Roussin, July 27, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, Europe depuis 1830, x. 437.*

† "Veuillez déclarer au Pacha que, s'il exécute ses projets hautement avoués, et si les hostilités éclatent entre lui et le Sultan, la Grande Bretagne prendra part pour le Sultan, afin de lui faire obtenir la réparation d'une in-

¹ Ann. Hist. xxi. 344, 347; Cap. x. 438, 440.
^{47.} Commencement of hostilities by the Sultan. June 15, 1839.

² Ann. Hist. xxii. 337, 338; Cap. x. 73, 75.

Nothing, however—not even the threatened hostility of France and England—could arrest Sultan Mahmoud in his frantic career. Orders were sent from Constantinople to commence hostilities immediately by sea and land. Bir, on the Euphrates, was fortified as a point of retreat in case of disaster, and the Turkish troops, crossing that river, took possession of several villages occupied by the Arabs in the district of Am-Tib. Mehemet Ali, whose conduct was as prudent as that of the Sultan was impetuous, gave orders to his son Ibrahim to fall back without fighting, and the same to his admirals in regard to the Ottoman fleet. The forces of the Porte, so far as numbers went, were immense, and far exceeded those of the Pacha. The Turkish general had seventeen regular regiments of infantry, nine of cavalry, and one hundred guns, besides a swarm of irregulars, which brought up his forces to 80,000 combatants. Ibrahim had under his orders only fourteen regiments of infantry, eight of cavalry, eight of artillery, and fifteen hundred irregulars, in all 46,000 men; but they were incomparably better equipped and disciplined, and their chief possessed military talents of a very high order. More than this, he had largely distributed bribes among the Turkish officers; and in consequence of this, joined to the old leaven of discontent which pervaded the Ottoman Empire in consequence of the destruction of the Janizaries, a large part of the troops were prepared to pass over ¹ Ann. Hist. xxii. 339, 341; to the enemy. The result was soon rendered painfully apparent.¹

Hafiz Pacha, the Turkish generalissimo, occupied a strong position: his right rested on an inaccessible mountain, his left on the river Naxiz, and his whole front was strengthened by field-works armed with heavy guns, whose fire swept every possible approach to the position. Ibrahim advanced to the attack with much inferior forces, though in good order, but they were visibly shaken by the fire of the Turkish artillery, which was greatly superior to his own. But at this very moment, when victory seemed to be declaring for the Turks, treachery did its work—whole battalions and squadrons went over to the enemy; and the remainder, seeing themselves deserted, and huge gaps formed in their line, into which the enemy began to pour without opposition, took to flight, abandoning their guns, caissons, baggage, and every thing they had. It was no longer a battle, but a rout. In less than two hours the whole Turkish army had disappeared, leaving behind them their whole artillery, twenty thousand muskets, nine thousand prisoners, their tents, baggage, and even ² Cap. x. 89; Hafiz Pacha's insignia of command Ann. Hist. set in diamonds, recently sent him xxii. 339, 340. by the Grand Seigneur!²

This decisive victory was not the only triumph which awaited the audacious and fortunate Pacha of Egypt. Hardly had the news of his signal triumph reached Alexandria when

que, dans ce cas, nos escadres devraient paraître devant Constantinople en amies, si le Sultan acceptait nos secours, en ennemis, s'il les refusait. On a même discuté militairement la question du passage des Dardanelles."—M. DE BOURQUENEY, *Chargé d'Affaires à Londres, au MARECHAL SOULT*, June 17, 1839; CAPEFIGURE, x. 75.

the Turkish fleet entered the harbor, having treacherously delivered itself up to the Egyptian force which it had been sent from Constantinople to combat!³ This shameful defection took place, if not with the concurrence, at least under the eyes of the French admiral, M. Lalande, who made no attempt to prevent it.⁴ The consuls of the four Powers made strenuous efforts to get the fleet restored to the Turks, but in vain. Mehemet Ali would not consent to do so except on the concession of all his demands, which the consuls were not empowered to grant. In effect, his position was extraordinary, and might well inspire confidence. The Turkish army was annihilated, and the fleet was sailing about before Alexandria united to the Egyptian, and obeying the orders of Mehemet Ali!⁵

The fierce and relentless chief who had been the cause of these disasters falling upon his country was spared the pain of witnessing them. Sultan Mahmoud, whose health had for some time been declining, expired on the 30th June, in his fifty-fifth year, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul-Medjid, then a youth of sixteen, who was girded, as a token of sovereignty, according to the custom of the Ottomans, with the sword of Othman. The deceased Sultan was a man of remarkable talents, great energy, indomitable courage, and animated by a sincere desire to promote the good of his people; but nevertheless he contributed more than any other sovereign of his race to their ruin! The decline of Turkey was never so marked, the progress of ruin never so rapid, as in the hands of this ruthless reformer. The reason was that he strove to implant among them institutions at variance with their spirit. He endeavored to make Europeans of the Turks, and the empire of the Osmanlis crumbled in the attempt. By the destruction of the Janizaries, accomplished with such awful severity, he removed indeed one fruitful source of disorder and insubordination, but he did so only by destroying the military strength of the empire. When they were alienated or ruined, the weakness of a State which depends entirely on the support of one limited class in society became at once apparent. In 1808, Turkey had maintained an equal contest with Russia, and after four years of sanguinary warfare, both these inveterate antagonists were still on the banks of the Danube; but four years after the destruction of the Janizaries in 1826, the Muscovite standards were at Adrianople. Disasters unheard of in its long and checkered annals afterward ac-

¹ "La Flotte Turque est venue le 14 sous le commandement du Capitaine Pacha, se mettre à la disposition de Méhémet Ali. Le Vicerol a dit qu'il ne la rendrait à la Porte, que lorsque le Grand Vizier Khasrow-Pacha serait éloigné des affaires, et qu'on lui aurait accordé l'hérédité des pays qu'il gouverne. L'armée Egyptienne a reçu l'ordre de se retirer derrière l'Euphrate."—*Le Consul de France à M. le Président du Conseil, Alexandrie*, July 16, 1839; CAPEFIGURE, x. 90.

² "Et tout cela se faisait sous les yeux de l'Amiral Français, M. Lalande, déjà un peu en opposition avec l'ambassadeur Baron Roussin, qui loyalement voulait soutenir les intérêts de la Porte Ottomane, et surtout ce principe, Que la trahison d'une troupe sous le drapeau, est un fatal exemple pour tous les gouvernements."—CAPEFIGURE, x. 90.

³ The Turkish fleet is treacherously given up to the Egyptians.

⁴ Cap. x. 90, 91; Ann. Hist. xxii. 340, 341.

⁵ Death of Sultan Mahmoud, and his character. June 30.

accumulated round the "falling empire and sinking throne" of Sultan Mahmoud: defeated by his rebellious vassal, he was rescued from destruction only by the officious interposition of his inveterate enemy, and death only saved him from witnessing the utter prostration of his empire by the treachery of its defenders by land and sea! So hopeless is the attempt to ingraft European institutions upon Asiatic customs—so vain the endeavor to exchange Eastern stability for Western progress—and so true the observation of Montesquieu, that no nation ever rose to lasting greatness but by institutions in harmony with its spirit.

The removal from the scene, however, of the iron will and imperious disposition of Sultan Mahmoud, removed one great obstacle to the pacification of the East. The Divan yielded, as the Eastern nations always do, to necessity: they seldom negotiate at a disadvantage till the dagger is at their throats; but when it is there, it is surprising how tractable they become. The Divan, upon the accession of the new Sultan, dispatched envoys to Alexandria to make proposals for peace in lieu of the former ones of Sultan Mahmoud, which had been rejected. The five Powers shortly after presented a note to the Divan, in which they stated that the accord between them was entire, and that they invited the sublime Porte to suspend any final determination without their concurrence, which might shortly be expected. A *hatti-scheriff* soon after appeared, the terms of which sufficiently indicated the Western influence, which had become all-powerful in the councils of the Divan. It was solemnly read in the plain of Gulhani, near Constantinople, in presence of the Sultan, and promulgated principles of government hitherto unknown in Turkey, and the very meaning of the words conveying which was unknown to the crowd of true believers who listened to it. It announced the termination of arbitrary exactions in the collection of the taxes, equality of taxation in proportion to fortune, and of liability to the military service, publicity of criminal justice, and the termination of confiscation of heirs for the crimes of their predecessors—noble and just principles, eminently calculated to regenerate an empire, if

it were as easy to reform the agents of government as to announce just principles for their regulation.¹

The young Sultan proceeded actively in the career of reform, and at the same time judiciously relaxed several regulations made by Mahmoud, which, without being of any real utility, were extremely grating to the feelings of the Orientals. An ordinance permitted the resumption of the turban instead of the red cap, which in the mania for European customs had been enjoined by the late Sultan, after the model of the *bonnet rouge* of republican France. By another ordinance the profession of a baker was declared free; and what was of great importance, the monopoly of the purchase of bread by the *Zahire-Nazira*, or Surveyor-General of Provisions, was abolished, and from that moment all the abuses which had so long existed in that department disappeared.

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The bakers purchased grain wherever they chose, and the supply of the market proved abundant. Nor were public institutions neglected; on the contrary, much was done to penetrate the murky darkness of the Ottoman Empire. Seven academies were established in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, Broussa, Smyrna, Bagdad, and Trebizond, in conformity with the plan adopted by the late Sultan, where literature and the sciences were to be taught on the European method, and a military school founded in the capital, a naval one at Pera,¹ and at Galata one for the Franks.¹

These changes, so great a revolution in an Eastern monarchy, sufficiently bespoke the influence which, by means of their maritime superiority, the Western Powers had now acquired in Constantinople. Another revolution, which occurred in the course of this year, tended still farther to demonstrate the increasing weakness and rapid decline of the Turkish Empire. SERBIA, which had ever since 1806 owed only a nominal allegiance to the Porte, had in 1835 accepted an aristocratic constitution, which had been forced upon Prince Milosch, the chief of the State, by the influence of Russia. Being distasteful, however, to the majority of the inhabitants, who longed passionately for the freedom which they heard was enjoyed by the Christians of Western Europe, it was not long of being overturned. The troops raised by the Government revolted in May of this year, and, marching on the capital, compelled Prince Milosch to resign in favor of his eldest son, Milav. He soon died, and was succeeded by the second son, Prince Michel; and after long hesitation on the part of Prince Milosch, he was permitted to assume the command. He protested, however, against his dethronement, and appealed both to Russia and the Porte. Neither, however, were in a condition to afford him any assistance, for the Egyptian Question fully occupied the attention of both. Thus Prince Michel was allowed to remain on the throne, and Serbia for the first time enjoyed a chief of her own choice, independent either of Muscovite or Ottoman influence—another symptom among the many which appeared at this time of the rapid decline of the Turkish Empire, from which province after province was torn away, not so much from their own strength, as from the weakness of the sovereign power which had so long ruled over them.²

But this very weakness, which had now become apparent to all the world, only increased the anxiety of the European Powers to terminate the Eastern Question without an intervention, which was more to be dreaded than any thing that could possibly occur. The danger was imminent that Russia, seeing the weakness and peril of the Grand Seigneur, should again take upon itself the alarming office of protector, and occupy Constantinople in a military manner, under color of defending it from the Egyptians. All Europe, and Austria in particular, was deeply interested in averting such a consummation as this, which would at once subvert the balance of power, and, by putting the keys of the Dar-

¹ Ann. Hist. xlii. 343, 344.

² Ann. Hist. xlii. 343, 344.

³ Ann. Hist. xlii. 344, 345.

⁴ Ann. Hist. xlii. 344, 345.

danelles in the hands of the Czar, render him absolute master of eastern and southern Germany. The difficulty was fearfully increased by the policy of France, which leaned every day more strongly to a separate treaty with Mehemet Ali, and to an entire divergence from the views of the Allies on the Eastern Question. M. Thiers, who had recently become Prime Minister of Louis Philippe, was known to incline strongly to this policy, from a desire of following out the views of Napoleon regarding Egypt, and providing on the shores of Africa a counterpoise to the influence of England in the Mediterranean. Thus the danger was equal on both sides, and it was hard to say which was most formidable; for, on the one hand, the Turks in alliance with England were threatened by the united forces of France and Egypt, and, on the other, Russia eagerly watched for the opportunity of throwing her *egis* over the Sultan, ¹ Cap. x. 192, and extending to the declining Ottoman the withering shadow of ² xliii. 454, 455. her protection.^{1*}

The ultimatum of the Sultan was, that the ^{56.} Pacha should obtain the hereditary government of Egypt, and the government, *for life*, of that part of Syria which extended from the Red Sea to the Sea of Tiberius, with the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre. The Pacha, on the other hand, contended for the possession of all these territories in absolute sovereignty, and in hereditary right. "The real point at issue," said the Sultan in his last proclamation, "is the territorial division. If, as Mehemet Ali contends, such vast countries should be conceded to him and his heirs in hereditary right, the dominions of the Porte will be split into two parts, and the relations between the subject and sovereign will exist only in name. Never will it be permitted that a governor, in arrogating to himself the sacred rights of sovereignty, should occupy a territory so great, and power so considerable. If the intentions of the Pacha are only to provide for the future fate of his descendants, certainly the hereditary government of Egypt should suffice for him." The Divan was encouraged to hold out for these terms in consequence of an important event which took place in spring, 1840. This was no less than an insurrection in Syria among the Druses and Maronites, who, driven to desperation by the systematic and organized exactions of Mehemet Ali, levied with European ex-
³ Ann. Hist. xliii. 454, 455; attitude, and supported by European
Cap. x. 201, an force, sighed for the comparative
305. security and freedom from imposts of Oriental decrepitude.²

Keenly alive to the perils which environed Turkey on all sides, and desirous to make the pacification of the East and the protection of

* "L'opinion personnelle de M. Thiers n'était pas de s'accorder avec les Puissances, mais de préparer un arrangement particulier entre la Porte et Méhémet Ali. L'Europe était informée des instructions secrètes données à M. de Pontonis à Constantinople. M. de Metternich avait également instruit Lord Palmerston du projet qu'avait la France, et qu'elle lui avait communiquée comme une espérance, d'obtenir une traité séparé entre le Pacha d'Egypte et le Sultan : traité qui devait sortir des conditions proposées par les quatre Puissances. De là résultait la conviction que la France se séparait des Puissances, qu'elle avait pris une politique à part, et Lord Palmerston en concluait que ces mêmes Puissances pouvaient traiter séparément et faire elles-mêmes des conditions."—*CAPEFIGUE, Europe depuis 1830*, x. 194, 195.

the Ottoman empire the joint work of the whole States, not that of Russia or France in particular, the diplomatists of the four Powers, under the able guidance of Lord Palmerston and Prince Metternich, at length brought the long-protracted negotiations on the Eastern Question to a termination. By treaty, signed between Turkey, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, *but without France*, the whole conditions on which the contest was to be terminated were accurately defined, and the means of enforcing them fixed and regulated. By it the Sultan agreed to give to the Pacha, and his descendants in the direct order of succession, the administration of the whole of Egypt, and in addition, *during his life*, the pachalic of Acre, with the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, with the administration of the southern part of Syria, the limits of which were to be afterward fixed. These offers, however, were made on the express condition that the Pacha should, within ten days after receiving intimation of this treaty, deposit his acceptance of it in the hands of the agent of the Sultan at Constantinople, and at the same time deposit in the hands of that agent the necessary orders to his commanders by sea and land to withdraw his highness's forces immediately from Arabia and all its holy cities, from the isle of Candia, and from all the parts of the Ottoman Empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt and of the pachalic of Acre. If, in the space of ten days more, the Pacha should not signify his acquiescence in the treaty, the Sultan withdraws his offer of the life-pachalic of Acre, and limits his offer to the hereditary pachalic of Egypt, but this only on condition that these terms should be acceded to in the next ten days. The annual tribute to be paid by the Pacha was to be proportioned to the territory of which he obtained the administration, according as he acceded to the first or second ultimatum. In any event, the Pacha was to engage to deliver up the Turkish fleet, with its entire crews and equipages, to the person empowered to receive it on the part of the Turkish Government, and the commanders of the allied squadrons were to be a party to this delivery.¹

When this treaty was intimated to the Pacha, he broke out into the most violent fury. "Vallah-billah-billah!" (by the Almighty God), exclaimed he, "I will not surrender a foot of land which I possess; and should they declare war against me, I will overturn the empire, and bury myself beneath its ruins." But very different preparations from a mere ebullition of Oriental wrath were requisite to withstand the forces of the Allies, whose arrangements were alike complete and effective. By a supplementary treaty signed the same day between Turkey and the four allied Powers, it was stipulated, that if the Pacha should refuse the proposed terms, the allied Powers were, on the requisition of the Sultan, to concert measures for interrupting the communication between Egypt and Syria; and for that purpose Great Britain and Austria agreed to unite their naval forces, and give the requisite orders to their respective com-
^{58.} The Pacha refuses the terms, and military arrangements of the Allies to enforce it.
¹ Traité, July 15, 1840; Ann. Hist. xliii. 147 (Doc. Hist.).

manders. In the event of the Pacha directing his forces by sea or land against Constantinople, the high contracting parties agreed to put adequate forces at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, and in particular to put the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in a sufficient state of defense. It was expressly stipulated, however, "that those steps shall in no way derogate from the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, in virtue of which it has in all ages been forbidden to ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus; and the Sultan, by the present act, declares that, with the exception above mentioned, he is firmly resolved to maintain in future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of the empire, as long as the Porte remains at peace, to admit no foreign vessel of war within the Straits of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles."⁵⁰

France was no party to any of these treaties; so that she was now, as in the latter years of the wars of Napoleon, in a manner isolated from Europe, and the alliance which had grown up since the Revolution of 1800 seemed threatened with dissolution. The allied Governments, however, were careful to do every thing in their power to prevent a rupture with her; and in a joint note addressed to the Cabinet of the Tuileries by their ambassadors, it was stated: "The French Government has received, during the whole course of the negotiations which have commenced in the autumn of last year, the clearest and most incontestible proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at a good understanding regarding the measures to be pursued in the East with the French Government. From these efforts, the Cabinet of Paris may judge of the importance which the four great Powers attach to the moral influence which the entire union of the five Powers would have in a matter so grave and so important to the peace of Europe. The four Powers have perceived with regret that all their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and though lately they have proposed to France to unite itself to them, in order to complete an arrangement based upon what the French ambassador in London himself proposed in the close of the last year, the French Government has not thought fit to accede to the arrangement. It made its co-operation depend on conditions which the allied Powers deemed incompatible with the dignity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, and the future peace of Europe. The four Powers, however, indulge the hope that their separation from France on this subject will not be of long duration; and they now address themselves in the most earnest manner in order to obtain the moral co-operation of the French Government, in employing its great influence with Mehemet Ali to induce the Pacha to accept

the terms offered to him; an interposition which, if effectual, will secure for France fresh claims to the gratitude of the world."⁵¹

⁵⁰ Note, July 16, 1840; *Ann. Hist.* xxiii. 145 (Doc. Hist.).

The French Government, however, was by no means inclined to adopt these pacific views; on the contrary, the irritation in Paris at the ad-

justment of this treaty apart from them was such, that France and England were on the verge of a war. M. Thiers had never anticipated such rapid and decisive measures on the part of the English Government; on the contrary, he expected to have himself arranged a treaty between the Porte and the Pacha without the interposition of the four Powers, and thereby secured the influence of France in an effectual manner both at Constantinople and Alexandria. Great, accordingly, was the consternation of the French Cabinet, and especially of M. Thiers, when they received intelligence of the signature of the treaty of 15th July. It was communicated with studied courtesy, accompanied by an entire copy of all the documents connected with it, on the 19th July; but so far from the feelings of the French Government being mollified by this courtesy, they were only the more exasperated by it. A burst of warlike enthusiasm immediately broke forth both in the Government and the people. The public indignation knew no bounds. The national honor was thought to be outraged—a slight put upon the people which could be washed out only in blood. On all sides there was a universal cry for arms. Not a single journal in Paris failed to call out loudly for war. The allied Powers, and England in particular, were the objects of the most impassioned invective. The *entente cordiale* was forgotten; the envenomed feelings of the revolutionary war sprang up again with fearful energy. Taking advantage of the public enthusiasm, M. Thiers proposed that the Cabinet should declare its sittings permanent; that the army should forthwith be raised to 500,000 men; extensive fortifications be erected round Paris and the frontier fortresses; the fleet in the Mediterranean be largely augmented; and in fine, to meet these extraordinary expenses, a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) should be given to the Ministers by a simple ordonnance of the King, without awaiting the assembling of the Chambers. To all these proposals the King gave a ready and unqualified assent, and they were adopted by the Council. The idea of encircling Paris with a series of detached forts had long been a favorite one with Louis Philippe, and frequently discussed in the Council, and he was too happy to take advantage of the present moment of excitement and consternation to get it carried into effect with the general concurrence of the nation.⁵²

Matters had now come to such a pass between England and France, that a rupture between them seemed not only imminent, but inevitable. Already, in the spring of the year, the magnitude of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, which amounted to eighteen sail of the line, had excited the anxiety of Lord Palmerston; * and it

* "J'ai à faire savoir à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté Britannique a été informé qu'en addition aux dix-sept vaisseaux de ligne qui sont déjà équipés ou en armement, pour le service de la Méditerranée, l'Inflexible de 90 canons va prendre la mer à Rochefort, et que la France aura bientôt dix-huit vaisseaux de ligne, dont plusieurs à trois ponts, dans la Méditerranée. Si ces renseignements sont exacts, il y a là matière à l'attention la plus sérieuse du Gouvernement Britannique."

was little allayed by the assurance of M. Thiers that it amounted *only to fifteen*. Such was the pitiable state of weakness to which the British naval force had been reduced by the ceaseless reductions of previous years, that the English fleet in the Mediterranean consisted only of *nine line-of-battle ships*, of which the largest bore 110 guns; and the Turkish fleet was ranged with the Egyptian on the other side. The crisis, therefore, was imminent, and the risk extreme; and the two fleets lay side by side during the whole summer, in the bay of Besika, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, hourly expecting the order to commence hostilities. The British were inferior in numbers, but they were confident of the result, and anxiously awaited the signal: in the night, double watches were kept, the decks were kept cleared for action, and the guns double-shotted. The French sailors were equally zealous and enthusiastic, and the consciousness of their superiority of force made them sanguine of success. In France, the revolutionary passions were let loose with the utmost fury, and nothing short of a war of propagandism against Europe seemed capable of satisfying the popular desires;* while Russia eagerly promised an army of 40,000 men to operate in Asia Minor, and Austria agreed to furnish 50,000 men to protect the northern provinces of Turkey from injury or insult. It was evident, from the readiness with which the great Powers proffered their aid for the defense of the Sultan, that each conceived that in so doing it was ¹ Cap. x. 219, advancing its own interests. Men 231, *Ann. Hist.* are never so liberal but from selfish motives.¹

The plan of the Allies was to strike a decisive blow in the Levant with so much rapidity that the contest might be terminated there before any efficient steps could be taken by France to

prevent it. For this purpose the English squadron, consisting of nine line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and other vessels, under Admirals Stopford and Napier,* received orders to leave its anchorage in the bay of Besika, where it was lying beside the French fleet, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and make sail for the coast of Syria and Egypt. It was to be joined by two frigates and two sloops of the Austrians; not that their aid was either required by, or could add any thing of consequence to the English armament, but that the sight of the Imperial flag beside the British would convince the world that the movement was a joint one on the part of the whole Allies, not a separate one on that of Great Britain. The French, however, had fifteen sail of the line in the Mediterranean, of much heavier weight of metal than the English, and the superiority in the number of the crews was still more decided. The Russian fleet had not yet left Sebastopol; the Austrian consisted only of a few frigates; the Turkish was ranged in the harbor of Alexandria beside the Egyptian. In all, twenty sail of the line were collected on the side of the French and the Pacha, against nine on that of the British and one of the Turks: an immense disproportion, adequate to have deprived the British of the command of the Mediterranean, but not sufficient to intimidate the successors ¹ Ann. Reg. of Nelson and Collingwood, to whom 1840, 274, the honor of the national flag was 276; Cap. x. then intrusted.¹ 233, 240.

To understand the brief but decisive naval campaign which followed, and comprehend how it came to pass that a ^{63.} Nature of Syria in a military point of view.

naval force succeeded in gaining important *land* victories, and the successful bombardment of a few towns on the coast of Syria led to the abandonment of all his important conquests by Ibrahim Pacha, it is necessary to reflect upon the physical circumstances of that country, and the effect the loss of the chain of communication between Asia Minor and Egypt by the coast must have upon any belligerent carrying on war between these two countries. Nature has rendered that the *sole* line of communication by land between Asia and Africa. Syria is composed of a huge mass of rocky and precipitous mountains, which under various names, of which the Taurus, Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Mount Sinai, are the most remarkable, projects into the sea between the Euxine and the Levant, and severs the two continents from each other. They are disunited, save by the coast road which runs between the foot of the mountains and the waves of the Mediterranean. So narrow is the strip of land through which it runs, that Tyre, Acre,

"M. Thiers m'a assuré que le Gouvernement Français n'avait pas équipé, et ne se proposait pas d'équiper, plus de quinze vaisseaux de ligne, dont neuf devaient stationner dans le Levant, et six rester à Toulon."—LORD PALMERSTON à LORD GRANVILLE, March 5, 1840; and LORD GRANVILLE à LORD PALMERSTON, March 9, 1840; *CAPEFIGUE*, x. 313, 313.

* "Nous retournons vers 1831, vers l'esprit révolutionnaire exploitant l'entraînement national, et poussant à la guerre sans motif légitime, sans chance raisonnable de succès, dans le seul espoir des révolutions. L'intérêt de la France ne conseille pas de faire de la question de Syrie un cas de guerre. Nous avons hautement dit que la distribution des territoires entre le Sultan et le Pacha nous importait peu. Nous l'avons constamment dit, aucun des intérêts supérieurs de la France n'est attaqué; ce qu'on tente en Orient peut amener autre chose sur ce qu'on tente. Des événements peuvent surgir auxquels la France ne saurait rester étrangère. Ce n'est pas une raison d'élever soi-même des événements et des questions plus graves encore, et qui ne naîtront point naturellement. On n'a voulu ni insulter, ni défier, ni triompher de la France par le traité du 15 Juillet. On lui a demandé son concours, et elle l'a refusé."—M. GUIZOT à M. le DUC DE BROGLIE, July 28, 1841; *CAPEFIGUE*, x. 315, note.

* *Viz.*

Line.	Guns.	Frigates and Sloops.	Guns.	Steamers.	Turks and Austrians.	Guns.
Princess Charlotte.....	110	Castor.....	26	Gorgon.....	Flag-ship.....	84
Powerful.....	84	Pique.....	26	Phoenix.....	Austrian.....	60
Ganges.....	84	Carysford.....	26	Stromboli.....	do. Frigate.....	46
Bellerophon.....	80	Talbot.....	26	Vesuvius.....	Corvette.....	20
Thunderer.....	80	Hasard.....	18	.....	Cutter.....	8
Benbow.....	72	Wasp.....	16	.....	.....	.....
Edinburgh.....	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Revenge.....	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hastings.....	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	9	6	4	1 line and 4 lesser.		

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1840, p. 192.

Jaffa, and all the maritime towns of Syria, are in a manner overhung by the mountains, and to the mariners who approach the Holy Land from the westward the Lebanon appears to rise like the Andes, as seen from the Pacific, from the level of the ocean.

It results from this peculiar physical conformation, that possession of the coast line is indispensable for any military operations, either of Egypt against Asia, or of Asia against Egypt. All conquerors on either side, from the earliest times, have gone by this route. By it, on the one hand, Scæstis led his invincible hosts to the conquest of Persia, and Saladin brought his fiery squadrons to combat the Crusaders, and Napoleon advanced from the banks of the Nile to revolutionize Asia. By it, on the other, Cambyses passed when on his march to Thebes, and Darius led the Persians to avenge the victories of the conquering queen, and Alexander marched from vanquished Thebes to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon. An army advancing from Egypt to Syria must bring up all its supplies by this line; its whole communications lie through the sea-port towns. Thence their vital importance in war. An enemy who, from the sea, succeeds in interrupting the possession of the line, has achieved the greatest feat in strategy; he has thrown himself on his adversaries' communications without compromising his own. A blow at Acre or Jaffa is like a severe stroke on the spinal marrow; it paralyzes all below the wound.

Nothing daunted by the formidable forces arrayed against him, Admiral Stopford proceeded to execute the important mission with which he was intrusted. On the 14th August he summoned the Egyptian generals, in the name of the allied Powers, to evacuate Syria, and as no notice was taken of the requisition, he proceeded to active operations. He divided his squadron into two portions: the first, consisting of three sail of the line, a frigate, and two war-steamer, all English, and two frigates, Austrian, proceeded to the coast of Egypt, and cast anchor before Alexandria; while he himself, with six line-of-battle ships, took post in the roads of Beyrout. The first step taken was to summon the troops of the Pacha to evacuate the town; and this not having been done, the vessels stood in and commenced the bombardment, which was kept up with uncommon vigor for nine successive days. The Egyptians replied vigorously from all their batteries, and at first it was hard to say to which side victory would incline. By degrees, however, the superiority of the English fire became manifest; gun after gun in the fortress was dismounted; bastion after bastion crumbled into ruins, and presented yawning chasms in the scarp to the broadsides of the assailants. At length, after a gallant resistance, the defenses were all ruined, the town reduced to ashes, and evacuated by the Egyptians. It was immediately taken possession of by the land troops on board the allied fleet, and the Turkish flag hoisted on the ruined battlements.¹

Immense was the sensation produced in France and over Europe by this vigorous demonstration.

The French had never given credit to the declarations of the Allies; they thought that at the eleventh hour, if not before, the English would recede from the Continental league, and that by simply holding out they would nullify the whole provisions of the treaty of July. Now, however, it was proved that the Allies were in earnest, and that the English, in particular, stood in the very front rank of the confederacy. The broadsides of the Queen Charlotte had defied France as completely as the guns of Marshal Gérard, directed against Antwerp, had thrown down the gauntlet to the Holy Alliance. Surprise at an event so entirely unexpected was the first impression, but that was soon succeeded by indignation. The cry was universal for war; the press, without exception, resounded with impassioned declamations; the public excitement rose to the very highest point, and nothing but a hostile demonstration on the part of Government was wanting to light up the flames of a general war over Europe.¹

There can be no doubt that Louis Philippe keenly felt the slight put upon the consequence of France by the prompt execution of the treaty of July, and that, if he had been at liberty to follow out his inclinations, and he could have done so without danger, he would have put himself at the head of this national movement, and at once declared war against England. But he was advanced in years, and experienced in the vicissitudes of human affairs: the child of revolution, he was familiar with its passions and acquainted with its designs. The risk to the new dynasty in France, and the cause of order over Europe, was extreme if a general war were now to break out. It would soon lose its national and assume a social character. The strife of opinion which Mr. Canning foresaw, and which had been so near breaking out in 1823 and 1831, was now imminent; and if it took place, all Europe would be on one side, and France alone on the other. The boasted alliance with England, which had been the main stay of the Orleans dynasty, was at an end. Again, as in 1814 and 1815, France would have to confront the forces of banded Europe on the Rhine. There was enough here to cause the stoutest heart to quail; for the forces of the coalition, headed by Russia, could be encountered only by rousing the revolutionary spirit in France; and if it were once let loose, it was hard to say whether the Citizen King would have most to fear from the blows of his enemies or the success of his supporters.²

These considerations, which were so obvious as to force themselves on every rational and unprejudiced mind, were much strengthened by the steps taken by M. Thiers at this crisis to rouse the people in France, on the one side, and the assurances given on the part of the allied Cabinets, on the other. In Paris, nothing was to be seen but the enthusiasm of 1793. The Marseillaise was constantly heard in the streets; clubs every day sprung up, which resounded with Jacobinical declamations; the public fêtes all wore a

64. Effect of this peculiar physical conformation on the war then waged.

65. Bombardment of Beyrout. Aug. 29, 1840.

1 Admiral Napier's Disp., Sept. 10, 1840. Ann. Reg. 1840, 174 (Doc. Hist.); Cap. x. 240, 241.

66. Immense sensation produced by this event over Europe.

1 Cap. x. 241, 242; Ann. Hist. xxi. 506, 514.

67. Views of Louis Philippe at this crisis.

2 Cap. x. 247, 248.

68. Conference of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot at the Chateau d'Eu, and its results.

revolutionary aspect. Louis Philippe was startled at this effervescence: he admired the national spirit which was evolved, but he dreaded its alliance with democratic transports which obviously menaced his throne. Impressed with these ideas, and alarmed at the revolutionary tendency of the government of M. Thiers, the King summoned M. Guizot,* the ambassador at the Court of London, to meet him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy; and he had there several long and confidential conferences with that accomplished diplomatist on the affairs of Europe in general, and the views of the English Cabinet in particular. From him he learned what was the real truth—that the British Government had been unwillingly drawn into this contest from dread of the effect of any weakening of Turkey in augmenting the preponderance of Russia in the East; that it was sincerely inclined to the French alliance, which it regarded as the best security for the peace of Europe; and that as soon as the Eastern Question was settled, it would gladly revert to the most friendly terms with the French Government. At the same time, Count Appony and M. d'Arnim strongly represented that their courts were sincerely averse to a Continental war, but much alarmed at the magnitude of the armaments preparing in France; and that unless they were discontinued, the German Confederacy must arm also, in which case no one could guarantee even for a day the peace of Europe. Impressed with these ideas, the King resolved to persevere in his pacific course, and as the only means of securing it, to recall the French fleet from the Levant, and to make M. Guizot Prime Minister in lieu of M. Thiers. Orders were accordingly sent out to Admiral Lalande, who commanded in the Levant, to return to Napoli di Romania; and the French squadron, in deep dejection, ¹ Cap. x. 252, set sail for the westward at the very 253; Ann. time when the English fleet was divided, and making sail for Alexandria and Beyrout.[†] Hist. xxiii. 514, 515.

* M. Guizot's ideas on the state of affairs at this crisis were in the highest degree rational and pacific. In a dispatch to the French consul at Alexandria, he said: "Le sentiment général, mon propre sentiment, est que le temps ne peut que tourner contre la Pacha et amener des complications nouvelles, dont l'effet pourrait l'atteindre au siège même de sa puissance. Quant à la France, elle ne veut pas, elle ne fera pas la guerre pour la Syrie: elle ne veut pas, elle ne fera pas la guerre pour permettre à Méhémet Ali de conserver cette contrée. Il peut encore demeurer possesseur héréditaire de l'Égypte; il a encore quelque chance d'obtenir un peu plus que l'Égypte, s'il entre franchement dans cette voie. La France alors redoublera d'efforts pour que les décisions à intervenir soient aussi favorables au Viceroy que la situation le comporte. Mais s'il est dans ses intentions de risquer le tout pour le tout, de risquer l'Égypte pour la Syrie, s'il espère entraîner la France il tombera dans une dangereuse illusion. Personne ne peut entraîner la France dans une guerre interminable pour une cause qu'elle ne considère pas comme suffisante pour lui faire prendre une telle résolution. Le plus grand service que la France puisse rendre à Méhémet Ali est de lui dire la vérité tout entière."—M. Guizot to Consul Général d'Alexandrie, Nov. 9, 1840; CAPRIGIUS, x. 301, 303.

† "Ce ne fut pas sans un vif déplaisir que l'on vit abandonner ainsi le théâtre des événements et le mécontentement général fut d'autant plus grand que l'on s'attendait à suivre l'Escadre Anglaise en Syrie, que la possibilité d'une collision avait excité l'enthousiasme des équipages, et que chacun était prêt à faire dignement son devoir, soutenir l'honneur du Pavillon, et venger cette longue et cruelle série d'injures et de défaites qui font, et feront toujours battre le cœur de tous les marins en présence des Anglais. Ce fut donc un profond sentiment d'abaissement et de honte qui remplaça ces généreux élans

The change which had occurred in the councils of France distinctly appeared in a note of M. Thiers to the allied ^{69.} M. Thiers's note of Nov. 8, and its results. Cabinets on 8th October. In that document the French Minister receded altogether from the demand of the pachalic of Syria for Mehemet Ali, and contented himself with protesting that "in no event would the dethronement pronounced by the Porte against the Pacha of Egypt be tolerated by the French Government." None of the Allies were contending for that extreme measure; so that, from this moment, the divergence of France from the allied Powers on the Eastern Question was at an end, and the danger to the peace of Europe had blown over. "The dearest interests of Europe," said M. Thiers, "are wound up with the preservation of the Turkish Empire. That empire, retained in a state of debasement, can serve no other end but to contribute to the aggrandizement of the neighboring States, to the destruction of the balance of power, and its ruin would immediately induce changes which would alter the face of the whole world. France, and the other Powers with her, have so thoroughly understood that eventual result, that, in concert with her allies, she has constantly and honestly contended for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire, how deeply soever the interests of some of them may be wound up in the preservation or ruin of that empire. But the shores of the Black Sea are not a more integral part of the Ottoman Empire than those of the Red Sea; and it is as essential to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria as of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles." But the Allies were entirely in accordance with France on this point, and were determined to enforce its observance by the Sultan; so that there was no longer, after a rupture ¹ Cap. x. 256, 260. ence between them.¹⁰

Although, however, the moment for action had passed, and M. Thiers, by withdrawing the French fleet from the ^{70.} Fall of M. Thiers, who point in dispute in the East to the allied Powers, yet he could not bring himself to abandon the illusion of a warlike propagandism in Europe, and insisted not only on raising the regular army to 500,000 men, and calling out on permanent duty 800,000 national guards, but on a bill of indemnity from the Chambers sanctioning all the warlike expenses already incurred. The majority of the Cabinet went with the Prime Minister in these demands, and insisted farther that the speech

pendant tout le temps que l'escadre resta, pour ainsi dire, cachée et impuissante dans la triste baie de Salamine."—Note d'un Officier supérieur à bord de la Flotte Française, Oct. 17, 1840; CAPRIGIUS, x. 254, note.

* "Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté pense qu'il serait convenable que les représentants des quatre Puissances à Constantinople recussent l'ordre de se rendre auprès du Ministre Turc, et de lui déclarer que leurs Gouvernements, par l'application de l'article 7 de l'acte séparé du Traité du 15 Juillet, recommandent vivement au Sultan de vouloir bien dans le cas où Méhémet Ali ferait promptement sa soumission, et consentirait à rendre la flotte et à retirer ses troupes de la Syrie, d'Adana, de Candie, et des Villes Saintes, non seulement à réintégrer Méhémet Ali dans son pachalik d'Égypte, mais à lui accorder en outre l'hérédité de ce pachalik."—LORD PALMERSTON à LORD FORBES, Ambassadeur Anglais à Constantinople, Oct. 15, 1840; CAPRIGIUS, x. 260, note.

from the throne on the opening of the Chambers should announce them, and declare the resolution of the King "to maintain and leave to his son the sacred deposit of the national independence which the *French Revolution* had placed in his hands." The King hesitated, as well he might, at being a party to such announcements. He knew that the ultimatum of the allied Powers had been delivered,

Oct. 29. and that the continuance of the warlike preparations of France would be the signal for a general war. He refused, therefore, to agree to such a speech on the raising of the armaments proposed; and the consequence was, that M. Thiers and the whole Cabinet tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and M. Guizot and Marshal Soult were sent for to form a new Cabinet.¹

Before the effect of this decisive change in French councils could be felt in European diplomacy, the Eastern Question had in effect been resolved by still more powerful negotiators. The cannon of the British fleet had torn down the ramparts of Acre; they had done that which the arms of Napoleon had left undone. Delivered from the inopportune presence of the French fleet, the British Admiral steered for that far-famed fortress, and the standards of England were again seen on the theatre of the greatest exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the greatest reverse in the early career of Napoleon. On the 25th September the British fleet stood along the coast of Syria toward the south, while a land force 12,000 strong, of which the Admiral himself took the command, landed and stormed Sidon on the 26th, though garrisoned by 3000 men. On this occasion the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was the first on the breach. Upon this success, the army of Ibrahim Pacha, which numbered 14,000 men, and had been much shaken by the fall of Beyrout, dispersed, and a large part joined the Allies. Ibrahim himself retired, or rather fled from Balbec, where he had taken post, attended only by a part of his troops, to Damascus. Meanwhile the ports of Syria were Oct. 10. closely blockaded; and on the 10th of

October an engagement took place between the allied forces under Admiral Napier and those remaining to Ibrahim, in which the latter were completely defeated, with the loss of 5000 prisoners, besides 5000 who had previously deserted. Finding it impossible to withstand the allied forces, the Emir Bechir, a strong partisan of Ibrahim's, had previously concluded

Oct. 5. a convention, whereby he agreed, on condition of having his life and property secured, to return to his allegiance to the Sultan, whom he immediately joined with all his forces. He was soon after received on board an English steamer at Sidon. These successes opened the gates of the Lebanon, the intrepid mountaineers of which, smarting under the systematic exactions of Ibrahim Pacha, all rose,

and, issuing from their passes, flocked down to the sea-coast for arms, which were quickly and amply supplied by the boats of the British squadron. The progress of the allied fleet and army was now a continued triumph.² In a short

time, Tripoli, Tortosa, and Latakia opened their gates, and no place of strength remained to the Egyptians on the coast but Acre, before which the allied fleets appeared on the 26th October.

This far-famed fortress was at this time garrisoned by 4500 of Ibrahim's best troops, besides 800 cavalry, and its bombardment of Acre. successful resistance to Napoleon had led to a very general opinion that it was impregnable. A summons to capitulate having been disregarded, and 8000 marines and Turkish troops embarked on board the squadron, the whole was arranged in two divisions by Admiral Stopford, who had the chief command. The attack was directed against the west lines and south face of the works. The former were assailed by the Princess Charlotte, Powerful, Bellerophon, Revenge, Thunderer, and Pique, under the immediate command of Admiral Napier, with the Phoenix steamer; the latter by the Edinburgh, Benbow, Castor, Carysfort, Talbot, Wasp, and Hazard. The steamers Gorgon, Vesuvius, and Stromboli took a position a little in the rear, and fired shells with great rapidity and precision into the fortress. Admiral Sir R. Stopford took the lead, and commenced the attack in the Phoenix steamer, though his flag still remained flying on board the Princess Charlotte. Admiral Napier, his worthy colleague, led the way to the northward in the Powerful. The Turkish ship of the line and frigates, with the Austrian vessels, stood toward the south. The fire commenced at two P.M., and immediately became extremely warm on both sides. The line-of-battle ships poured in broadside after broadside point-blank against the batteries with extraordinary rapidity and precision, while the air above was streaked with bombs from the mortar-vessels, which fell almost without exception in the bastions and on the ramparts. Meanwhile the Egyptians were not idle: well did they sustain, in that trying hour, the ancient fame of the Crescent. But it was all in vain; the superiority of European arms and skill was now decisively exhibited. Though they stood manfully to their guns despite the iron tempest which incessantly battered the parapets and came in at the embrasures, yet their shot, ill directed, did little execution on the fleet, while the ramparts were rapidly crumbling, and soon began to yawn under the admirable direction and tremendous weight of metal of the English broadsides. At length, at a quarter past four, a shell from the Gorgon penetrated the principal magazine, which immediately blew up with an explosion so tremendous that all firing on both sides ceased for some minutes. First a stream of light shot straight up to a great height in the air, then a vast volume of dark smoke, as from an eruption of Vesuvius, rose to the height of some thousand feet, with a roar which drowned even the thunder of the artillery; next, after the lapse of half a minute, the rattle of the falling fragments on the roofs, bastions, and in the water, made even the bravest thrill with horror. Farther resistance was now impossible; the ammunition of the fortress was nearly all destroyed; 1700 men of the troops had been killed or wounded by the explosion;³ and such was the consternation of the

¹ Admiral Stopford's Disp., Sept. 30, 1840; Admiral Napier's Disp., Sept. 25 and 30, 1840; Ann. Reg. 1840, 537, 546.

² Admiral Stopford's Disp., Nov. 4, 1840; Ann. Reg. 1841, 102, 547.

garrison, that as soon as it was dark, part evacuated the town, which was taken possession of at three on the following morning by the boats from the British squadron.

The capture of Acre was one of the greatest blows, and attended by the greatest results, ever struck by any nation. The immediate trophies of the victory were great, but they were as nothing compared to its ultimate results. On the walls were found 121 guns and 20 mortars mounted, besides 42 not mounted, and in the store 97 brass field-pieces, and the like number of mortars. The loss of the Egyptians was 2300 killed and wounded, and 8000 prisoners were taken. But in its final consequences it was far more important, and, in truth, decisive of the fate of the campaign. The garrisons of Caiffa and Jaffa immediately evacuated these places, and endeavored to escape into Egypt, but being beset by the insurgents, they were driven back to Acre, where they were all made prisoners. The Syrian tribes declared in favor of the Sultan; the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem sent in their adhesion; and the forces of Ibrahim Pacha, which in the beginning of September had been 75,000, were reduced to 20,000, concentrated in the plain of Balbek, cut off from Egypt, surrounded by enemies, and without any resources to carry on the war. These immense successes had been gained with surprisingly little loss; for the allied casualties in the bombardment of Acre had been only fourteen English and four Turks killed, and forty-two wounded! A loss altogether trifling compared to the magnitude of the success gained, and proving that the Egyptian engineers and gunners had been little skilled in their duties, for the English ships met with a very different resistance when, fourteen years after, they came to face the batteries of Sebastopol.¹

These decisive successes on the part of the English squadron, and, above all, the capture of Acre, the key to the whole line of communication between Egypt and Syria, rendered farther resistance on the part of the Pacha impossible. The English Cabinet, on its side, was not less solicitous to come to an accommodation, and avert hostilities, for which it was wholly unprepared, and with which, when they felt their burden, it was certain the nation would be in the highest degree dissatisfied. With these dispositions on both sides, and the certainty that France had withdrawn from any active support of Mehemet Ali, it was not difficult to come to an accommodation. Admiral Napier, on the part of the allied Powers, reiterated, when off Alexandria, the offer, that if the Pacha would agree to restore the fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria and Candia, they would use their best endeavors to secure for him and his descendants the pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right. To these terms the Pacha, with the allied fleet ready to bombard Alexandria, at length agreed; and he announced to Admiral Stopford, the British commander-in-chief, the dispatch of orders for the entire evacuation of Syria and Candia, and the restitution of the Turkish squad-

ron.* The Eastern Question was therefore resolved, by the acceptance of Mehemet Ali, without reserve, of the whole terms of the allied Powers. The stipulated evacuations took place, and before the middle of February the Turkish squadron was restored, and the Egyptian troops at all points had returned to the banks of the Nile. There was some difficulty, in the first instance, in getting the Sultan to depart from the sentence of confiscation pronounced against the pacha of his Egyptian pachalic; but at length, by the strenuous efforts of the whole allied Powers, and especially of England, this too was effected, and the pacification of the East was complete.¹

There remained only the conclusion of a final treaty for the settlement of the East. With equal judgment and delicacy, the initiative in proposing terms for this purpose was left to France, and M. Guizot, on the part of that power, made the following proposals: 1. That the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be closed against ships of war of all nations, without distinction. 2. That the pachalic of Egypt, in hereditary right, should be secured to Mehemet Ali and his descendants. 3. That guarantees should be given for ameliorating the condition of the Christian inhabitants of Syria. There was nothing in these proposals which could give rise to any division; the allied Powers themselves might have proposed similar terms. They were accordingly at once accepted. Two firmans were issued by the Sultan, confirming Mehemet Ali in his pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right, and in that of Nubia, Darfour, Sennaar, and Kordofan in life-rent, on condition of his remaining the vassal of the Porte, and placing his fleets and armies in certain defined proportions at the Sultan's disposal when required. One fourth of the clear revenue of Egypt was to be paid to the Porte in name of tribute, and the ordinary forces to be maintained in the country were limited to eighteen thousand men; the whole of which, when required, were to be at the disposal of the Turks. This done, the fleet set sail from Alexandria, and on the 16th March resumed its place in the Golden Horn. It consisted of nine ships of the line, eleven frigates, and four brigs, which were inspected with great pomp on their arrival by the Sultan, who beheld with transport, as the reward of his concessions, the fleet, the sole bulwark of Turkey against Russia, long captive in the hands of his enemies, again moored under the walls of Constantinople.²

* Toujours disposé à faire le sacrifice de tout ce que je possède, et de ma vie même, pour me concilier les bonnes grâces de sa Hauteuse, et reconnoissant de ce que, par l'intervention des Puissances alliées, la faveur de mon Souverain m'est rendue, j'ai pu des dispositions pour que la flotte Ottomane soit remise à telle personne et de telle manière qu'il plaira à sa Hauteuse d'ordonner. Les troupes qui se trouvent en Candie, en Arabie, et dans les Villes Saintes, sont prêtes à se retirer, et l'évacuation en aura lieu sans délai. Quant à la Syrie et au district d'Adana, j'ai appris par une lettre de Ibrahim Pacha qu'il avait dû quitter Damas le 3 ou 4 Chawal (Décembre), avec toute l'armée, pour rentrer en Egypte. La Syrie est

¹ Ann. Reg. 1840, 192.
² 193; Admiral Stopford's Disp. Nov. 4, 1840; *Ibid.* 547, 548.

^{74.} Submission of Mehemet Ali to the terms of the Allies. Dec. 1840.

Protocole de Londres, March 5, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 514, 515; Cap. v. 312, 313.

Terms of final pacification proposed by M. Guizot, and accepted by the Allies.

Feb. 13.

² Ann. Hist. xxiv. 515, 519, and 129 (Doc. Hist.); Cap. x. 314, 317; Ann. Reg. 1841, 364.

A convention, which became of great importance in after-times, was signed by the whole allied Powers, and France, which now resumed its place in the European family, defining the rights of Turkey and foreign nations in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. By this convention it was stipulated: "1. That the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, in conformity with the ancient usage of the Ottoman Empire, shall remain *permanently closed against all foreign vessels of war, as long as the Ottoman Porte shall enjoy peace.* 2. The Sultan declares, on his side, that he is firmly resolved to maintain immovably the ancient rule of the empire, in virtue of which it is forbidden to vessels of war of all nations to enter the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, and in virtue of which these straits remain forever closed, as long as the Ottoman Porte shall be at peace. 3. His majesty the Emperor of Austria, and their majesties the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, on their part, engage to respect that resolution of the Sultan, and to act in conformity with the principle there expressed. 4. The ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire being thus established and recognized, the Sultan reserves to himself the right to grant firmans of passage to small vessels of war, which, in conformity with usage, are employed in the service of ambassadors of friendly powers. 5. The Sultan reserves to himself the right to notify the

terms of this treaty to all the Powers with which he is on terms of amity, and to invite their accession to it."¹

¹ Treaty, March 13, 1841: Cap. ity, and to invite their accession to x. 319, 320. it."

Such were the terms of this celebrated treaty, which has ever since, till the breaking out of the great war of 1854, regulated the affairs of the East, and which put a final period to the undue ascendancy which Mehemet Ali had acquired by his powerful intervention in the war of Greece, and victorious career in that of Syria and Asia Minor. As peace had been concluded on the terms dictated by the allied Powers, and in consequence of the victories of the British fleet, which alone had been engaged in hostilities, the utmost satisfaction was spread throughout the British empire. The glorious triumphs which had immortalized the conclusion of the late war seemed to be renewed: men beheld with joy that a peace of twenty-five years' duration had neither lessened the energies nor weakened the courage of our troops by sea and land; and that Great Britain, victorious in every quarter of the globe, was enabled to take the same lead in European diplomacy which she had done when the British standards waved in triumph over the walls of Paris. Nor did it lessen the general exultation that the theatre of the greatest triumph of this glorious period had witnessed a signal defeat of the French arms;² that Stopford had conquered where Napoleon had failed; and that Acre, the scene of

the chivalrous exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, again saw the standards of St. George conquering and to conquer.

These feelings were natural and excusable; and unquestionably the triumph of

Acre shed as much lustre on the British arms as the treaties of 15th July, 1840, and 18th March, 1841, did on the talents and influence of her diplomatists. Yet were the successes of this memorable period in a great degree deceptive; the advantages gained were more apparent than real—the seeds of greater jealousies were sown—the foundation of a more terrible struggle laid than that which had just been appeased. The alliance was concluded, and the chances of war were hazarded, in order to counteract the growing influence of France on the banks of the Nile, and obviate the dangers of the Ottoman Empire on those of the Bosphorus; and unquestionably one set of dangers was obviated by its successful issue, for the authority of the Sultan over Egypt was re-established, and the imminent risk the Ottoman Empire ran after the battle of Konieh removed. But is that the greatest danger which Turkey really ran? Is it from the South or the North that its independence is most seriously menaced? Has it nothing to fear from the northern colossus, to whom, by this treaty, the Euxine became an inland inaccessible lake? Undertaken to rescue Constantinople from the perilous *exclusive* guardianship of Russia, the war left the Sultan tête-à-tête with the Czar in the Black Sea; intended to secure British influence in the Isthmus of Suez, the high-road to India, it left the Pacha bound by strong ties both of interest and gratitude to the French Government;³ The terrible war of 1854, intended to open the Euxine to foreign vessels, and terminate the fatal supremacy of Russia in its waters, was the direct consequence of the treaty of 1841, purchased by the victories of Beyrout and Acre!

These consequences, however, are not to be ascribed so much as a fault to the British

* "Je remercie la France de n'avoir pas signé le traité de Londres, c'est une consolation et une force pour moi. Je suis profondément touché du service qu'elle m'a rendu en faisant valoir mes droits, et je ne l'oublierai jamais. S'il lui convenait aujourd'hui de s'opposer aux projets des Puissances, je serais fier de combattre à ses côtés; je mettrais à ses ordres ma flotte, mon armée, et mon fils. Si elle ne le fait pas, je comprends sa réserve. Nos positions ne sont pas les mêmes; nos mouvements doivent peut-être rester indépendants. Que la France agisse comme elle l'entendra; pour moi, je garderai toute ma liberté d'action. On a fait contre moi un traité tiquet et violent: je n'attaquerai pas ceux qui l'ont signé; je serai patient et modéré; mais je verserai la dernière goutte de mon sang, pour conserver l'empire que j'ai fondé. Si les Puissances se bornent à bloquer les côtes de l'Égypte et de la Syrie, j'ai les moyens d'attendre, et j'attendrai sans tirer l'épée: mais que l'on attaque Saint Jean d'Acre ou Alexandrie, que l'on cherche à allumer l'insurrection du Liban, et sur-le-champ je donnerai l'ordre à mon fils de passer le Taurus. On veut faire une Vendée en Syrie, sur les derrières de mon armée: j'en ferai une dans l'Asie Mineure, où déjà les populations se lèvent à ma voix. Je suis le représentant de l'Ismailisme; je proclamerai la guerre sainte, et tout bon Musulman viendra se ranger derrière moi. On croit m'effrayer par une coalition des quatre Puissances; je saurai bien la dissoudre en marchant sur Constantinople. J'allumerai un tel incendie que l'Europe aura bien assez de ses propres affaires, et l'Empire Ottoman sera sauvé. Quoi qu'il arrive, j'aurai fait mon devoir: je me soumetts à la volonté de Dieu."—MEHMET ALI à M. WALEWSKI, Aug. 15, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, *Discours de Louis Philippe*, x. 227, 228, note

par conséquent évacuée en totalité, et par-là mon acte d'obéissance accompli."—MEHMET ALI à L'AMIRAL STOPFORD, Dec. 10, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 314, 315.

² Ann. Reg. 184, 273, 284.

³ Ann. Reg. 184, 273, 284.

Government in 1841, as to the infatuation of counsels or prostration of national strength which led to its refusing succor to the Ottoman Government when the Sultan applied for it in the last extremity after the battle of Konieh in 1833. In 1840 the crisis was imminent—Turkey could be rescued from destruction only by the forcible interposition and close union of the allied Powers, and Lord Palmerston evinced his vigor and address in the manner in which he reunited them to England for the attainment of that important object. But it was otherwise when succor was refused to the Sultan by the British Government eight years before. That was, perhaps, the most fatal and inexplicable omission ever made by the Cabinet of Great Britain. The much wished-for opportunity had arrived. Turkey, in the agonies of dissolution at the hands of its rebellious vassal, had flown to England for protection; a few sail of the line would have placed the capital in safety, and the prestige of Muscovite supremacy would have been at once destroyed by the most important of its protected States having voluntarily placed itself under the aegis of another and a rival power. Instead of this, what did England do? She *refused succor*; threw the Ottomans into the arms of Russia, who extorted, as the price of her protection, the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which converted the Euxine into a Russian lake; and left the forts of the Bosphorus *vis-à-vis* to the bastions of Sebastopol, with a few sail of the line, ill-manned, to combat eighteen line-of-battle ships, the skill of whose gunners England afterward so fatally experienced on the ramparts of the Malakoff and the Redan! Thus are nations led to destruction by the want of foresight in the national councils.

But this want of foresight, especially in relation to foreign affairs, was of a very recent origin in the British councils. Mr. Pitt, in 1789, had put a bridle in the mouth of the Czar, and in conjunction with Prussia arrested the march of the united Muscovite and Austrian armies when on the high-road to Constantinople. But the England of 1789 was not the England of 1833. The Reform Bill had banished foresight from the national councils, preparation from the national armaments. So vehement had the passion for economy become in consequence of the ascendancy of the class of shop-keepers in the constituency, and the straitened state of the finances from the contraction of the currency, that the House of Commons was unable to furnish supplies to Government adequate to upholding the national influence in the affairs of the world. Thence the loss of the long-desired opportunity of supplanting Russia at Constantinople in 1833. The British Government openly avowed, when applied to by the Turkish for succor, that they had neither ships nor men to send. The whole subsequent difficulties of the

Eastern Question, and the dreadful and costly war which afterward became necessary to repair the consequences of this omission, arose from that inconsiderate and ill-timed reduction of the national armaments, which rendered it impossible to take advantage of this golden opportunity.

The high position which the English occupied in the world, in consequence of the victories of Beyrout and Acre, and the peace which followed them, must not render us blind to the magnitude of the dangers which the country incurred in entering upon that hazardous conflict. The whole regular forces of Great Britain at that time were under 100,000 men, of whom three-fourths were absorbed in Ireland and the colonies. Not more than 25,000 men and 40 guns could have been collected to defend the coasts of the Channel from the invasion of a power which had 300,000 men and 300 pieces of cannon at its disposal. Even in the navy, the right arm of England's strength, we had become, from blind reduction, inferior to our ancient rivals. France had fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean when the conflict was imminent in 1841, and England only nine. The whole line-of-battle ships in commission in that year were only 16, instead of 100, which during the war were constantly at sea. Sir Charles Adam, a Lord of the Admiralty, had said in his place in Parliament two years before, that it was a mistake to say England was wholly defenseless, for she had *three ships of the line and three frigates* to guard the coasts of the Channel—being just half the force possessed by Denmark when assailed by Great Britain in 1807! Yet, with all this deplorable prostration of strength, the Government of England held its head as high, and assumed as dictatorial a tone in foreign diplomacy, as when she possessed 200 ships of the line, and 1000 vessels of war bore the royal flag! Great Britain escaped the enormous peril of this inconsistent line of conduct at this period, not from the wisdom of her own councils, but the strength of her allies; war was averted, not because she was irresistible in the Mediterranean, but because the German Confederacy had 800,000 men ready to appear on the Rhine. But she was not equally fortunate on every other occasion; and the sequel of this History will show what lamentable consequences it induced, and what tears of blood her people shed for a conduct which was now pursued amidst the loud applause of the unthinking multitude, invested by existing institutions with the irresponsible government of the country. England never incurred such danger as she did at this period, from the senseless combination of arrogance of conduct with impotence in preparation; and it is no exaggeration, but the simple historical truth, to assert that she was brought nearer to ruin within ten years by the consequences of the Reform Bill than she had been either by the ambition of Louis XIV. or the genius of Napoleon.

79.
The refusal of
succor to the
Turks in 1833
was the fatal
step.

81.
Dangers of the
nation in 1841
from the mania
for reduction.

80.
Which arose
from the Re-
form Bill and
the contrac-
tion of the cur-
rency.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCE FROM THE SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE'S GOVERNMENT IN 1830, TO THE FALL OF COUNT MOLÉ'S ADMINISTRATION IN THE END OF 1837.

FROM the overthrow of the throne of Charles X., in July, 1830, to the result of the elections in October, 1834, France had been in a continual state of turmoil and disquietude. The anarchical faction, by whose temporary union with the *bourgeoisie* that revolution had been effected, but who, by the establishment of a regular government, had been, as they conceived, cheated out of its fruits, had been indefatigable in their efforts to overturn the monarchy of their own creation; but all these endeavors had been in vain. The Government of Louis Philippe had succeeded, in the first moments of popular triumph, in obtaining a vast increase to the army, the affections of which had been cultivated with the most sedulous care; and by its aid, and the support of the *bourgeoisie*, now thoroughly awakened to a sense of its danger, they had succeeded in repelling all the attacks made against them. The suppression of the insurrection in Lyons had dispelled the dreams of the St. Simonians and Socialists in the manufacturing towns; the defeat of the revolts at the Cloister of St. Méri and the Rue Transnonain had dashed to the earth the hopes of the Republicans in the capital. The Royalists in the west had been equally unsuccessful; and the failure of the risings at Marseilles and in La Vendée, even when animated by the presence of a heroic princess, had left them no hope, for a long period, of reinstating their affairs by force of arms. All the discontented parties were worn out and discouraged by these repeated failures; and men now found to their cost that there is no government so powerful as that which immediately succeeds a successful revolution, and no prostration of the public liberties so complete as that which follows the triumph of an insurrection commenced in their name.

The elections of June, 1834, as already mentioned, carried on amidst the terror produced by the recent Republican outbreak, so cruelly repressed by the slaughter in the Rue Transnonain, had given the Government so decided a majority in the Chamber, and no longer any hope of being able to disturb it. In his opening speech on 31st July to the Chamber, the King said, with truth: "Wherever criminal enterprises have induced a deplorable strife, the national cause has triumphed; the National Guard and the army, whose noble devotedness you will appreciate as well as myself, have repressed disorder with as much energy as fidelity; and the peaceable execution of the laws passed in the last session has proved the weakness of the anarchists, and restored confidence to the nation." The first vote of the Chamber, on the trial of strength for the election of its President, seem-

ed, as already mentioned, to justify this confident tone: for the Ministerial candidate, M. Dupin, had 247 votes; the Opposition, M. Lafitte, 88; the Royalist, M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Bignon, the Napoleonist, 4; and M. Odilon Barrot, the representative of the *Extrême Gauche*, only 3. The ministerial triumph was complete, and nothing remained for Government but to make a good use of its victory.¹

Napoleon had shown that he knew how to make use of such a situation, when, after the battle of Marengo, he said, in answer to those who were speculating on the causes of his success, "Every thing has succeeded with me, because I was for all the world a LIVING AMNESTY." Napoleon was right; but it belongs only to the noble-minded to carry out these noble words; and it is not to be forgotten that, even in his case, no less than a hundred and thirty of the most dangerous Jacobins had been transported *en masse*, on pretence of their accession to the infernal-machine conspiracy, without any trial, by a measure, as he called it, of the "*haute police*." No punishment had yet been inflicted for the late serious insurrections; and the King thought, with reason, that justice must be satisfied before the voice of mercy is heard. In addition to this, there were less creditable reasons which led to the amnesty at that period being refused. The little, and indeed all ordinary men, are devoured by little jealousies, personal irritation, and ignoble thirst for vengeance. These difficulties ere long appeared in the Cabinet itself. The question of a general amnesty was brought forward in the Chamber, and, from the numbers on all sides interested in it, excited the warmest interest. Ministers, however, were divided upon the subject, and not less upon the reduction of the army, which was loudly demanded by the veteran general. This led to a change. Marshal Soult, whose age and infirmities rendered him little qualified to sustain the labors of office, resigned his situation as Prime Minister on the 18th July, and was succeeded by Marshal Gérard, who made it his principal object, by repeated and earnest declarations of a determination to economize, to allay the terrors of the large body in the Chamber, which was, with reason, alarmed at the enormous expenditure of Government.²

* The immediate cause of Marshal Soult's resignation was a division in the Cabinet, in which he was in the minority, whether the governor of Algiers should be a civilian or military character. The Decretaires contended for the former, the Marshal for the latter; and the King agreed with the first, and sent the Duke of Rovigo, upon which Soult resigned. This, however, was rather the pretext than the real ground of his retirement. The true reason was his decided opinion that, in the disturbed state of France within, and its threatening relations with-

1. Repeated defeats of the Republicans. July, 1830.

2. Opening of the Chamber, and great majority for Ministers. July 31.

Ann. Hist. xvii. 260, 269; L. Blanc, iv. 523, 531.

Ministerial changes; Marshal Gérard succeeds Marshal Soult. July 18.

Ann. Hist. xvii. 471, 277; Cap. viii. 17, 19.

"Vainly," said M. Dupin, from the President's chair, "has the Chamber proclaimed, in three successive addresses, that it is indispensable to bring down the expenses to a level with the revenue, and to labor incessantly to restrain Ministers within the limits of the budget. The contrary has constantly come about: the expenses have invariably exceeded the receipts, and the limits even of the vote of credit have been frequently outstepped. Yet the Chamber of Deputies enjoys the initiative in France; it fixes by allocation to each department the burdens which are to weigh upon the country. It should no longer tolerate the system of forcing money from the treasury, by coming, after it is over, to pay expenses which, despite itself, have been incurred." These bold words were hailed with rapture by the Opposition, who considered them as a declaration of war by the President of the Chamber against the Ministry; but they were ere long re-echoed by the Prime Minister himself. "The same desire of economy," said Marshal Gérard, "which animates the Chambers directs also the Government; it is for it a question of honor and interest. The first rule which I have laid down for all the departments of government is to abstain from all votes of credit, and even, if possible, to keep their expenditure within the sum voted." These words diffused

¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 10, 1834; general satisfaction, and materially added to the popularity of the new Minister.¹

But it was not so easy to get over the question of an amnesty as over that of economy, for there was justice to be satisfied, animosities to be satiated with vengeance, and terrors to be allayed by severity. Marshal Gérard, with the feeling of a brave soldier, openly inclined to the humane side: forget and forgive was inscribed on his banner. He supported that opinion with the utmost vigor in the Council; and the same view was warmly espoused by the Liberal press, which was naturally anxious to obtain a screen for their political coadjutors. But the King and the majority of the Council regarding such a step as an indirect censure on the measures of severity which had been adopted, and perilous, before terror had been struck into the disaffected of all parties, were equally decided on the other side; and the consequence was that the Marshal resigned his situations both as Prime Minister and Minister at War. The King conferred the latter office, which could not be a day vacant, on Admiral de Rigny, who was transferred there from the Foreign Affairs; and he intrusted Count Molé with the arduous task of forming a Ministry. This proved, however, a more difficult task than had been anticipated; and for some weeks there was a sort of

out, no reduction of the army could be effected with safety—a point upon which it was well known the majority of the Chambers was on the other side. The force of the French army at the period when he resigned was as follows:

Infantry	305,100
Cavalry	49,000
Artillery and Engineers	38,800
Gendarmes	28,500
Total	312,000

—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 18, 19, note.

interregnum, with no Prime Minister at all. Albeit the King of the Barricades, Louis Philippe was not yet broken in to the constitutional maxim, "Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas," and no small difficulty was experienced in reconciling his inclinations with the views of the majority of the Council. At length the difficulties were overcome, and the *Moniteur* of 10th November announced the new Ministry as follows: The resignations of MM. de Rigny, Thiers, Guizot, Duchatel, and Hermann, embracing the whole strength of the Doctrinaire party, were accepted, and the following gentlemen were appointed to the vacant port-folios: the Duke of Bassano was named President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; M. Bresson, then ambassador at Berlin, of Foreign Affairs; General Bernard, of War; M. Charles Dupin, of the Marine and the Colonies; M. Teste, Minister of Commerce; M. Passy, of Finance. Of the whole former Cabinet, M. Persi, the Minister of Justice, alone retained his port-folio.¹

As the new Cabinet was almost destitute of talent, and nearly all the intellectual strength would, it was foreseen, be ranged on the side of the Opposition, Government was very desirous to obtain for itself the support of a majority of the Chamber. It was accordingly convoked for the 1st December, instead of the 29th, to which it stood adjourned. Before that time arrived, however, the fate of the new Ministry was sealed. They were unable to withstand the storm of ridicule with which they were assailed; they did not enjoy the confidence of the King; and being conscious of their own incapacity for the conduct of affairs, they voluntarily resigned, after holding office only eight days, and the former Ministry was restored, and officially announced in the *Moniteur* of the 19th. The only Nov. 19. new Ministers were, Marshal Mortier, who succeeded Gérard as Prime Minister and Minister at War, and Admiral Duperré, who became Minister of Marine. Thus terminated this long ministerial crisis; but the minds of men were not made up on the stability of the new Government, and great anxiety was felt in all quarters for the Nov. 19, 1834; vote of the Chamber which might An. Hist. xvii. 292, 294. decide its fate.²

The prospects of the new Ministry were considerably improved by the favorable accounts which were received in the Flourishing latter part of this year from the colony of Algiers. The crisis in that state. important settlement seemed to be passed, and every successive post brought more favorable accounts of its rapid progress in population, resources, and industry. In the town of Algiers itself, the streets were widened, cleaned, and adorned with buildings in the European style, whose handsome fronts bespoke the increasing opulence of their inhabitants, as well as the active spirit and enlarged resources of the Government. Industry and commerce were rapidly augmenting, and the roads made by the soldiers into the interior did as much in opening a vent for the produce of the country, as it added to the security of the industry that produced it,

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 10, 1834; An. Hist. xvii. 290, 292; Cap. viii. 50, 51.

² Fall of the new Ministry, and restoration of the old one.

³ *Moniteur*, Nov. 19, 1834; An. Hist. xvii. 292, 294.

by the facility they afforded of military transit. Extensive districts were drained and brought under the plow which from time immemorial had been pestilential marshes; the whole agricultural productions of Europe, and especially wheat, flourished in abundance; and in addition to that, the productions of the tropics, sugar, cotton, indigo, and cochineal, were successfully introduced. When it was known in Algeria that it had been determined by Government at home to retain the colony, universal satisfaction was diffused; the works, both public and private, were prosecuted with redoubled activity, and the province promised again to become like what it had so long been in ancient times, the granary of the Roman Empire. Hostilities in the province of Bona still continued on the frontier with the Bey of Constantina, a powerful chief in the interior; but although success was in some degree varied, it, on the whole, inclined to the side of the French; and at length

Oct. 10.

¹ Ann. Hist.
xvii. 294, 296.

8.

**First debate on
the Address.
Dec. 9.**

Dec. 9. cation had afforded no real test of their relative proportions, as M. Dupin had been elected by a combination of the Ministerial and Centre parties—not by the former taken singly. It was on an amendment proposed to the Address that the trial took place, and it gave rise to the most acrimonious discussion. The great point maintained by the Opposition was, the necessity of supporting the Chamber in its independent functions, independent of the influence or intrigues of the Court. "Gentlemen," said they, "when every thing reels around us, amidst these sudden and unforeseen changes of power, when every thing totters to the ground, shaken by intrigue and ambition, it is for you to strengthen yourselves on the solid ground of principle and national dignity: be faithful to yourselves and your noble independence, and you have nothing to fear. Heretofore you have denounced as a serious danger the perpetual instability of men and of measures—an instability which has gone far to lessen the consideration of political power. Let this be a warning to you to preserve your own: never was it more necessary to the country, to the royalty which you have sworn to defend, and to which we will always form a rampart, and as a barrier against the malevolent passions which attack, and the recklessness which compromises it."⁷³

Veiled under vague generalities, these and similar words were a sufficient indication of the intentions of the Opposition to rear up the Chamber into a counterpoise to the Crown, and to force upon the latter a policy, especially in regard to the amnesty which so violently agitated the public mind, at variance with the settled determination of the Cabinet. M. Guizot, accordingly, endeavored to drive them into some more tangible and distinct charges against the Government. "I will not," said he in reply, "discuss the terms of the Address: I do not understand

that its principles are seriously contested. I will not provoke a debate upon nothing; but I assert it as an incontestible fact, that it was this very uncertainty, now so much complained of, which, by enervating power, imposed upon us the necessity of retreating. We should have failed in all our duties toward the country and the Chamber if we had consented to bear any longer a responsibility when liberty of action was taken away. Our principles are still the same. From the moment when it shall be decided that the Chamber has no longer confidence in our administration, we shall resign: other men will succeed us. If they succeed, so much the better; the experiment will be complete; it will be known what is the intention of the Chamber. If it finds itself deceived, it will acknowledge its error by restoring power to those whom it has dispossessed. We bring no accusation against the Chamber, as has been erroneously pretended; we address ourselves to
 1. *Moniteur*,
 Dec. 8, 1834;
 Cap. viii. 75,
 76.

It was sufficiently plain, from these words, that the resignation of the former Ministry had been owing to a deeper cause than appeared upon the surface, and that it was more than either the question of the amnesty or an economical reduction of the army which was really at issue. The King and the Chamber had come to be at variance upon a vital point of policy, and it was as yet undecided which was to obtain the mastery. M. Lauzet openly announced this, and hinted not obscurely to the alarming consequences which might follow a vote substantially one of want of confidence in the Ministry. "Doubtless," said he, "the Chamber is entitled to refuse its support to the Ministry; doubtless it may even prefer an accusation against them, if it finds in the past conduct of the members serious grounds for suspecting them for the future. This, however, is one of those desperate remedies which is reserved for situations where no other extrication of affairs is possible. When the signal of this is once given, it is as much as to say the royal prerogative has been pushed to the wall, and already the thunder of revolution is heard in the distance." The decision of the Chamber, however, adjourned the danger, and terminated for the time the ministerial crisis; a *Moniteur*, the Address was supported by a majority of 77, the numbers being 184 to 107.³

10.
Majority for
Ministers in
the Chamber.
Nov. 7, 1834;
Cap. vill. 77,
78.

But although the new Ministry had got a decided majority in the Chamber, they soon experienced an insuperable difficulty in their Prime Minister. Marshal Mortier, a frank and loyal soldier, of high honor and unimpeachable character, was better qualified for the contests of the field than the forum. His lofty stature, commanding air, and military frankness, which would have commanded such respect in the field of battle or in a *champ clos*, were of no avail in the Chamber of Peers, where a thorough knowledge of parties, ready elocution, and acquaintance with every subject which came on for discussion, were the only qualities which were of

any importance. Of these he was entirely destitute; indeed, he had so little the command of language that when called on to speak he could scarcely articulate a few words. He had accepted the onerous charge of Prime Minister on the express condition that he was to be permitted to resign when he desired it; and in the end of February, finding himself no longer equal to the task, and perceiving a divergence of opinion arising between M. Thiers and M. Guizot, the great supports of the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. The King immediately sent for Marshal Soult, and pressed him to resume his place as Prime Minister; but to this the Marshal had insuperable objections, unless under a pledge that the military establishment of the country should not be reduced, a condition to which it was well known the Chamber would not accede. Fatigued with the military and political labors of a long life, he sighed for repose, and had no inclination to exchange the peace and tranquillity of his beautiful country retreat for the storms and contests of the capital. He resisted all the instances of the King, therefore, and declined the appointment; and by his advice it was conferred on the DUKÉ DE BROGLIE, who, as one of themselves, was acceptable to the Doctrinaires, and whose eloquence and abilities pointed him out as well qualified for the commanding situation. He March 12. was appointed President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Count de Bigny, who formerly held the latter situation, was appointed *ad interim* Minister at War, with a permanent seat in the Cabinet; but that situation was reserved in permanence for Marshal Maison, then ambassador at St. Petersburg, who accepted the office. Shortly before, Prince Talleyrand, whose health had suffered severely from the climate of London, was relieved, at his earnest request, of that embassy, which was conferred on Count Possé di Borgo.¹

This ministerial crisis, which had now lasted 12. without intermission for six months, Cause of appears at first sight an inexplicable this crisis. circumstance, considering the immense majority which the ministerial candidate had obtained at the election of the President of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parties in France. But a little consideration must show that it arose from that majority itself. The terror excited among all the holders of property in France, from the repeated insurrections and daring language of the anarchical faction, had become such that they had all united in returning a Chamber which might oppose it: thence the immense majority which supported M. Dupin as President. But when the victory was gained, and the terrorists put down, the usual divisions consequent on success at once appeared. Each of the sections of which the Government majority had been composed strove to work out the victory for its own profit, and openly aspired to nominating the Ministry, and getting the whole patronage of the State at its disposal. The Centre, or *Tiers Parti*, as it was called, whose junction with the Ministerialists had so materially swelled that majority, were particularly loud in the assertion of their pretensions, and Marshal Gérard's Ministry, whose

motto was economy, had been its creature. But the King was equally inflexible on the other side; he was by no means broke into the favorite maxim of the Liberals, *Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas*. On the contrary, he was more than ever determined to exercise his own judgment on the matter. A pamphlet of M. Roderer's, which inculcated the doctrine that the King should nominate his Ministers just as he did his domestic servants, was read aloud at the Tuilleries with the warmest applause, especially from the Princess Adélaïde, whose ascendancy over her brother had been more than once evinced; and from the divisions in the Chamber, which arose from its being split into so many parties, each desirous to turn the crisis to its own profit, the King was encouraged to hope that, by persevering in his policy, it might in the end be crowned with success. The *Monarchy* was for the time firmly established, but the *Ministry* rested on a most insecure basis; and, as in England after the passing of the Reform Bill, ¹ Cap. viii. 51, the Cabinet began to totter from 70: L. Blanc, iv. 564, 567. the moment of its triumph.¹

Albeit united at present in a cordial support of the Doctrinaire party, of which 13. they constituted the strength, M. Divergence Thiers and M. Guizot were begin- of Thiers and ning at this time to exhibit symp- Guizot. toms of divergence, and it was the perception of that which was one cause of Marshal Mortier's retirement. It was not merely personal rivalry which occasioned this. They both aspired to be Prime Minister; but, independent of this, their principles and associations were essentially different. M. Thiers was essentially revolutionary, but it was revolution coerced and directed by the sabre of the Emperor. He had no associations with *la vieille France*; the ancient stock of the Bourbons was to him an abomination; he felt throughout a cordial hatred at the regime of the Restoration; and when Charles X. was overthrown, he only worked out his principles in contributing to its downfall. He was the friend of order, but it was order emanating from and supported by revolution, and crushing the opposite factions with the sword of despotism wielded by the hands of Republicans. M. Guizot in all these respects was essentially different. Deeply versed in the antiquities, a perfect master of the history of France, he was strongly moved by the traditions and feelings of the ancient monarchy. Too philosophical in his ideas, and too well versed in present affairs not to see the immense change which the Revolution of 1789, itself an effect of preceding causes, had produced in the social necessities of the State, he was the friend of freedom, but it was freedom resting on the loyalty and traditions of the monarchy, rather than the usurpation of the Empire. He accepted the Revolution of July as a compromise between these contending principles—he served it, when once established, with cordiality and fidelity—and he indulged in the sanguine hope that, like the English Revolution of 1688, it would become the opening ² Cap. of a long era of prosperity, freedom, viii. 128. and grandeur to France.²

The Duke de Broglie, who now assumed the arduous duties of Prime Minister, was different from either of these eminent men, and formed, as it were, an intermediate link between

them and the throne. Of high rank and polished manners, he had imbibed liberal

14. Character of eral ideas, and acquired the power of expressing them with eloquence from the conversation of Madame de Staël, whose daughter he had espoused. From the brilliant genius of the mother he had taken his principal views, both of present events and the future destinies of society. Like her, he had regarded the Restoration as an era of emancipation from the servile despotism of the Empire, and the only period in which real freedom, equally distant from courtly corruption or democratic despotism, had existed in France. He was strongly opposed, however, as Madame de Staël would doubtless have been had she lived to see it, to the ordinances of Polignac, and, like Guizot, accepted the throne of Louis Philippe as the only possible compromise between the opposite principles of despotism and revolution. His abilities were not of the highest order, but they were of the most available description, and he had lived so much in the society of the most superior men and women, that he had become impregnated with their

15. Cap. viii. 129. ideas, and shone in conversation with a lustre not his own.¹

The first difficulty with which the new Ministry had to contend was that arising from the continued demand of the United States for a settlement of their long-standing claim for 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000), which, as already mentioned, had arisen out of their claims for injuries inflicted on the members of the Union by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon. It was impossible to deny the justice of the American demand, for it was founded on a treaty concluded in 1831, by General Horace Sébastiani, with the American Government, and was for the precise sum which he had agreed the French Government should pay as an indemnity. The King, accordingly, admitted its justice, and the Cabinet had long been solicitous that the treaty should be ratified and the debt discharged. It was not so easy a matter to get the Chamber to agree to this, burdened as the finances were with a very large military establishment and extravagant budget, little in harmony with their economical ideas. The ratification had been refused, accordingly, upon various pretensions, in the last session. Upon this the American President inserted in his address to Congress, in the beginning of the winter, a very severe, and even menacing, paragraph, regarding reprisals on French property.* When this message was known in France, it excited the most violent indignation; and so vehement

* "Since France, in violation of the engagements undertaken by its minister, resident here, has so delayed its resolutions on the subject, that they can not be communicated to this Congress, I propose that a law should be passed authorizing reprisals on the property of Frenchmen, if in the ensuing session a law is not passed for the payment of the debt. This is not done in the view of intimidation; France is too well known to permit of such a thing being thought of; but only to demonstrate the fixed determination of the Government of the United States to cause its rights to be respected. The French Government, by doing what itself has recognized to be just, will spare the Government of the United States the necessity of taking their redress into their own hands, and save French properties from that confiscation which the American citizens have so long suffered without either reprisals or indemnity."—*President's Message*, Nov. 2, 1834; *Ann. Hist.*, 1834, 672, 673.

was the clamor that the French envoy was recalled from Washington, and his passports offered to the American Minister at Paris; though, at the same time, a vote of the requisite amount was demanded from the Chamber. There could be no doubt that the American Government, though right in the main question, were wrong in the way in which they proposed to make their demand effectual; for this was to be done, not by hostilities against the State, but by seizing the property of individuals in their harbors, or on the high seas, till enough had been collected to discharge the debt. The French Government, accordingly, replied in a dignified, and yet conciliatory tone, to the President's message, and by degrees more reasonable views began to be entertained on both sides.* The American Congress soothed the irritated feelings of the French, by declining to pass a law in terms of the President's message; and at length the French Chamber, by a large majority (289 to 172), agreed to ratify the 16. *Moniteur*, Jan. 15, 1835; *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 81; *L. Blanc*, iv. 378, nothing injurious to the national honor had been intended by that 323; *Cap. viii.* 155, 156.

A more serious difficulty awaited the Government in the trial of the persons 16. confined for their accession to the Commencement of the great and combined insurrections in April, 1834, who were still in prison in various parts of France. It has been already mentioned, that by an ordinance of the King, on 15th April, 1834, the Chamber of Peers had been erected into a supreme court of justice for the trial of all these offenders; but when the preparatory steps to the trials came to be taken, no small embarrassment was experienced by the Crown officers how to proceed. Out of several thousand persons in confinement, six hundred had been selected as fit for trial and worthy of punishment; and in order to render the proceeding more impressive, and convey a stronger idea of the extent of the conspiracy, it was resolved to bring them all to trial at one time, and under one indictment. As no hall, however, could be found adequate to contain such a multitude of accused persons, and no human strength was adequate to mastering or recollecting the evidence against such a number, it was absolutely necessary very materially to reduce the number; and at length a selection was made of 164, deemed the most culpable, 17. *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 172, 174; *L. Blanc*, iv. 383, 387; *Cap. viii.* 81, 89.

* "La Chambre, nous n'en doutons pas se reportera à ces hautes considérations de Puissance commerciale, et de force maritime, qui ont toujours fait regarder notre alliance avec les États-Unis, comme une de ces régies inaltérables de la politique nationale. En parant ainsi, nous ne voulons que rendre hommage à des vérités de tous les temps, les opposer à des impressions passagères, et surtout déclarer que la France n'impute ni au peuple ni au Gouvernement de l'Amérique les sentimens et les propositions que le Président des États-Unis vient d'exprimer. Nous ne voulons voir dans son message au Congrès que l'acte peu réfléchi d'un pouvoir isolé et l'honneur national ne nous en commande par moins de persister dans la politique qui fut toujours celle du Gouvernement du Roi, la politique de la loyauté."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 16, 1835; and *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 61.

To any one who has been practically acquainted with the conduct of criminal trials, it must at once appear obvious that a more absurd and hazardous mode of proceeding could not possibly have been adopted. To

17.
Ruinous effects of this mode of proceeding.

bring a vast number of prisoners to the bar at once, charged with accession in different degrees to the same conspiracy, is to confound those different degrees together, to incur the hazard to innocence of being included in the category of guilt, and to encourage audacity and provoke interruption from the number of those who will encourage its excesses, or profit by the delays it will occasion. This, accordingly, was exactly what happened. Two committees of the Peers were appointed; one to examine into the evidence, and prepare the indictment during the year which preceded the trial; the other to consider who should be discharged. No less than two thousand persons, against whom the evidence was not deemed sufficient, or who were not considered fit objects of trial, were liberated by their orders. A voluminous and very valuable report on the origin and progress of the secret societies was prepared by M. Girod de l'Ain, which contains a full and authentic account of their ramifications, proceedings, and designs.* The committees were composed of men of the highest character in the magistracy, and their proceedings were conducted with calmness, moderation, and the most scrupulous attention to the evidence against each individual. M. Pasquier, who held the onerous situation of President of the Chamber,

1 Rapport de M. Girod de l'Ain, 23, 36; Ann. Hist. xviii. 207, 231; L. Blanc, iv. 363, 367.

* "La Société des Droits de l'Homme, dont le programme avoué est une révolution politique et sociale, organisée dans la capitale d'abord, puis dans plusieurs grandes villes, une armée en permanence pour marcher à son but par la révolte. Nous l'avons vue pousser à l'insurrection par les violentes imprécations, spéciales sur la misère du pauvre pour l'exciter contre l'aristocratie nouvelle qui s'est reconstituée sous le nom de bourgeoisie; organiser, puis étendre ces déplorables coalitions d'ouvriers, qui troublent si souvent notre industrie; persuader à tous les désordres, s'efforcer de corrompre et de pervertir la sagesse du peuple par les plus détestables pamphlets, systématiser la licence de la Presse, et préparer ainsi l'exécution des attentats qu'elle médite. A Paris le comité central demande et obtient de ses agents le contrôle de son armée, l'effectif de ses forces, et s'assure de l'effet produit par le poison de ses doctrines; et lorsqu'il compte un assez grand nombre d'hommes prêts à marcher avec lui, il fait distribuer par ses agents sectionnaires des munitions destinées à mitrailler notre garde nationale et notre fidèle armée. A Lyon la même société suit la même marche, mais avec un succès plus rapide, et que vient expliquer l'immense population ouvrière de la seconde ville de France: l'Association Lyonnaise était directement sous la direction du comité central Parisien; elle a pris la part la plus directe et la plan active à l'insurrection qui pendant six jours livra cette grande cité aux horreurs du pillage et de la guerre civile. A St. Etienne, Grenoble, Marseille, Arbois, Châlons sur Saône, partout où les troubles éclatent, nous avons vu la Société des Droits de l'Homme préparant et réalisant ces attentats, sous les inspirations et l'influence du comité central. Partout, les journaux de cette société sonnent le tocsin d'alarme et appellent les sectionnaires au combat; à Lyon, *Le Glaneur*, *L'Echo de la Fabrique*; à Marseille, *Le Peuple Souverain*; dans le Jura, *Le Patriote Franc Comtois*; à Paris, *Le Tribune*, moniteur officiel du comité central."—Rapport de M. Girod de l'Ain; Ann. Hist. xviii. 171, 173.

disorder ensued, which protracted the trial to an extraordinary length, and would have rendered it interminable, were it not for a fortunate event, which enabled the most guilty to escape from the hands of justice.

The excitement produced among all classes of Liberals by this "monster trial" was immense, and exceeded any thing before witnessed even in that land of vehement passion and strong emotion. Scarce any of the Republicans but had a friend, a relation, implicated in its issue; scarce a Liberal but sympathized from the bottom of his heart in the fate of brave men, who had ventured their lives in the cause, as they deemed it, of national freedom. Immense crowds surrounded the court-house long before the doors opened, and the moment they were so, every corner was filled, and the most breathless anxiety was depicted on every visage. It soon appeared, however, that the proceedings were to be indefinitely protracted, and that the system of defense was by availing themselves of every imaginable point, and insisting on it at great length, to render the trial endless. This system had well-nigh succeeded. The first point taken was the selection of counsel to defend the accused, and this led to such a contest as nearly caused the trial itself, involving as it did the lives of a hundred and sixty persons, to be forgotten. The King had issued an ordonnance on March 30, 30, which allowed the accused to select their defenders from any bar in France; and in default of their doing so, the president was to choose them from the bar of the Cour-Royal at Paris.* Nothing could be more liberal and just than this ordonnance; it merely confined the conduct of the defense to the bar of France, premising that, if counsel were not chosen from some of the provincial bars, the president would assign the prisoners defenders from the bar of Paris.¹

This equitable arrangement, however, was far from meeting the views of the prisoners, or their coadjutors at the bar, in the public press. Their object was, by no means to have the defense of the accused conducted by barristers, or according to the forms, and under the responsibility of professional men, but by the most ardent and eloquent Republicans of all professions; and thus to convert the hall of justice into a forum of the most vehement political debate. In addition, therefore, to some eminent Liberal barristers, such as M. Michel de Bourges, whom they were entitled to nominate, the prisoners insisted upon being defended by men unconnected with French law in any department; such as the *Abbé de Lamennais*, MM.

* "Tout Avocat inscrit au tableau d'une cour, ou des tribunaux du royaume, pourra exercer son ministère devant la Cour des Pairs. Néanmoins les Avocats près la Cour Royale de Paris pourront seuls être désignés d'office par le Président de la Cour des Pairs, conformément à l'article 295 du Code d'Instruction Criminelle. Les Avocats appelés à remplir leur ministère devant la Cour des Pairs y jouiront des mêmes droits, et seront tenus des mêmes devoirs que devant les cours d'assises. La Cour des Pairs et son Président demeurent investis, à l'égard des avocats, de tous les pouvoirs qui appartiennent aux cours d'assises et aux présidents de ces cours."—Ordonnance du Roi, March 31, 1836, *Moniteur*; and Ann. Hist. xviii. 175.

18.
Commencement of the trial, and contest with the Bar. March 31.

1 An. Hist. xviii. 175; Cap. viii. 95, 96; L. Blanc, iv. 368, 391.

19.
Contest about the choice of defenders.

Armand Carrel, Raspail, Garnier Pages, Audry de Puyraveau, and *Daniel O'Connell*. It was easy to foresee to what results the admission of such strange defenders would immediately have led, even in a country less excitable than France. Such as it was, however, the decree limiting the defense to the bar excited the most unbounded animosity in France, and was stigmatized as the most atrocious act of tyranny that ever had been perpetrated. Still more strange, the decree, which was perfectly in accordance with judicial procedure, and indispensable to the right conduct of an important state trial, was denounced by the whole bar of France, metropolitan and provincial, as an unwarrantable stretch, wholly indefensible, and a direct violation of the constitution.¹

The dispute about the counsel who were to defend the accused soon assumed such proportions as almost to cause their trial to be forgotten. It came on, however, at length, on the 2d May; and on the 5th of the same month the proceedings commenced in a vast hall, specially erected for the occasion. The roll being called, only 164 Peers answered to their names: 79, on one pretense or another, had contrived to be absent. The accused, to the number of 121, were brought in together, and took their seats in the benches opposite to the Court. Only twelve gentlemen of the bar were present to assist the accused, chiefly those assigned by the Court; so strongly had the supposed infringement of the rights of defense affected the feelings of that learned body. The utmost anxiety pervaded the whole audience and the immense crowd assembled round the doors. The leaders of the Republicans were there: Government now no longer struck at a few wretched agents of insurrection, but was resolved to aim a blow at its chiefs. The most extensive preparations had been made to secure the public tranquillity during the proceedings. An immense body of police, with strong detachments of foot and horse, surrounded the building, and powerful reserves, with a large train of artillery, were stationed at no great distance; and, to guard against all eventualities, two other presidents were nominated to succeed M. Pasquier, in the event of his being cut off in the midst of his arduous duties.²

To conduct the defense of the accused, and watch over the proceedings, a committee of the leading Republicans in Paris had been appointed, and it sat in permanence. The Paris committee consisted of MM. Godefroi, Cavaignac, Guinard, Armand Carrel, Marrast, Lebon, Vignute, Landolphe, Chilman, Granger, and Péchonnier. In addition to this, the accused from Lyons, who were no less than fifty-nine in number, had a special committee of their own. By the joint advice of both committees, it was determined that the accused should, one and all, refuse to plead, or answer to their names when called on to do so, until they were assisted by defenders of their own selection. This was accordingly done; and a scene of matchless disorder and confusion ensued. Each prisoner, when called

on by name, insisted upon the defender he had chosen being introduced, *though a stranger to the bar*: the Procureur-Général insisted that their choice should be confined to that learned body, and that the Court had exercised the powers conferred on them by article 295 of the Criminal Code, in regard to this matter, in a competent manner. So the Peers held; and as the refusal to plead continued, it was proposed to commence reading the Act of Accusation. This, however, was rendered impossible by the loud clamor of the prisoners. The prisoner first addressed refused to answer to his name till the Abbé Lamennais was introduced as his defender. Cavaignac did the same. In vain the President strove to restore order: a hundred voices drowned the reading of the indictment; and at length, seeing May 6, 1835; no end to the tumult, the Court was adjourned without having come to any decision, or made any progress in the trial.³

These scandalous scenes were renewed with still greater violence on the succeeding days; the accused protesting, in the most energetic terms, against the length of their imprisonment, now extending to thirteen months, and the severities with which it had latterly been attended; and the Court insisting for the preservation of order and the reading of the indictment. No progress could be made, however, from the incessant tumult kept up by the prisoners, in which the audience and the vast crowd on the outside warmly participated. The Court repeatedly ordered the most violent to be removed; but upon this they all stood up, vociferating that they were all equally innocent or guilty; and the attempt to remove any by force led to personal struggles, still more scandalous in a court of justice. The Court upon this again adjourned; and, after two days spent in anxious secret deliberation, a resolution was adopted, to the effect that the President was authorized to order the removal of any prisoner who interrupted the proceedings, and proceed with the reading of the Act of Accusation, and other written documents, in the absence of such prisoners; they being brought back, together or separately, when the witnesses for or against them came to be examined.⁴

In the circumstances, nothing more equitable could be devised, and indeed it was the only possible way of extricating matters, after the deplorable mistake of bringing so great a number of prisoners to trial had been committed. At first it seemed to have some effect in appeasing the tumult, and the proceedings began on the 9th with something like order and decorum. But no sooner did the reading of the indictment recommence, than the noise and vociferations began again. "You may condemn us all to death," said Lagrange, in a voice of thunder, "but the blood of us all will not wipe from your forehead the stain affixed by the blood of so many brave men." Though the prisoners at the bar on this occasion were only twenty-eight, the noise they made was such that the reading of the indictment was mere dumb show; not a word was heard either by the peers or prisoners. It was

¹ Cap. viii. 96, 97; An. Hist. xviii. 174, 176; L. Blanc, iv. 326, 328.

² Commencement of the proceedings.

³ Ann. Hist. xviii. 178, 180; Cap. viii. 96, 98; L. Blanc, iv. 327, 330.

⁴ Refusal of the accused to plead or answer until they got their own defenders. May 5.

³ *Moniteur*, May 9, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 184, 187.

²³ Continuation of the disorders, and letter of Audry de Puyraveau.

first placed the tri-color flag on the palace of your ancient sovereign; and those who have chased him from France are now de-

¹ L. Blanc, liv 435, 436. lived over to the vengeance of its new King."¹

But whatever opinion may be formed of this point, or of the comparative merits of the judges and accused in this memorable trial, one thing is perfectly clear, that the conduct of the Republicans are long afforded too good grounds for justifying the measures of Government on this occasion, and exhibited a proof of the truth of the mournful words extorted from Madame Roland at the foot of the scaffold, "Oh, Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" The Government of Louis Philippe was not yet emancipated from the vexatious necessity of celebrating the anniversary of the Revolution of July; and on this occasion, as if to demonstrate the injustice of those who charged upon it a departure from the principles which had placed it on the throne, it was resolved to celebrate it with more than usual magnificence, and that the King and whole royal family should take part in the ceremony. The extreme revolutionists resolved to take this opportunity of cutting them all off at one blow. Society had now, as is generally the case at the termination of vehement political strifes, arrived at that point when crime takes the place of movement, and revolution degenerates into assassination. Foiled democracy now steeled the heart and armed the hand of the assassin; and the hired murderer, watching for his victim, took his place, like Maurevel when about to strike Admiral Coligny, behind a tree or under the shadow of an arch, and sought escape from justice in the mystery in which his crime was shrouded, or the sympathy with which it would be received.²

On the 28th July, the second of the three glorious days, the King was to pass in review the National Guard drawn up on the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Place of the Bastille. Accompanied by his sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, and a brilliant staff, among whom were Marshal Mortier and several of his Ministers, the monarch rode along the wooded and splendid circuit, passing the troops, who received him with acclamations, and in the midst of an immense crowd of spectators. He had already arrived at the gate of the Jardin Turc, when a violent explosion was heard on the right-hand side, in the houses behind the trees, like that of a number of petards which had been fired at once. In an instant a huge void appeared in the cortège which surrounded the King, and the pavement was seen to be covered with dead bodies, wounded men, and horses whose riders had been struck down. Eleven persons were killed, and twenty-nine grievously wounded, many of whom afterward died of the injuries they had received. Among the former were Marshal Mortier, General Lachasse de Verigny, and Colonel Raffé; among the latter, five other generals, two colonels, and nine officers and grenadiers of the National Guard. Among the dead was a girl of sixteen, one of

the spectators. The forehead of the King was grazed by a ball, and the horse he rode wounded on the collar, and those of the Duke de Nemours and the Prince de Joinville were struck, the one on the forehead, the other on the side. But, strange to say, and almost by a miracle, the royal family, amidst the scene of carnage, escaped without farther injury.³

Amidst the unbounded horror and alarm excited by this wholesale massacre, the murderers had all but escaped. At length, on the third flat of the house directly opposite the entrance of the Jardin Turc, the blinds of a window were seen to open for a second, and a puff of smoke escaped. The house was instantly surrounded by the National Guard and the police, who forced open the door and ascended to the third flat, the entrance to which they found strongly barricaded. Having at length broke down the barriers and got in, they found the implement of destruction, but the assassin had disappeared, and a cord suspended from the back window into the court of the building showed how he had escaped. He was seen, however, stealthily making his way to the Rue des Fosses du Temple; the track of blood marked his steps; he was pursued and arrested. When taken, he was severely wounded, and covered with blood, from the effects of the explosion; so that he must have possessed great resolution to let himself down in such a state from a height so considerable. His name was first given as Gérard, but it was afterward found to be Fieschi.* He was a Corsican by birth, and a common mechanic in the neighborhood. The machine by which the massacre had been effected was found in one of the rooms fronting the Boulevard. It consisted of twenty-four musket-barrels, arranged on an inclined plane, directed toward the street in such a way as to enfilade the cortège as it passed along, and all going off at once. The match which had set them off was found still burning on the floor. Six of the barrels had burst from the violence of the explosion, and occasioned the wounds found on the prisoner: without doubt it was that accident which saved the life of the King.⁴ The King and royal family, who behaved with the greatest coolness on the occasion, after the wounded had been attended to, and the dead removed, pur-

^{29.} Fete of July, and conspiracy to murder the King

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³ Cap. viii. 193, 195; An. Hist. xviii. 261, 262.

^{30.} Attempted assassination of the King by Fieschi.

in review the National Guard drawn up on the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Place of the Bastille.

Accompanied by his sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, and a brilliant staff, among whom were Marshal Mortier and several of his Ministers, the monarch rode along the wooded and splendid circuit, passing the troops, who received him with acclamations, and in the midst of an immense crowd of spectators. He had already arrived at the gate of the Jardin Turc, when a violent explosion was heard on the right-hand side, in the houses behind the trees, like that of a number of petards which had been fired at once. In an instant a huge void appeared in the cortège which surrounded the King, and the pavement was seen to be covered with dead bodies, wounded men, and horses whose riders had been struck down. Eleven persons were killed, and twenty-nine grievously wounded, many of whom afterward died of the injuries they had received. Among the former were Marshal Mortier, General Lachasse de Verigny, and Colonel Raffé; among the latter, five other generals, two colonels, and nine officers and grenadiers of the National Guard. Among the dead was a girl of sixteen, one of

¹ Moniteur, July 29, 1835; Ann. Hist. xvii. 262, 263.

^{31.} Arrest of the assassin, and discovery of the internal machine

³ Moniteur, July 29, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 263, 264; Cap. viii. 200, 204; L. Blanc, iv. 468, 471.

* Joseph Fieschi was born in the canton of Vico, in Corsica, on the 3d December, 1790. His father was a shepherd, and he was the same at first, but soon tiring of the monotony of his mountains, at eighteen he entered the army, and was incorporated in the Corsican legion, in which he went through the campaign of 1812 in Russia, under General Fiancoschetti. Disbanded in 1814, he entered a provincial regiment in Corsica, which was disbanded in 1815, and he then joined the band which followed the fortunes of Murat in Calabria in that year, and on his return to Corsica in 1816 was dismissed the army. After the Revolution of 1830, he passed himself off for a political martyr, and as such received employment from the new Government as a spy upon some of the political societies. Afterward he was employed in superintending the formation of the aqueduct of Arcueil, and in that capacity embezzled the pay of the workmen, and committed forgery to conceal it, in consequence of which he was obliged to abscond, and took the name of Gérard, which he bore when he undertook the assassination of July.—See CARRÉLUX, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 204, 205.

sued their way along the Boulevards, and completed the review amidst the enthusiastic applause of the multitude.

The King arrived at the Tuileries with a calm visage, which concealed the profound emotions which agitated his heart. He now saw the crown of thorns he had put upon his head when he supplanted Charles X. :

what would he have given now to exchange for its splendid anxieties the calm retreat of Neuilly, or the unobtrusive splendor of the Palais Royal! But the thing was done, and could not be undone; he had sown the wind, and was doomed to reap the whirlwind. The first feeling of all was thankfulness to Almighty God for the marvelous escape he had made. The Queen fell at the feet of the cross in her private oratory, and returned fervent thanks to her patron saint for the protection vouchsafed to her family; and every thing was done which could testify in the most public way the general gratitude for the deliverance of the royal family from so imminent a danger. A solemn service was performed in Notre Dame, and in all the cathedrals and churches of France, in token of the general thanksgiving,* in pursuance of a recommendation from the King, which met with a responsive echo in every generous bosom; and the respectable of all classes, Legitimist and Republican, hastened, many of them for the first time, to the Tuileries, to congratulate the sovereign on his wonderful escape. The throne of Louis Philippe had never been so strengthened as it was by this infernal attempt; and it afforded another

¹ Ann. Hist. xviii. 364, 366; Cap. viii. 205, 207; L. Blanc, iv. 473, 473.

The funeral of Marshal Mortier and the other victims of this execrable attempt took place on the 5th of August, and was conducted with extraordinary magnificence. The procession set out from the Church of St. Paul, in the Rue Saint Antoine, and, following the circuit of the Boulevards, and passing the scene of the murder, passed by the Rue Royale, the Place and Bridge de la Concorde, to the Church of the Invalides, where the victims were to find their last resting-place. Troops of the line and national guards lined the streets the whole way in dense array—the drums all muffled, the officers with the garb of mourning on their arm. Fourteen hearses conveyed the dead bodies of those killed, or who had died of their wounds. The first, which was surrounded by maidens in white, bore the body of the girl of sixteen who had been killed; the second,

that of a married woman who had perished in the same way, was environed by married women similarly clothed. The epaulette of the National Guard, placed on each of the six next which followed, indicated that it contained the remains of a citizen-soldier; four others, each followed by a war-horse with arms reversed, betokened the military rank of the next victims. Lastly came the funeral car of Marshal Mortier, surrounded by all the pomp of earthly grandeur, surmounted by the helmet and sword of the illustrious deceased, followed by his charger. Four Marshals of France on horseback held the corners of the pall. The procession was closed by the King's Ministers, the judges, magistrates, and dignitaries of France, deputations of the Peers and Deputies, and of all the constituted authorities and public bodies in Paris. Never was seen a more imposing array, or one which spoke more powerfully to the hearts of all classes of the people. The ceremony of interment in the Church of the Invalides was conducted with similar magnificence, where the Archbishop of Paris and clergy awaited them; and the King and his two sons met the procession, and sprinkled holy water on the coffins before they were placed in their last resting-place. The guns of the Invalides fired every five minutes from the time the mournful procession entered the building; and among the half million of persons who, from first to last, witnessed the spectacle, there were few whose eyes were not suffused with tears.¹

* "La Providence a détourné les coups qui nous étaient destinés à moi et à mon fils. Mais si nous devons remercier Dieu d'avoir protégé nos jours en déconcertant les projets des assassins, que de regrets, que de larmes ne devons-nous pas à cet illustre Maréchal, à ses nobles compagnons d'armes, et à ces généreux citoyens que la mort a moissonnés tout autour de nous. J'ai donc à réclamer en leur faveur les suffrages que l'église accorde à tous les Chrétiens morts dans son sein. Ainsi vous auez à célébrer, à cette intention, un service funèbre dans toutes les églises de votre diocèse, et un Te Deum solennel, en actions de grâce pour la protection éclatante dont Dieu nous a couverts. LOUIS PHILIPPE."—*Lettre du Roi aux Evêques de la France*, July 31; *Moniteur*, August 1, 1835.

When apprehended, and asked whether he had any accomplices, Fieschi replied that he had none, and that the whole was his own doing. He persisted in this statement repeatedly when examined before the magistrates. The magnitude of the preparations made, however, and the expense of the infernal machine, clearly indicated the aid of other parties; and it was universally believed that he was the agent merely of some of the secret societies, by whom the plot had really been conducted. The police, accordingly, were indefatigable in their searches, especially among those connected with the Liberal press; even Armand Carrel was arrested, though his open and intrepid character forbade the idea of his being involved in secret assassination. At length a clew to the accomplices was discovered, and early in the following year Fieschi and four other persons were brought to trial before the Chamber of Peers. Fieschi, and two others, named Morey and Pepin, were convicted, and sentenced to death. They all belonged to the most depraved and dangerous class in Paris—that class which, hanging about the lower theatres, and having no settled employment, spent their time alternately in the embraces of courtisans and the conclaves of secret societies. One of the former, as revolting in figure as depraved in character, attended Fieschi at his trial, and bore a prominent part in his declarations. They all three suffered early on the morning of 19th February, with the stoicism characteristic of their age and country—a poor atonement for fourteen innocent lives sacrificed to their machinations.²

¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 6, 1835; *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 370, 373; *Cap. viii.* 207, 210.

² Trial and execution of the murderers. Feb. 19, 1836.

25. This frightful catastrophe suggested to all the absolute necessity of some additional laws against the secret societies, and the offenses of the press, to the incessant action of which all these attempts, so fatal to the peace of society, were to be traced.

Speech of M. de Broglie on the introduction of the new law of repression. Aug. 15. The measures of Government to meet the evils were introduced by a speech of M. de Broglie, which, like those of Lord Grey and Sir R. Peel on the disorders of Ireland, threw an important light on the social condition of France at this period. "The evil," said he, "is real; the crime is avowed: is it one of those against which society can shut its eyes? Ask the massacre of 28th July if it is so. A man has been found—men have been found—who knew the King only by the execrable falsehoods of the press of a neighboring country and of that of France, conducted by persons who never knew the King, who never saw him, but who, on the faith of that press, considered him a character so abominable that it would be a meritorious work to purge the earth of his presence. These men have come to regard the King as so execrable, that they regarded it as a meritorious work to destroy him, even though in doing so they might annihilate at the same time hundreds of men, women, and children. Read the revolutionary journals since that event; see what intensity of hatred they reveal in their bosoms. With what complacency do they calculate that a few feet, a few inches more, and a whole dynasty was destroyed. Have they not declared that, after such an escape, the Republic may well take courage, and that it accepted the baptism of assassination. Well, gentlemen, let us see what the law will produce. Suppose the King entirely irresponsible, and that we must answer for every thing—where will the evil be? where will it be for honorable men of all parties, for the most opposite to each other, provided their opinions are sincere? If there is any one who, out of this assembly, claims the right of insulting the King, insulting the Charter, insulting the public morality, let him show himself, and your indignation will be his answer.

36. "Every party, every interest, loses by the unbridled license of the press which now prevails. The Administration loses by it, for it is perpetually obliged to recur to first principles, and waste, in defending the foundation of government, the time which should be consecrated to the progress of society, and the material and moral interests of the nation. The nation loses most of all, for it is entirely forgotten in the midst of that envenomed strife of parties; and yet it has established the present Government, with the precise view that they should not be neglected, and that it might keep pace with and satisfy the ardent desire for industry and prosperity which presages such great destinies. That those great destinies will one day be realized, we have never ceased to hope; for a religious and moral reaction, a feeling of the necessity of order, begins to show itself; and in this mighty work of moral regeneration, society calls to its aid the support of power to shield it against the subversive influences. That is the moment to lend to it the succor of legislation. In the midst of a

violent and universal crisis, the remedies suited to a period of peace and tranquillity are powerless—when calm is re-established, they are useless. It is when enlightened opinion, and the best interests of society, maintain a painful contest with the intestine passions which convulse it, that it becomes us to aid the moral travail of the world; it is then that we should cut short the pains which society, left to its own resources, would long have to endure in the midst of universal suffering, and for which no remedy could perhaps be found but in a universal overthrow, in which liberty itself would be the first to perish.

"Whatever may be the insolence of parties, however dangerous they may still be, they are conquered; they no longer bid us defiance, but they still subsist, and every day reveals more of the mischief which they do, and still more, have done. Every where the disastrous traces of their passage are to be seen. They have thrown a poison into men's minds, which is far from being expelled. The prejudices they have diffused, the passions they have awakened, the vices they have caused, still ferment; and if at this moment the reign of insurrection has ceased, the moral revolt still subsists. An exaltation of mind without limit as without end, a mortal hatred for social order, a feverish desire to overturn at all hazards, a blind hope to succeed in the attempt, a profound irritation at failure, implacable humiliation of deceived vanity, shame at yielding, thirst of vengeance—these are the feelings which remain in the breasts of the seditious minorities whom society has subdued, but by no means conquered. Is it not a fact imprinted in characters of blood in our streets, that under the fire of a hostile press, under the ceaseless action of barbarous theories and atrocious calumnies, there has been formed in the lower strata of society—there, where meet gross passions with violent intelligences, neither of which can endure restraint—a militia of men capable of undertaking any thing, at once fanatical and perverse, ready at any moment for revolt, and where political parricide finds arms with weapons in their hands at all times ready for insurrection?

37. "Revolt is the enemy which the glorious Revolution of July bore in its bosom. We have combated it under all forms, in all fields. It began by raising in front of the tribune, rival tribunes from whence it might dictate its insolent determinations and sanguinary caprices. We have demolished these factious tribunes, we have shut up the clubs; for the first time we have muzzled the monster. Upon this it descended into the streets; you have seen it hurtle against the gates of the King's palace with bared arms, shouting, vociferating, and hoping to domineer over all by fear. We have met it face to face, with the law in our hand; we have dispersed its assemblages, we have made it re-enter its den. Next it organized itself in secret societies, in permanent conspiracies, in living plots. With the law in our hand, we have dissolved the anarchical societies, arrested their chiefs, scattered their bravoes. After having repeatedly given us battle, it has been as often defeated, dragged by the heels through the streets, despite its

clamor, to receive due chastisement at the hands of justice. Now it has fled to its last refuge; it has sought an asylum in the factious press; it has sought to intrench itself behind the sacred right of discussion, which the Charter has guaranteed to all Frenchmen. It is there that—like the wretch of whom history has preserved the name, who poisoned the waters of a populous city—it poisons every day the fountains of human intelligence, the channels in which truth should circulate, and pours its venom into all minds. We propose to attack it in its last asylum; we tear from its visage its last mask, and after having conquered it in material strife without infringing personal liberty, we shall subdue the licentiousness without infringing on the legitimate liberty of language. Should we succeed, as succeed I trust we shall, with your assistance, come what will, we shall have discharged our duty. Should the King in his wisdom call other men to the direction of affairs; should you, from motives which we shall always respect, withdraw the confidence you have hitherto reposed in us; should we fall from our own fault, or without it, it matters not. When the hour of our retreat has sounded, we shall carry back with us into private life the proud conviction of having exercised power in a conscientious and courageous spirit; we shall carry with us the consciousness of having done nothing for ourselves, but all for our country.”

No one acquainted with the state of France at this period could deny that there was much truth in these eloquent words. Unfortunately for the orators, however, it was exactly what had been said five years before, in the manifesto, in 1830, setting forth the reasons for the Ordonnances of the Polignac Administration, drawn by M. de Chantelauze, and “*Ante, c.* for acting on which the men *con-vii. t. 54,* posing the present government had demanded their heads.” The orators on the other side, whether in the Chamber or at the bar (for all State trials at this period were political debates), did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and keenly reproached the Government for attacking a movement at the head of which they had formerly been found themselves. “The Revolution of July,” said M. Armand Carrel and M. Lamartine, “has been much praised for its clemency, and certainly we are not those who would make that clemency a matter of reproach; for if we counseled vigor, we counseled at the same time humanity. But posterity will not fail to reproach it with its inconceivably infatuated trust. Hardly had it escaped from the bayonets of the Swiss, when it fell into that alliance which is now stifling it. We have had our share in the general fault, and we are now bearing the punishment of our inexperienced courage. What remains to us now of the victory of July, of that immortal triumph, but the tricolor flag, which to all appearance will soon be torn from our grasp?”

“Imprudent and young that we were the day after the victory! we had our eyes fixed on the future, and we never thought of securing our point of departure! We advanced to new conquests, dreamed of

fresh victories, and already the reforms we had gained have slipped from our hands. There is nothing they will not dare, nothing attempt. It is thus that we have seen, during the state of siege in Paris, political writers given up to police sergeants, the sanctity of domicile universally violated, secret correspondence seized and published; association, the principle of protection of the weak against the strong, the sufferers against the oppressors, denounced as a State crime. It is by these means that we have been stripped, one by one, of all our liberties, either of thought, writing, or action, and punished in our persons and our property for having wished to preserve the existence of a journal from whence has come the first call of the house of Orleans.

“It is in vain that reference is made to the licentiousness of the press to justify these measures for the annihilation of its liberty. Freedom, difficult with it, is impossible without it. We must bear with its excesses, or abandon all hope of freedom. You must conquer it by putting it in the wrong, but it is a senseless attempt to think of extinguishing it, which can not fail to recoil upon those who engage in it. Such an attempt leads nations back; it leads to Moscow or to Prague, by the path of blind tyranny, or by that of revolt. Look around you; where are the ruins in society of which we hear so much? The throne has been overturned; it is restored. The good citizens were scattered, and trembled after a victory which had taught the people their strength; they have been rallied under the standard of the National Guard, and form the redoubtable army to which the defense of order is intrusted. The army was dissolved, and now it numbers four hundred thousand men, united as one man. Property was threatened, and now property has swallowed up every thing, even the electoral rights, which it is not entitled to engross exclusively. The Archbishop's palace was pillaged, and now the temples are restored, and filled with the faithful, who recognize a common origin for morality and religion. Your elections were once delivered up to the gales of extreme faction; and now all returns, from the Chamber of Deputies to the humblest magistracy, are in the hands of men of property. Revolt was once rife in the streets, and now order and propriety reign in them; and if a fearful crime has been committed, it has filled all France with horror and execration. Royalty itself, so often assailed, so often dragged in the mire by the journals, what has it lost in the strife? I ask those who have witnessed the last atrocious attempt, has not the Sovereign become aggrandized amidst dangers, and honored the government by his *sang froid* in peril, and the solicitude he has evinced for others?”

“The Polignac Ministry attempted to effect the counter-revolution by ordonnances; you are seeking to do the same thing by laws. Is the Chamber prepared to second such an attempt? The future of the country is in your hands; with a single word you can cure the evil, and appease all disquietudes. Reject the proposed laws as unconstitutional. Overturn the Ministry which, by its own admission, has come to such a point that it can not govern but by a violation of the consti-

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tution. Unite with us in supplicating the sovereign to choose a new Ministry among those who, better instructed in the wants of the country, may succeed, by means of clemency and conciliation, in calming the passions; among those who, respecting legal right, may govern by conforming to the Charter, not violating it; among those who, believing in the eternal law of progress, may introduce with prudence the ameliorations which the nation demands, and who will not prolong beyond the limits which wisdom prescribes, a resistance which it is sometimes necessary to oppose to too vehement impatience.⁴³

The laws brought forward by the Ministry to combat the evils which they so eloquently deplored, consisted of three parts, and were, upon the whole, less violent than in the circumstances might have been expected. By the first, the Minister of Justice was authorized, should circumstances demand it, to form as many jury-courts as might be deemed necessary, and various abbreviations of the forms of procedure were introduced. Power was also given to the presidents of these courts to take such of the accused as might disturb the proceedings out of court, and proceed in their absence. The second authorized juries to convict by a majority of eight to seven, and enjoined secrecy on the votes given. The third, which excited the most violent opposition, declared any offense against the person of the Sovereign, or the monarchical principle, by the way of publication, punishable by imprisonment and a fine from 10,000 to 50,000 francs (£400 to £2000). It forbade the citizens, under severe penalties, to take the name of Republicans, to mix up the King's name in political discussions, to express wishes for the destruction or abrogation of the monarchical regime, or wishes for the restoration of the exiled family, to publish the names of jurymen before or after, or collect subscriptions in aid of a condemned journal. Editors were laid under an obligation to reveal the authors of articles prosecuted, and during their imprisonment they were deprived of the direction of their respective journals. No drawing, no emblem, no engraving, was to be exposed to sale without having been sanctioned by the censors; and their authority was also required for any new piece on the theatre or opera stage.

The cautions to be found by journalists might be increased to the enormous amount of 100,000 francs (£4000), and it was required to be paid in cash, not *rentes*, or other securities.⁴⁴

Considered in themselves, there could be no doubt that these restrictions were abundantly severe, and that they opened a door which, in the hands of unscrupulous prosecutors and astute judges, might with ease lead to the entire destruction of freedom either in thought or expression. Under the vague expression of these laws, which furnished incitements to crime without any overt acts, there was scarcely any political discussion, if adverse to the Government, which might not be rendered amenable to punishment. So strong was the sense in the Chamber of the necessity of the case, and so general the conviction that it was to the licentiousness of the press

that all the evils under which society labored were to be ascribed, that, though strongly opposed alike by the Royalists, headed by MM. Berryer and Royer-Collard, and the Republicans led by Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, the coercive measures passed both Chambers by large majorities. That in the Deputies was 226 to 153 on the most trying question; ⁴⁵ *Ann. Hist.* that on the laws relating to the press, *xviii.* 323, in the Peers, 101 to 20.⁴⁶

The year 1836 opened under the most favorable auspices for the King and the Court party. The massacre of Fieschi had done that which five years of incessant efforts on the part of Government, and the bayonets of 500,000 national guards, had been unable to effect. Atrocious crime had here, as ever, defeated its own object; the reaction had become so strong that it had turned only to the profit of the party against which it had been directed. The religious section of the community saw in the marvelous escape of the King and royal family the evident finger of Providence for the protection of the monarchy; the Doctrinaires and philosophers beheld in the crime of Fieschi the inevitable result of the anarchical principles which had so long distracted society, and kept open the wounds of the Revolution; the bourgeoisie, without troubling themselves either with religion or philosophy, were keenly alive to the dangers which threatened themselves from the conspiracies of the anarchists, and beheld with dismay a long perspective of lessened sales, and ultimate bankruptcy, resulting from the machinations of the secret societies. Thus all parties, though from different motives, concurred in giving support, in the mean time, to the monarchy; and the King had to thank the murder of Marshal Mortier, and the infernal machine of Fieschi, for having steered him through shoals in which, with all his prudence and power, he might otherwise have suffered shipwreck.⁴⁷

Another circumstance, arising from extraneous causes, came into operation at this period, and powerfully contributed to give a new direction to general thought, and turn individual ambition into another channel than those of political change or revolution. Great and long unknown prosperity had now begun to set in in both France and England, the natural result in both of increased confidence in the Government, and enlarged operations in the transactions of commerce. During the long and dreary years, in both, which had succeeded the Revolution of 1830 and the Reform convulsion, trade had been so much checked, and consumption so materially reduced, that when confidence began to be restored, purchases to recommence, and capital to emerge from its places of concealment, a general rush to speculation and enjoyment took place. It was like the universal thirst after pleasure which followed the long and dreary night of the Reign of Terror on the fall of Robespierre. Four uncommonly fine seasons in succession had reduced the price of provisions to nearly one half its former level in both countries, and, by reducing the importation of grain to a trifle, had entirely closed the chief drain which, in periods of peace, carried

⁴³ *Moniteur*, Aug. 13-17, 1833. *Ann. Hist.* *xviii.* 309, 311.

⁴⁴ *Ann. Hist.* *xviii.* 304, 307; *L. Blanc*, iv. 478, 479.

⁴⁵ *Ann. Hist.* *xviii.* 304, 307; *L. Blanc*, iv. 478, 479.

⁴⁶ *Ann. Hist.* *xviii.* 304, 307; *L. Blanc*, iv. 478, 479.

⁴⁷ *Ann. Hist.* *xviii.* 304, 307; *L. Blanc*, iv. 478, 479.

off the precious metals from those wealthy and long-established communities. Thus real capital was abundant, and paper capital, founded on credit, and supported by a plentiful issue of paper currency, was still more abundant; and speculation in railways, joint-stock companies, and joint undertakings of every kind, became extremely common. The public funds rapidly rose; the Three per Cents, which had been 76 in January, were at 80 in December; bank shares had risen from 1755 to 2145 in the course of the year; the revenue for 1836, for the first time since 1890, was superior to the expenditure, the former being 1,000,700,000 francs (£40,028,000), the latter 999,467,000 (£39,960,000), leaving a small balance at the credit of the Exchequer. The imports and exports, which had been very depressed in 1833 and 1834, became much more abundant in 1835 and 1836;* and speculation, outstripping the progress of real profit, opened to the ardent imaginations of the people the prospects of future and unbounded gain, which soon, like a fever, seized upon and carried away all classes.†

But while every thing smiled on the monarchy, it was far otherwise with its Prime Minister; and already every thing announced the approaching fall of the Duke de Broglie. He had been selected by the King as a sort of compromise between the contending parties, and though he had conducted himself with firmness and ability, so far as the internal direction of affairs was concerned, he had failed to conciliate either the King or the Foreign Ministers. The former was disconcerted by his dogmatical manner and arrogant assumption of the lead, which was by no means in accordance with the supreme direction of affairs to which he himself aspired. The Foreign Ministers distrusted him, as neither decidedly pronounced for the aristocratic or the popular party; they did not know whether or not he was to be relied on. M. Thiers and M. Guizot, perceiving this, and being sensible that the Duke de Broglie could not long retain his position as Prime Minister, were secretly taking measures to undermine him, when the catastrophe was accelerated by an unforeseen event. On the 14th January, 1836, M. Hermann, the Minister of Finance, in bringing forward the budget for 1837, ventured, of his own authority, without the concurrence of the Cabinet, to broach the dangerous assertion that the moment was favorable for the reduction of the interest of the national debt.† This proposal

threw the Prime Minister into the utmost embarrassment; for the question of the reduction of the *rentiers* had always been a trying one for the French administrations, and more than one had been dissolved from the collision of interests which it occasioned. He accordingly disclaimed the proposal, veiling his indecision under an ambiguous declaration that Government intended to bring forward a proposal on the subject at some future period, though not this session, but that the precise time was not yet fixed, and that it would depend on circumstances.* In consequence of this schism, M. Hermann resigned, and his resignation having been accepted, M. de Argout was appointed Minister of Finance in his stead.†

The change of the Finance Minister, however, only adjourned, it did not remove the difficulty. Great interests were at stake on both sides; for, on the one hand, the necessary state of the exchequer, owing to the vast national armaments which were kept up, rendered a reduction in the interest of the public debt, if it could be effected, extremely desirable; and on the other, the number of persons interested in preventing any fall in their incomes, derived from this source, was so considerable that it was a dangerous thing for any Administration to provoke their hostility. The saving to be effected by the proposed reduction was no less than 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) a year; and to a Chamber deeply impressed with economical ideas, this was a temptation not to be resisted. On the other hand, the rents inscribed on the *Grand Livre* amounted to 140,000,000 francs (£5,600,000), and this sum was divided among no less than 298,000 holders of stock, being on an average only 478 francs (£19) a year each.† It was evidently, therefore, a question of great difficulty, and the schism on the subject in the Cabinet was but the index, as is generally the case, to the corresponding division in society. The question, however, once mooted, could no longer be avoided; for the finance committee of the Chamber, to whom the matter had been remitted, decided, by a majority of 23 to 13, in favor of the reduction; and the secretary to the committee, M. Gouin, brought forward a proposal in its name, which was, to convert the 5 per cent. into either a 4 or 3 per cent., providing to the dissident holders of the stock certain annuities

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM FRANCE.

	Exports (francs).	Imports (francs).
1834.....	714,705,000	730,194,000
1835.....	824,422,000	760,726,000
1836.....	961,284,000	905,375,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 40, 42; xix. 73; xx. 74.

† "Politiquement, Messieurs, est-il besoin de signaler l'effet moral que la réduction de l'intérêt de la dette produirait au dehors? Qui oserait douter encore des ressources et des destinées de la France, si on la voyait résuoir peu après une Révolution dans une entreprise qui marque le terme le plus élevé du crédit national? Nous n'oublions pas que de nos jours le crédit financier sert d'appui à l'influence politique: car le crédit est une arme aussi; et cette arme aucun pays ne la devrait posséder plus forte que la France. La réduction de l'intérêt accroîtrait nos ressources: l'économie qui en serait le fruit assurerait l'équilibre de nos finances, et nous permettrait de fonder pour les entreprises d'utilité générale un système d'encouragement qui donnerait une nouvelle et puissante impulsion aux progrès de la richesse."—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 33.

* "On nous demande s'il est dans l'intention du Gouvernement de proposer la mesure. Je réponds, Non: c'est clair! On dit que mes réponses ne sont pas claires. Eh bien, je dis que l'intention du Gouvernement n'est point de proposer la mesure dans cette Session. On me demande à quelle époque? Je réponds qu'aucun Gouvernement sage, aucun Gouvernement sensé, ne peut prendre un engagement quelconque sur une époque quelconque. C'est une question d'opportunité qui dépend des circonstances."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 19, 1836; *Ann. Hist.*, xix. 37.

† M. Thiers stated some very important and interesting facts, in this debate, on the comparative holders of French and English stock:

"La grand livre," disait il, "est comme le sol Français très-divisé. Voici l'Etat du Grand Livre Français et la dette publique d'Angleterre en 1830.

"En Angleterre 700,000,000 (£28,000,000) et 270,000 parties prenantes. En France 140,000,000 (£5,600,000) et 298,000 parties prenantes. C'est l'image du sol Anglais et de la grand propriété Anglaise."—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 43, 44.

in lieu of their claims on the Government. This proposal excited the utmost interest in the Chamber and the country, for it was well known that the fate of the Ministry hung upon its decision, and that it was to become the great turning-point, both in the strife of parties, and the division of social interests, in the ensuing session of the Legislature.¹

On the part of the committee of the Chamber, it was argued by M. Gouin, its secretary and the reporter: "It is in order to force the Government to break silence on this momentous subject that the Chamber have brought forward the present proposition, in which the holders of stock on the one side, and the mass of the community on the other, are so deeply interested. The reduction of the 5 per cents is a measure at once legal, just, useful, and opportune. In the question between the stockholder and the public, all the advantages have hitherto been on the side of the former. The law has declared his title indefeasible, and exempted it from every species of taxation. Is that not enough? and is it necessary, in addition, to renounce forever a liberation from the burden of interest which can alone alleviate the burden of the debt to the public? Matters have come to that point, that it is absolutely necessary to re-establish an equilibrium between the receipts and expenses, instead of a deficit of 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 francs (£600,000 or £800,000), which now exists. The Chamber has been long amused with statements of great economical measures, which have turned out rather an augmentation of expense. New taxes are impossible; they would cease to be productive. Here is a measure of economy which goes to save 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) yearly, and which would at once restore the finances. No time can be imagined so favorable for this great measure as the present, when the nation enjoys externally profound peace, when internal tranquillity prevails, and abundant harvests for several years have spread contentment through all classes of the community. The details of the measure, and the nature of the indemnity to be given to the stockholders, may be the subject of after consideration; but the Chamber should not lose a day in recognizing the principle of the conversion."²

On the other hand, it was contended by M. Delessert: "It is not necessary to discuss the right of Government to effect such a reduction as is now proposed in perpetual annuities; although, when the same question was discussed in 1824 and 1825, it was seriously doubted by General Foy, and the most eminent of the Opposition of that period, whether Government had any such right, especially in regard to the original holders of the 3 per cents consolidated, seeing they have already undergone a reduction of two-thirds of their stock in 1797. But without pleading the case so high, it seems sufficient to observe, that the advantages of the proposed measure have been very much exaggerated, and its evils diminished. The entire saving, supposing the 5 per cents all reduced to 4, would only be 21,000,000 francs (£840,000), not

25,000,000; and at what price would this reduction be effected? By cutting off a fifth of the income of 180,000 proprietors, and stripping them, on an average, of 100 francs (£4) a year, and leaving them only 400 francs to spend. And who compose the class whom it is thus proposed peculiarly to tax? Old men, widows, orphans, and minors, who have expended their little all on government securities, and who now are to meet with this return for having come forward to support it in perilous times. Possibly a year hence, should external and internal peace continue so long, it may be possible to effect something of the kind; but at present we are much too near the period of insurrection, infernal machines, and conspiracies, to attempt it."³

The question derived its principal importance from its being understood that it was the touchstone of the Administration. It was no secret that the King was adverse to the conversion, at least at that time, as likely to breed dissatisfaction, and possibly insurrection, in the capital; and the Ministers unanimously adhered to this opinion at the existing time. Their decided opinion was expressed to be—1st. That the measure proposed was well founded in right; 2d. That it involved a resource considerable, and worthy of being taken into consideration, though less than what was generally supposed; 3d. That it would inevitably be brought about in time; but, 4th. That at the present moment it was dangerous, if not impracticable, and likely, in the highest degree, to impair the internal tranquillity and external credit of France. Their decision, therefore, was, in the mean time, against entertaining the measure. On the other hand, as the proposal was founded on the report of the committee of the Chamber, passed by a large majority, it was evident that a direct collision between the executive and the Legislature had taken place, which could not be avoided but by one or other of them being overthrown. The utmost anxiety was felt for the result. The vote was taken on the question, whether the proposal should immediately be taken into consideration, or adjourned; and the former was carried, amidst extreme agitation, by a majority of two—the numbers being 194 to 192. The whole Ministers immediately resigned, and the King, having no other resource, accepted the resignations.⁴

The King had considerable difficulty in forming a Cabinet, as might have been anticipated, when the former one had been displaced by a vote of the Chamber in opposition to his wishes and its unanimous opinion. It was evidently necessary to take the Premier from the Centre, as it was the junction of that body with the Left which had caused the overthrow of the former Administration. Great difficulties were, however, experienced in the selection—to such a degree, indeed, that on the 15th February the former Ministers were all officially summoned to the palace, which seemed to indicate that their resignations would not be finally accepted. A list of the new Cabinet,

¹ Ann. Hist. xix. 37, 39; Cap. viii. 392.

^{49.} Arguments in favor of the reduction of the interest.

² Ann. Hist. xix. 38, 39; Moniteur, Feb. 3, 1836.

³ Ann. Hist. xix. 38, 39; Moniteur, Feb. 3, 1836.

^{50.} Answer for the stockholders.

¹ Moniteur, Feb. 6, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 40, 41.

^{51.} Decision of the Ministers on the subject, which is against it at the moment, and leads to their overthrow. Feb. 6.

² Moniteur, Feb. 7, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 45, 53.

^{52.} New Ministry: M. Thiers Premier.

with Count Molé at its head, was for some days in circulation; but at length, after an interregnum of above a fortnight, the names of the new Ministers appeared officially in the columns of the *Moniteur*. M. Thiers was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the other Ministers bespoke a combination of parties, in which the Centre predominated, but in which the union of men of different principles was so evident, that no long endurance could be anticipated for this more than any other coalition.* The step toward democracy,

¹ *Moniteur*, Feb. 22, 1836; aristocratic element was entirely excluded, and the philosophic conservationism of M. Guizot no longer had a place in the Cabinet.¹

M. THIERS, who thus at the age of forty was to be Prime Minister, and at the same time Foreign Minister of France, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. No one, even in revolutionary times, raises himself with no other aid but that of his own talents to such an eminence, who is not so. He is not, however, a great man: had he been such, he never would, in all probability, have attained that eminence; or if he had, he would speedily have lost it. He was not a man of original thought, settled conviction, or unbending character; there is no trace of the former to be found in his speeches or writings, or of the two latter in the various phases of his political career. But it was the very absence of these commanding qualities which occasioned his political success. It is in serious crises only, such as brought forward Mr. Pitt on one side, and Napoleon on the other, that really great men obtain or can keep the lead: in ordinary times they are shipwrecked by their own greatness—they fall from their lofty and independent character. Like Mr. Burke, they possess the solitary independence of real genius: they may direct future ages, but they will seldom rule the present. To attain and retain political power, the mind must be much more supple and accommodating: it must be equal to affairs, not above them—abreast of the age, not in advance of it.

M. Thiers was a great political borrower and critic, rather than a great statesman; and this peculiarity appears not less in his writings than his career. Like Sir R. Peel in politics, he was a "huge appropriation clause," and largely imported the ideas of others when it suited his purpose to adopt them: like Lord Jeffrey in discoursing, he enlarged with admirable felicity on these adopted views, and from the very circumstance of their being adopted, and therefore not original, generally carried the majority with him. The majority of men are always directed by the original ideas of the great of the past, not the present generation. He had vast powers of amplification and illustration, prodigious fecundity of language, and occasionally, when warmed in debate, rose to a very high, though not the high-

est strain of eloquence. He was often inconsistent in principle, never in ambition. Holding a middle place as the leader of the Left Centre, or more Liberal section of the supporters of the Revolution of July, he inclined sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, and was alternately caressed by the Conservative diplomatists of Prince Metternich, and lauded by the Liberal journalists of Paris. Inconsistency was his great defect, as it is with all who are swayed by ambition or impulse, rather than a resolute will and settled conviction. He was vain, fond of flattery, and did not escape the imputation of being desirous of money to maintain the splendor in which he delighted, and little scrupulous in the means which he took to obtain it. His fame in future times will rest on his Histories, where he was truly admirable, rather than his political career, which was often fickle and changeable. Yet is this fault rather to be ascribed to the age in which he lived than to himself, and could not, by a successful statesman, be avoided. Those who applaud the popular regime, and yet demand consistency in statesmen, are themselves inconsistent; for how is consistency to be maintained by one who depends on the ever-changing currents of public opinion?

As the Duke de Broglie's Ministry had been overthrown on the vexed question of the reduction of the *rentes*, it was naturally supposed that the new Administration would immediately bring in a measure in harmony with the views of the majority of the Chamber, and that on its success the fate of the Ministry would depend. It proved otherwise, however: M. Thiers was too skillful a pilot to split upon the rock on which his predecessor had been stranded. He avoided it, accordingly, by a skillful speech, in which, after strongly enforcing the principle of the measure, he concluded by declaring that it was a step of so much importance, and requiring so much attention to details, that it, of necessity, must be left to be matured in another session. The majority in the Centre, satisfied with having got a Ministry of their own creation, and thereby secured the whole patronage of the State to themselves and their constituents, were content, or professed to be content, with this declaration; and the question recently so fiercely debated, and on which a Ministry had been overthrown, was quietly allowed to go to sleep. A trial of strength soon after took place on the election of three Vice-presidents of the Chamber, in lieu of M. Sauzet, Passy, and Pelet de la Lozère, promoted to the Ministry, and the majority of the Parti-Tiers was unequivocally evinced; for M. Calmon, who was their representative, had 218 votes; M. Duchatel, who belonged to the late Ministry, had 200; and M. Forté, who had the support of the Gauche, only 165.¹

On the 22d February, M. Thiers made, according to custom, a sort of profession of faith before the Chamber, and as it elicited a similar declaration from M. Guizot, the leader of the Conservative Opposition, and M. Odillon Barrot, the chief of the Extreme Gauche, their speeches are in the highest degree inter-

* The Ministry of 23d of February was as follows: President of the Council and Foreign Affairs, M. Thiers; Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Sauzet; Minister of the Interior, M. Montalivet; of Commerce and Public Works, M. Passy; of Public Instruction, M. Pelet de La Lozère; of War, Marshal Maison; of the Marine, Admiral Duperré; of Finance, M. d'Argout.—*Moniteur*, 23d February, 1836.

¹ An. Hist. xix. 71, 73; Cap. ix. 6, 8.

esting, as evincing the views of the different parties at this period, when the Government of Louis Philippe had, after repeated struggles, been firmly established. "Gentlemen," said M. Thiers, "the Cabinet is at length constituted, and the Chamber will without doubt deem it suitable that, without waiting to be interrogated, I should volunteer to state the principles by which it is to be guided. The men who are now placed on the ministerial bench have all acted in the light of day. You will not forget, I hope, that most of us have conducted the country in the midst of great perils, and that, in facing them, we have combated anarchy with all our strength. Those who were not then in the Ministry seconded our efforts in the bosom of the Chamber. That which we were then we are still. For my own part, I declare it aloud, for I wish to be unknown to no one: I am what I was, the sincere friend of the Revolution of July, and on that very account convinced of the old truth, that to save a revolution you must preserve it from its own excesses. When these excesses appeared in the streets, or in the abusive use made of our institutions, I combated them with all the force of action and legislation. I feel honored by having combated alongside of the majority of the Chamber: and were it necessary, I would unite with them again to save our country from the disorders which threaten it. I believe that these sentiments are those of the majority of the Chamber. The troubles which have disturbed our country seem to be approaching their termination; better days are in store for us, and we shall not again see the days of peace uselessly darkened by the features and desolation of war. Here, again, we shall be faithful to the principle of the late Cabinet; it would not have been abandoned had the Government not been unreasonable and unworthy of its mission."

"The period has come," said M. Guizot, 57. "when every one is called on to declare his sentiments, and I will not be the last to do so. Two charges are brought against our policy. One is, that it is rigorous and retrograde; but I do not think that progress consists in advancing in the dark. When society has been for long buried in license, progress consists in returning to order—in restoring the sway of truth re-entering the conditions of society. If society consisted in indefinite extension, and required it, and such was the declared and ascertained will of society, then to delay would be to recede; but if society requires something very different, if it desires to regain the principles of conservatism, of which it has long lost sight, the return to conservative principles is progress. It is not progress to go back to 1791; what was then an advance is now a retrograde movement. The wants of that period are all satisfied; what is desired now was unfelt then. We are not required now to plunge afresh into those dark and tortuous ways, and to open a passage which leads to destruction and ruin. Our opponents are going on blindly in the old track; they demand what was demanded before, without perceiving that all is changed: it is we, and we alone, who are really abreast of the age. Revolutions have always been attended with this immense inconvenience,

that they weaken and degrade power. When this has been done, what is required is to restore it—to give it fixity, dignity, consideration. It is in that that progress consists. God forbid I should say nothing has been done. Every thing has been begun, nothing concluded. Should the majority in this Chamber, which has been so gloriously formed amidst all our struggles, once allow itself to be divided or broken, you would see in a few months, perhaps in a few days, our whole work—government, peers, deputies, citizens—vanish at once. We have but one thing to do, and that is to be faithful to ourselves, to advance in the line. *Moniteur*, Feb. 23, 1836; Cap. ix. 15, 16.

"I have no liking," said M. Odillon Barrot, "for commonplaces. I will not go back on what has been said and re-said a hundred times. Doubtless the Opposition, since July, 1830, has been placed in the most difficult situation. We have taken the Revolution of July in earnest; we regarded it not as a change of persons but of things—as the commencement of a new political era—as the solemn consecration of the principles for which we have contended during fifty years. Others have considered it as a mere accidental occurrence—as a thing against which they were to be on their guard; and because the Revolution had been made in the name of the Charter, to confine themselves strictly within its limits, to concede as little as possible, and retard what had been torn from them by victory. We, on the other hand, who beheld in that Revolution an immense change, saw in the charter of 1830, not a bounding charter, but an unchangeable contract between king and people, and we wished that all the conditions of that charter should be faithfully observed. Whenever the promises in that charter came under discussion, we have always voted for its interpretation in the largest sense, without hatred, or a spirit of resistance against the Revolution, because we were convinced that, if that Revolution presented dangers, they would arise from resistance to its principles, not from carrying them out in honesty and good faith. Such is the profound difference of opinion which exists between us and another portion of the Chamber. I know that we have suffered under the position in which the violence of parties has placed us; that we have been represented as the accomplices of the excesses in the streets, and of a tendency to that republican despotism with which our opponents charge us. All that is false. We appeal to the future and the good sense of the country, and they will not fail us. Already the nation feels the necessity of departing from that bitter spirit of distrust which the violence of parties could alone have created."

The Chamber was so equally balanced between the three parties who were represented by these eloquent speakers, that legislative improvement, as in Great Britain, at the same period and from the same cause, was rendered impossible. It was not to be expected that a Ministry which had been brought in by a majority of two in the Chamber, would adventure on any novel or hazardous measures; and as by the

French constitution the initiative of all laws rested with the Ministers, and the Opposition could only move amendments, this put an entire stop to legislative changes. The new Premier made a narrow escape from shipwreck, on a personal attack made upon him, in consequence of his having, in his capacity of Minister of the Interior in the former Cabinet, exceeded the credits allotted to him in the budget, particularly in the Madeleine, where the excess was 1,200,000 francs (£50,000), the obelisk in the Champs Elysées, where it was 1,500,000 (£60,000), and the Hotel on the Quai d'Orsay, where it was 2,000,000 (£80,000). It must be confessed these sums were very large, and with a revenue considerably less than the expenditure, and a Chamber passionately set upon economy, they afforded a very fair ground of attack. M. Thiers, accordingly, was very apprehensive of the result, and spoke warmly, and under emotion, in his defense. At length, however, the just pride of the French in their public monuments overcame their love of economy, and the extra expense was sanctioned. A

March 25. still more trying question was expected on the proposal of a vote of 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for secret-service money; but, contrary to expectation, it passed by a majority of 251 to 99. Sixty of the Gauche voted for it—
 1 Cap. ix. 19, a strange circumstance, but not un-
 23: An. Hist. known in the annals of popular as-
 xi. 68, 76. semblies.¹

The most interesting debate of the session took place on the budget, and most
 80. Important important revelations on the real
 financial state of the French finances were
 statements. made by the Finance Minister. From it, it appeared that, although the sums voted since 1830 had always exceeded a thousand million francs (£40,000,000), and in some years had reached 1,400,000,000 (£56,000,000), still, the actual expenditure since that period had exceeded the ordinary income by the enormous sum of 848,842,924 francs, or £34,000,000, being at the rate of nearly 210,000,000 francs, or £8,400,000 a year.* Certainly, if revolutions are an exciting, and to some a profitable pastime, they are enormously expensive and utterly ruinous to the great majority. It is no wonder, in this state of the finances, that the first anxiety of the Chamber was to reduce the expenditure, and bring it, if possible, to a level with the income. It was evident, from this statement, that the annual *exposés* made by the Finance Minister had been fallacious; for they had always exhibited a surplus of income, small, indeed, but still a surplus over expenditure. It was by loans and supplementary credits that the requisite funds for this vast extra expenditure had been acquired, and under a *new Ministry*, these important facts, heretofore
 2 Ann. Hist. carefully enveloped in mystery,
 xix. 168, 169. were revealed.²

The first serious foreign negotiation in which M. Thiers was involved related to the occupation of Cracow, and its little adjacent territory, by the troops of the three allied Powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which had taken

place on the 17th February. This violation of the territory of a State declared
 61. Occupation of
 Cracow by the
 allied Powers.
 Feb. 17. independent by the treaty of Vienna (Art. 9) in 1815, made a great sensation in Europe, especially as Cracow was the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the violation of its neutrality was effected by the three Powers which had been parties to its partition. The reason assigned was, that Cracow had become the rendezvous of Polish refugees from the adjoining provinces of Lithuania, Galicia, and Posen, from whence they were hatching plots and conspiracies against the adjoining States. The three Powers had summoned the Senate of Cracow to remove certain persons designed in a note on February 9; and they, being without the means of resistance, had agreed to do so, craving only a delay of a few days for such of the refugees as had become connected by marriage with the inhabitants of Cracow, to remove their effects. To this, however, the allied generals would not agree, their orders being positive to admit of no delay; and on the 17th the Austrians entered, and were followed a few days after by the Russians and Prussians. The militia was immediately disbanded, as being composed, for the most part, it was said, of the suspected persons, and the President of the Senate resigned his office, and was replaced by one in the interest of the allied Powers. The whole refugees, so much the object of apprehension to the allied Powers, were immediately expelled by their troops, and the Senate remodeled, so as to be entirely under their influence. This done, the Russian and Prussian troops were withdrawn, leaving only a small body of Austrians to garrison the forts, and prevent the re-entrance of the refugees.* This violent proceeding, in direct violation of the treaty of Vienna, which had placed the republic of Cracow under the guarantee of the four great Powers, called forth only a powerful expression of dissatisfaction from the Cabinet of St. James's, and was in secret approved by that of the Tuilleries.

Shortly after, a convention was signed at Constantinople between the Russians
 62. Other diplo-
 it was agreed that, on payment of matic treaties.
 the last installment of the sum of March 15.
 80,000,000 of Turkish piastres (£10,000,000), stipulated by the treaty of 1829, before the 15th August next ensuing, by the Turkish Government, the Russian troops should evacuate Silistria. This was justly regarded as a very important event in the East, as affording an instance, so rare in recent times, of the Muscovite standards receding from what they had once occupied, and the Turkish advancing again to the

* "Les trois Puissances protectrices de l'Etat libre de Cracovie, ayant en grande partie atteint le but qu'elles s'étaient proposé lorsqu'elles furent contraintes à faire occuper temporairement cet Etat par leurs troupes, pour le délivrer des fuyards Révolutionnaires et d'autres individus dangereux et sans aveu, qui s'y étaient agglomérés, se sont empressées, conformément à leur première Résolution, d'ordonner l'évacuation complète de la ville et du territoire de l'Etat libre de Cracovie, en n'y conservant qu'une petite partie des troupes Autrichiennes, qui sont encore nécessaires au maintien de la sécurité publique, et au service militaire, jusqu'à ce que l'organisation de la milice de l'Etat fut achevée."
 — *Manifeste des Trois Puissances*, March 17, 1836; *Gazettes*, ix. 59, 60.

* "Les dépenses pendant les cinq années, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, étaient de 848,842,924 francs. Le d. soit pour 1835, était 10,000,000, pour 1836, 23,000,000."—*Paroles du Ministre des Finances*, 18th May, 1836; *Ann. Hist.* xix. 168, 169.

north of the Danube. At the same time, M. Thiers agreed to pay the proportion belonging to France of the Greek loan of £3,000,000 undertaken by Russia, France, and England, by the treaty of 6th July, 1827, and also to defray the debt, so long disputed, due, under the treaty of 4th July, 1831, to the United States. By these concessions, which evinced a disposition to be bound by the faith of treaties, and to re-enter the European alliance, M. Thiers gained much with the diplomatists of Europe. The apprehensions which had been awakened by the rise of a Minister from the Centre Gauche were dispelled; and hoping to gain him to their side, the diplomatic body were very assiduous in their attentions, and loaded M. Thiers with those flatteries to which it is well known *parvenus* are always most accessible. His receptions in the splendid hotel which he now occupied in Paris were numerous and brilliant; and the diplomatists gratified his secret vanity by assuring him they reminded them of those

¹ Cap. ix. of Prince Metternich at Johannisberg.¹

It soon appeared that these diplomatic court-
esies meant more than appeared
on the surface. Inquiry had been
made at the Courts of Berlin and
Vienna whether a visit from the
Dukes of Orleans and Nemours
would be acceptable, and the an-
swer was in the highest degree satisfactory.
The two princes set out accordingly, and were
received at both Courts in the most distinguish-
ed manner. Reviews, balls, and fêtes succeed-
ed each other in brilliant succession; and the
ladies of Vienna, in particular, were charmed
with the elegance of the Duke of Orleans' man-
ners, and the graces of his person. So favora-
ble was his reception, that it seemed to augur
no disinclination for a nearer connection, and
a proposal was thought of, on the part of his
royal highness, for the Princess Marie-Theresa-
Isabella, one of the daughters of the Archduke
Charles. But this was going a step too far:
the Austrian pride showed itself when marriage
was proposed. The young Princess could not
conceal a partiality for the Duke of Orleans;
and her father, who was considered as the head
of the Liberal party in Germany, was rather
disposed to favor the alliance. But for that
very reason it was opposed by Prince Metter-
nich, who dreaded the union of the daughter
of a Liberal German Archduke with the heir
of a French revolutionary throne. Accord-
ingly, the usual means were taken to prevent what
was not deemed desirable, without allowing
matters to come to an actual proposal, and the
two Princes, after having exhausted the splen-
did hospitalities of Vienna, return-
ed in single blessedness, by the Ty-
rol and Milan, to Paris.²

Whatever disappointment the parties princi-
pally concerned might feel at this
untoward result, an event soon oc-
curred which again brought forc-
ibly before the world the precarious
tenure of power, and even life, by
the royal family of France, and
gave Metternich reason to congratulate himself
that he had not, like his predecessor the Duke
de Choiseul, been instrumental in placing an

Austrian princess on the French throne. As
the King was driving out of the court-yard of
the Tuileries, at six o'clock on the evening of
the 26th June, with the Queen and Madame
Adelaide, on his return to Neuilly, a shot was
suddenly heard in the carriage, which was filled
with smoke, and it was discovered that a ball
had passed through the vehicle, immediately
above the King's head, and lodged in the roof.
The King, who evinced the greatest coolness on
the occasion, merely inquired if any one was
hurt outside, and ordered the coachman to drive
on. The assassin, whose name was Alibaud,
was seized on the spot, with the pistol still smok-
ing in his hand, and carried to the nearest po-
lice office, from whence he was sent to the Con-
ciergerie. Being interrogated by the public
prosecutor what his motive was for firing at the
Sovereign, he replied: "I wished to kill the
King, whom I regarded as the enemy of the
people. I was unfortunate. The
Government was the cause of my
misfortune; the King is its chief:
that was my reason for wishing to
kill him, and my only regret is the
not having succeeded in doing so."

The proceedings for the trial of this great
criminal were conducted with un-
wonted celerity; and early in July
of the Court of Peers commenced the
trial. Alibaud continued his in-
trepid demeanor in presence of his
judges; he avowed his crime, and gloried in it.
"Since the King put Paris in a state of siege,"
said he, "and he showed that he wished to gov-
ern, and not to reign—since he first massacred
the citizens in the streets of Lyons, and at the
cloister of St. Méri—I have formed the resolu-
tion to kill him. His reign was an infamous
one—a reign of blood; and I was determined
to put an end to it." He was of course con-
victed, and sentenced to be executed in the
dress appropriated to a parricide; a sentence
which was carried into execution on July 11, at
five in the morning. A confessor having ap-
proached, he received him with civility, but de-
clined his services. "I have no need," he said,
"of your assistance; I am at peace with my con-
science." He exhibited the same stoical firm-
ness on the scaffold as he had done ever since
his apprehension: his last words were, "I die
for liberty, for the people, and for the extinc-
tion of the monarchy." Then turning to the
guards, who surrounded him, he
added, "Adieu, my comrades!"
and the axe fell.³

This nefarious attempt led to a measure
which excited a great sensation in
Europe, and demonstrated more
than any thing had yet done the
precarious foundation on which
the throne of Louis Philippe rest-
ed. On the 23d July an announcement appear-
ed in the *Moniteur*, that the King was not to
leave his palace, and that there was to be no re-
view on the 29th July, the last of the three glo-
rious days. This excited the greater surprise
and disappointment, that the inauguration of the
Arc de Triomphe, at the barrier of Neuilly, was
to take place on that day, and that a military
spectacle of more than ordinary magnificence
was anticipated. The most sinister rumors

^{64.}
Fresh attempt
to assassinate
the King by
Alibaud.
June 25.

² Ann. Hist.
xix. 319, 320;
Cap. ix. 64, 74.

¹ *Moniteur*,
June 26, 1836;
Ann. Hist.
xix. 220, 221;
Cap. ix. 42.

^{65.}
Execution of
Alibaud, and
seclusion of
the King.

² Ann. Hist.
xix. 301, 302;
Chron.

^{66.}
Announcement
of the seclusion
of the King in
his palace.

were immediately in circulation; one that the ceremony had been remonstrated against by the diplomatic body, as likely to awaken dangerous recollections; another, that a hostile demonstration against the Government from the National Guard was apprehended. The Government hastened, by articles in the *Moniteur*, to put a negative upon these surmises, by confessing what was the simple truth, that the measure was dictated solely by a necessary regard for the King's safety, and a knowledge of the numerous conspiracies on foot against him. Thenceforward the Monarch remained a prisoner of state in his own palace; no review took place on the 29th; the Arc de Triomphe was unveiled without any ceremony; and the celebration of the Revolution of July sunk into an unmeaning ceremonial that excited no attention. This change produced the most melancholy impression: it was at once a confession, in the face of Europe, of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning dynasty, and the inability, even of its mighty army and vast police, to defend the life of its chief. "The soil,"

says the French annalist, "was so sown with assassins, that there was no safety for the Monarch but within the walls of his palace."¹

The repeated conspiracies which had necessitated this humiliating act of seclusion imposed by the Cabinet on the King, had their chief seat in Switzerland. The secret societies, in some degree kept down in France by the rigid laws of September, 1835, took refuge in that secluded and neutral State. Its situation, midway between France and Italy, presented a central point from whence the democratic action could be kept alive in both countries, while its lofty mountains and republican institutions seemed to afford an asylum alike from the jealousy of kings and the persecution of ministers. All the secret societies, accordingly, which were undermining society in France, Italy, and Germany, had their committees in Switzerland, and it was there that the regulating orders for their operations were determined on. The following account of their proceedings was given by a deputy in the National Assembly of Switzerland. "The association," said M. Chambrier, "styled 'Young Europe,' has taken for its device the words 'Liberty, Equality, Humanity,' and it professes to be founded on the rights of man; the manifesto of France to Europe when it was covered with scaffolds. Its members are bound to contribute with all their strength to the destruction of established governments in all countries; they would level every thing to let in the flood of revolutionary ideas. Its act of association bears date Bern, April 19, 1834. There also have successively arisen the other societies, entitled 'Young Italy,' 'Young Poland,' 'Young Germany,' 'Young France,' and 'Young Switzerland.' A directing committee, sitting at Paris, holds in its hands the threads of the different associations which compose 'Young Europe.' Separate committees are at the head of the different sections; but they all implicitly obey the orders of the unknown committee, which, shrouded in darkness, sits in Paris. 'Young Switzerland,' estab-

lished on July 26, 1835, is intrusted with the duty of organizing the whole of Switzerland, overturning the Government in all its cantons, annihilating the compact of 1815, preparing an appeal to arms, and organizing, in conjunction with 'Young Germany,' the free corps which are to liberate both countries. A province of the latter country is to be immediately invaded, and all Europe stirred up to support the movement."¹

By means of those secret societies, Switzerland was stirred to its foundation, and revolutionary movements were prepared to convulse all the adjoining States. The Napoleonists, as Austria will immediately appear, were not less active than the Republicans; and the Château of Arenenburg, in the canton of Berne, the residence of the Duchess of St. Leu, formerly Queen of Holland, and her son, PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON, became the great centre of this party, from whence an inroad into France was openly discussed, and generally expected. In these circumstances, the Cabinets of the Tuileries and of Berlin not unnaturally took the alarm, and several joint notes were presented in the names of France and Austria, revealing the existence of secret conspiracies, and requiring the instant expulsion of the refugees. A long negotiation ensued, the executive Government of Switzerland promising compliance, and the Vorort protesting against such a violation of the national independence, and declaring they would rather perish with arms in their hands than submit to it.* At length, finding that the executive, placed between two opposite parties and sets of dangers, hesitated, and delayed compliance, M. Thiers brought matters to a crisis by causing the Duke of Montebello, the French Minister at Berne, to intimate to the Swiss Government, that if the demands of France and Austria were not instantly complied with, their respective ministers would leave Berne, all commercial intercourse between Switzerland and the adjoining States would be suspended, its territory blockaded, and the expenses of the blockade claimed and levied from their territories. This demand was made by the Duke of Montebello on the President of the Swiss Directory, on the 6th August, in the night, and made a great sensation. The Liberal journals every where exclaimed in the loudest manner against what

* "Les Cantons confédérés de Berne, Lucerne, Schwitz, Soleure, Bâle, et Argovie, réunis à Reiden, déclarent unanimement :

"1. Qu'ils repousseront comme attentatoire à l'honneur, à la liberté, et à l'indépendance du peuple Suisse, toute intervention du diplomate étranger dans les affaires de la patrie: qu'ils sont déterminés à sacrifier leurs biens et leur vie pour appuyer les autorités constitutionnelles Suisses, dans leurs efforts pour maintenir ces biens précieux hérités de leurs ancêtres, et que toute autre conduite serait honteuse.

"2. Qu'ils regardent en particulier comme chose urgente le rappel de l'Ambassadeur Français, le Duc de Montebello, attendu que par son affectation à prétendre que le peuple ne défendrait ni les constitutions qu'il s'est données ni les autorités qu'il a choisies, par son manque d'égard vers le Président de la Diète, qu'il est venu surprendre par une visite nocturne; et avant tout, par ses prétentions à vouloir s'immiscer dans nos affaires nationales, et par sa conduite en général, ce diplomate a perdu la confiance de la nation."—*Déclaration des Cantons, de la Suisse*, Sept. 17, 1836; CAPEFIEUX, *Deux Ans de Louis Philippe*, ix. 85, 86.

¹ Cap. ix. 94.
v. 74, 75.

Measures of France and Austria against the refugees.

Aug. 6.

they termed this shameful violation of the law of nations, and were particularly vehement against M. Thiers, "the child of revolution, whose impious hands would strangle his own mother." But the parties were too unequal to render a contest possible; the threat of blockade to a mountainous country depending for its existence upon the import of grain from the surrounding plains, and the export of cattle to them, was too formidable to be disregarded, and

¹ An. Hist. xix. 236, 238: L. Blanc, v. 74, 92; and the refugees received notice Cap. ix. 92, 99. at length the demands of the foreign Powers were complied with, and the refugees received notice to quit the Swiss territories.¹

The right of a nation in whose territories refugees from a neighboring State have sought and found an asylum, to maintain them against the requisition for removal by a neighboring State, against which their machinations are thought to be directed, is one of very frequent recurrence in recent times, and in which all nations and all parties have an equal interest. It is difficult to say whether the maintenance of the right or the guarding against its abuse is most to be desired by all the real friends of freedom and humanity. If, on the one hand, it is a vast step in civilization, to which the united efforts of all the friends of the species should be directed, to effect the abolition of the punishment of death in the case of political prisoners, and to substitute for it the milder penalty of the Athenian ostracism; on the other, it is essential to the general adoption of that modified code, that the political enemies who find a refuge in the territories of a neighboring Power should abstain from engaging in such enterprises as may excite alarm in, or disturb the tranquillity of the adjoining States. If they do not this—if they abuse the rights of hospitality so far as to render the territory of the neutral State in which they have found an asylum a mere platform, from which, as from a besieger's battery, they may send shells at long range into the States from which they have been expelled, and thereby rekindle the flames which have been extinguished by their removal, *they continue a belligerent Power*, and the State which permits such use to be made of its territory loses its character of neutrality, and becomes a confederate of the belligerent refugees. No right-minded government will ever permit such an abuse of the rights of hospitality; no really independent government will feel offended at the demand for its abatement. All parties have an equal interest in insisting for such a limitation of the supposed rights of misfortune, for none can say how soon it may become their own turn to invoke them. All have in their turn insisted for such a limitation against others, however loudly they may have exclaimed against it when directed against themselves. Were it otherwise, the greatest step in the humanizing of manners in recent times would be abandoned, the great lesson taught by the tragedy of the French Revolution would be lost; each party, when it became victorious, would destroy its adversaries like savages in the first ages of warfare; and the boasted improvements of civilization would terminate in the general adoption of the maxim of Barère: "Il n'a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas."

This question of the expulsion of political refugees from Switzerland drew closer the bonds between France and Austria, for they had an equal interest in demanding it. M. Thiers and Prince Metternich were quite at one on this point. But it was otherwise with the Spanish question, which had now become so alarming as to force itself upon the attention of all the adjoining States, and in an especial manner excited the solicitude of the Liberal party in France. The terrible war of succession, grafted on revolution, which had, ever since the death of Ferdinand VII., bathed the Peninsula in blood, to be recounted in a future chapter, had now arrived at such a point that the royal authority seemed on the point of being destroyed, and the kingdom exposed to the sanguinary mutual and inveterate vengeance of the Carlist and Republican parties. All the vassals of the north of Spain were in the hands of the former; nearly all the cities of the south had declared for the latter. Between the two, the authority of the Crown at Madrid was well-nigh destroyed, and the Queen-Regent herself had recently been subjected to a military outrage and revolt at La Granja, which foreboded the worst horrors of the French Revolution.

In these circumstances, M. Thiers, whose prepossessions were all on the side of revolution, provided it did not impair or endanger his own power, was decidedly in favor of an armed and prompt intervention. The British Government had already, in March, 1836, sent a body of marines to co-operate with the Spanish Liberals on the coast of Biscay; but France had declined to intervene at that period; and M. Thiers himself had written a letter on 18th March declining the proposed co-operation, as perilous in the extreme, and likely to induce a European war. When the extreme revolution, however, which led to the outrage at La Granja, broke out in Spain, the King consented to the formation of a corps of volunteers from the army at Pau, with a view to finally taking part in the Spanish contest. When the time for action, however, seemed to have arrived, the King, whose desire for peace amounted to an absolute passion, would not be brought to give his consent to preparations being made for entering the Peninsula, and even desired that the corps of volunteers should be disbanded. The whole Cabinet, with the exception of M. Montalivet, was of an opposite opinion; and the consequence was that they resigned in a body, and the King sent for Count Molé, who without delay formed a new Ministry, in which the Doctrinaires and Conservatives had the majority, and which was based on the principle of non-intervention.²

Count Molé, who thus became Prime Minister of France at a comparatively early age, and held

² The Ministry of 6th September, as finally constituted, stood as follows: President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Molé. Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Persil. Minister of the Interior, M. de Gasparin; of Marine, Admiral Roame; of Public Instruction, M. Guizot; of Finance, M. Duchatel; of War, Baron Bernard; of Commerce and Agriculture, M. Martin (du Nord).—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 233, 234.

^{70.} The Spanish question, and its urgent dangers.

^{71.} M. Thiers is for intervention, the King against it, and the former resigns.

Sept. 6.

¹ *Moniteur*, Sept. 6, 1836; *Ann. Hist.* xix. 231, 233; Cap. ix. 96, 106.

the office for two years, was in every respect the reverse of his brilliant, volatile, Character of and inconsistent predecessor. Of ancient and noble family, and the inheritor of a splendid chateau filled with historic monuments, he had all the charm of manner and elevation of mind which is often found to distinguish aristocratic descent. But he had none of the *légèreté* or frivolity which so frequently accompanies it, and renders even brilliant talents unavailing to the public service. Grave in manner, laborious in habit, and thoughtful in disposition, his conversation had peculiar charms for the King, who was himself well informed on historic subjects, and delighted in unbending his mind, after the fatigues of the council-table, on the manners and incidents of the olden time. He was a judicious and sometimes powerful speaker, but without the eloquence or volatile talents of M. Thiers; and on that account he had more weight in the Chamber of Peers, where he had numerous friends, and his high birth gave him eminent advantages, than in the Deputies, who were chiefly governed by economical considerations, and were never carried away but by the highest flights of popular oratory. His historical information, especially of the annals of his own country, was immense; but on that very account he was perhaps the less qualified to grapple with the difficulties of the present time; he was better acquainted with France as it had been, than as it was—a fault common to him with many aristocratic leaders, and which has led to many of the most unfortunate steps recorded in history. With all these solid and valuable qualities, which added lustre to a character of unequivocal probity, Count Molé had some weaknesses which seriously impeded his Administration. He was not great enough to be simple; a secret vein of vanity pervaded his character; and his high position in the Chamber of Peers had given him a more lofty idea of his own importance, and the deference due to it, than was consistent either with his real abilities or the influence which any Minister resting chiefly on aristocratic influences could then obtain in France.

The first important step of the new Ministry was one in itself graceful and honorable, and which, without exciting disturbances in France, contributed to enhance the estimation in which its Government was held in foreign countries. Ever since their memorable trial in December, 1830, in the Luxembourg, Prince Polignac and the other ministers of Charles X. who had signed the Ordonnances, had remained in close confinement in the citadel of Ham. The humanity of the Government had mitigated the severity of their punishment by allowing them the use of books and pen and ink; and their independence of mind, and conscious rectitude of intention, had prevented them from demeaning themselves by soliciting any other indulgence. Public opinion, however, had undergone a great change within the last few years in regard to the propriety of their further detention. For the last four, the new Government had been incessantly engaged in combating insurrections and conspiracies against itself, and the peace of society had only been preserved by re-enacting with additional severity the ordon-

nances which had occasioned the downfall of Charles X. It was evident, therefore, that they had suffered only for their foresight: they had been punished, not because they had done wrong, but because they had too soon done what was right; because, with inadequate means, they had attempted prevention instead of waiting for cure. These views, long working in the public mind, had prepared them for the pardon of the prisoners in Ham, and enabled Louis Philippe, without risk, to gratify his own humane disposition by extending mercy to them. It was accordingly deemed a gracious and well-timed act when the King, on the 17th October, directed M. de Peyronnet and M. de Chantelauze to be liberated on their parole, to reside in certain places at a distance from Paris; and this was soon after followed by another ordonnance, on 23d November, which commuted the punishment of M. de Polignac and Guernon de Ranville into banishment for twenty years from France, and in the mean time directed their liberation from their long confinement.¹

Hardly had this act of humanity been performed by the French Government, when the monarch in whose service these gallant but injudicious men had incurred the penalties they had undergone, was numbered with his fathers. Ever since his dethronement, Charles X. had led a retired domestic life, alike removed from the whirl of politics and the gayety of courts. Regarding his fall as the punishment inflicted by Heaven for the sins which he had committed, he submitted in silent resignation to its decrees, and neither demeaned himself by complaint, nor struggled to alter his fate. A stranger to all political intrigues, and dividing his time between works of religion and charity and the fatigues of the chase, he had discouraged the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, and uniformly dissuaded any similar undertaking by others. He believed that his grandson would be restored to the throne of his fathers; but he looked for his restoration to the justice of Heaven and the repentance of his people, not to any combination of princes or efforts of human power. But the end of this simple and expiatory life was now approaching. For some years past the habitual residence of Charles and his court had been at Prague, in Bohemia—the British Government having, at the solicitation of Louis Philippe, suggested their removal from Holyrood after the expedition of the Duchess de Berri. He had gone with the Duchess de Angoulême and his household to Graz, in Styria, in the end of October, with a view to enjoying the pleasure of shooting in the pine-clad mountains in its vicinity. Winter set in early in these elevated regions; but still the exiled King enjoyed vigorous health, and at the age of seventy-nine he had, on the 5th November, the day of his fête, been on a long shooting expedition on foot in the hills at a considerable distance. In the evening, however, he was seized with an attack in his bowels, at first slight, but which soon showed symptoms of Asiatic cholera. He sunk rapidly, and expired without suffering or murmur at one o'clock on the following morning, surrounded by his weeping

73. Liberation of Prince Polignac and the prisoners in Ham.

74. Death of Charles X. Nov. 6.

¹ Ann. Hist. xix. 257, 258; Moniteur, Oct. 17, Nov. 23, 1836; Cap. ix. 145, 151.

family, who had undergone so many tragedies in their calamitous career. Born at Versailles on the 9th October, 1757, he was in his eightieth year when he died, and he was interred without pomp in the Church of the Capuchin monks near Gratz. The church of the same order at Vienna contained the remains of the son of Napoleon. These members of the royal and imperial races alike found their final resting-place in a foreign land, under

¹ Ann. Hist. xix. 237, 239; the care of a poor order of monks, Cap. ix. 150, 154. in the midst of their fathers' enemies.¹

The hand of fate was on the curtain in this eventful year, but it was not drawn up, and the actors in the great drama which was to succeed only appeared as it was for a moment raised. Only a week before the last of the Bourbons who sat on the throne of France died, exiled and discredited, in a foreign land, sheltered by his enemies from his own people, the representative of a new dynasty appeared on the French territory, and Louis Napoleon commenced that adventurous career which, after many reverses, has ended in the restoration of the imperial throne. This young prince, the only surviving son of Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, the younger brother of Napoleon, was beyond all doubt, after the death of the Duke of Reichstadt at Vienna, the heir and representative of the great name and boundless inheritance of his immortal uncle. His mother, the Duchess of St. Leu, vividly impressed with these magnificent prospects, had, during the whole period of the Restoration, been the centre of all the conspiracies which had for their object the restoration of the imperial line; and young Louis Napoleon, with his brother, who died in the attempt, endeavored to excite a revolution in their favor in Italy, shortly after the fall of Charles X. in 1830. Foiled in that attempt, he still persisted in his projects with that determined perseverance which so often works out its own destiny, and by never despairing of fortune, at last conquers it. He commenced the composition of works calculated to enlist the public sympathies in his favor by uniting the democratic and imperial parties under the same banner, and holding it out as the only one which could restore liberty and glory to France. These works, especially *Les Réveries Politiques*, and *Des Idées Napoléonnes*, are very remarkable for the reflection and thought which they exhibit, and they were singularly calculated to attain their object from the skillful combination which they present of much that was real, ² Cap. ix. 162, with every thing which could be figured that was alluring, in the maxims of the imperial government.^{2*}

* "Je voudrais un Gouvernement qui procurât tous les avantages de la République sans entraîner les mêmes inconvénients, un Gouvernement qui fût fort sans être despotique, libre sans anarchie, indépendant sans conquêtes, — le peuple ayant la souveraineté réelle et organisée comme source élective, comme contrôle, et comme rectification de tous les Pouvoirs; deux Chambres composant le Pouvoir législatif, la première élie, mais l'une exigeant certaines conditions de services rendues ou l'expérience de la part des éligibles." — *Réveries Politiques*, par Louis Napoleon, 27, 49. In Louis Napoleon's career, from first to last, literary and political, there are decided proofs of that *flattery of ideas and moral resolution* which are the characteristics of greatness, and the heralds either of success or ruin in this world.

For some years back the Duchess of St. Leu, with her son, had lived in Switzerland —

land, and their residence, the Chateau of Arenenberg, in the county of Berne, was the centre of all the Napoleon party, and of that portion of the Republicans, by no means inconsiderable, who, warned by their repeated failures when acting alone, deemed it expedient to unite their forces with the more warlike and better disciplined bands of the Napoleonists. The great affluence of refugees of all parties from France, in the course of 1836, into Switzerland, in consequence of the operation of the severe laws of the preceding September, led to the general belief among these exiled adventurers that the time had now arrived when, by a united effort of both parties, it might be possible to overturn the throne of Louis Philippe, and open the way to the imperial crown. Accordingly, a conspiracy, having extensive ramifications in the military of France, was formed, of which the threads centred in the Chateau of Arenenberg, and which had for its object the overthrow of Louis Philippe, and the restoration of the imperial line in the person of Louis Napoleon. Strasburg naturally presented itself as the place where the inroad might best be attempted, both from its vicinity to the head-quarters of the disaffected in Switzerland, and from its being a fortress of the first order, opening the way into the heart of France, and adjoining the provinces where Republican ideas were most prevalent, and the memory of Napoleon was still held in most veneration. This place was further recommended by the presence in it of the fourth regiment of artillery, commanded by Colonel Vaudrey, a warm partisan of the young Prince, and whose influence with his men rendered it probable that they would all, with their leader, range themselves under his standard. The plan was, to electrify the garrison of Strasburg by the sudden appearance of the young Prince among them; to rally to his colors the whole National Guard of Alsace, which it was well known might be relied on; and, with the united force, march direct on Paris, and overthrow the monarchy of Louis Philippe, as Napoleon had done that of Louis XVIII. Authentic evidence exists that this conspiracy had such extensive ramifications in France that it was very near succeeding, and that the throne of the Citizen King depended on the fidelity of a few companies in the garrison of Strasburg.^{1*}

* The following letter from a leading Republican at Paris at this period to Louis Napoleon, illustrates the views of that extreme party, and the chances of the Prince's success: "Nous ne jouissons pas du présent, car l'avenir nous effraye: le Pouvoir depuis six ans n'a rien fondé; il a réprimé les nobles passions, éterné les cœurs, sans inspirer ni sécurité ni confiance; et comment l'aurait-il pu, lui qui n'a ni l'appui des siècles ni celui que donne la sanction du peuple, ni même le prestige d'une glorieuse origine? Le plus fort n'est jamais assez fort pour être toujours maître, s'il ne transforme la force en droit, et l'obéissance en devoir. La vie du Roi est journellement menacée; si l'un de ces attentats réussissait nous serions exposés aux plus graves bouleversements, car il n'y a plus en France ni parti qui puisse rallier les autres, ni un homme qui inspire une confiance générale. Dans cette position, Prince, nous avons jeté les yeux sur vous; le grand nom que vous portez, vos opinions, votre caractère, tout nous engage à voir en vous un point de ralliement pour la cause populaire. Tenez-vous prêt à agir; et quand le temps sera venu, vos amis

¹ Hist. de L. Napoleon, i. 21, 22; Ann. Hist. xix. 243, 244; Cap. ix. 163, 166.

Every thing being prepared, and extensive ramifications of the conspiracy established in the garrison of Strasburg, Louis Napoleon, on the evening of the 28th October, entered that fortress in disguise, accompanied by a few trusty friends. On the morning of the 30th, the Prince, dressed in the well-known costume of Napoleon, made his appearance at the gate of the barracks of the fourth regiment of artillery. He immediately advanced to the colonel, who said to his men, in a loud voice: "Soldiers! a great revolution is commencing at this moment. The nephew of the Emperor is before you! He comes to put himself at your head. He has arrived on the soil of France to restore to it liberty and glory. The time has come when you must act or die for a great cause—the cause of the people. Soldiers of the fourth regiment of artillery! can the nephew of the Emperor count on you?" At these words, an indescribable transport seized upon the men; "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was heard on all sides; the sabres leaped from their scabbards, and glittered in the air; and amidst the clash of arms and cheers of the men, the voice of Louis Napoleon could not for some time be heard. At length, the colonel having made a signal for silence, he advanced, deeply affected, and said, "It was in your regiment that the Emperor, my uncle, made his first essay in arms: with you he was illustrated in the siege of Toulon; and it is your brave regiment which, on his return from the island of Elba, opened to him the gates of Grenoble." Then, taking the eagle from the officer who held it, he said, "This is the symbol of French glory, which should also henceforth be of its freedom." At these words the acclamations redoubled; and the whole regiment, with proud steps, in the highest state of excitement, and to the sound of military music, marched out of the barracks to rally the remaining regiments of the garrison.¹

The Prince, at the head of this regiment, proceeded to the head-quarters of the late rapid Governor-General, when he was received successively by the soldiers presenting arms, and exclaiming "*Vive l'Empereur!*" He immediately went up stairs to the general, who was just risen, and, offering to embrace, invited him to join the movement. He was, however, coldly received by the general, who refused to join the movement, and was in consequence put under arrest, and left under guard of some of the revolted regiment in his own house. Meanwhile, three other detachments sent out from the fourth regiment met with the most surprising success. The first made straight to the hotel of the prefect, opened the gates, and made him prisoner. The second went to the house of the colonel of the third regiment of artillery, took possession of the door, and forbade all ingress or egress. The third got hold of a printing-office, and immediately began throwing off the proclamation to the army and the nation.* A fourth detachment

ment had orders to get possession of the avenues leading to the house of the general commanding the department of the Upper Rhine, which was successfully done. Every thing seemed to smile upon the audacious conspirators; all the authorities had been surprised by them, and were either in custody or shut up in their houses; one entire regiment, and detachments of others, had already declared in their favor; and the inhabitants, roused from their slumbers by the loud shouts at that early hour, looked fearfully out of their houses, and when they saw what was going on, offered up ardent prayers for the success of the enterprise. The third regiment of artillery joined the insurgents; the entire pontoon corps followed the example. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard on all sides. The throne of Louis Philippe hung by a thread; it required only one other regiment to declare in his favor, and the whole garrison of Stras-

cipes. Est-ce donc pour avoir un Gouvernement sans parole, sans honneur, sans générosité, des institutions sans force, des lois sans liberté, une paix sans prospérité et sans calme, enfin, un Présent sans Avenir, que nous avons combattu pendant quarante ans! En 1830 on imposa un Gouvernement à la France sans consulter ni le peuple des provinces ni l'armée Française: tout ce qui a été fait sans vous est illégitime. Un congrès national élu par tous les citoyens peut seul avoir le droit de choisir ce qui convient le mieux à la France. Fier de mon origine populaire, fier de quatre millions de votes qui me destinaient au Trône, je m'avance devant vous comme le Représentant de la souveraineté du Peuple. Il est temps qu'au milieu du chaos des partis une voix nationale se fasse entendre; il est temps qu'au cri de la liberté trahie vous renversiez le joug honteux qui pèse sur notre belle France. Ne voyez-vous pas que les hommes qui régissent nos destinées sont encore les traîtres de 1814 et 1815, les bourreaux du Maréchal Ney. Les ingrats! Ils ne gouvernent des barricades que pour préparer des forts détachés; méconnaissant la grande nation, ils rampent devant les puissances et insultent les faibles! Notre vieux drapeau tricolore s'indigne d'être plus longtemps entre leurs mains. Français! Que le souvenir du grand homme qui fit tant pour la gloire et la prospérité de la France vous ranime. Confiant dans la sainteté de ma cause, je me présente à vous le testament de l'Empereur Napoléon d'une main, son épée d'Austerlitz de l'autre. Lorsqu'à Rome le peuple vit les dépouilles ensanglantées de César, il renversa ses hypocrites oppresseurs. Français, Napoléon est plus grand que César: il est l'emblème de la civilisation au dix-neuvième siècle. Vive la France! Vive la liberté! — NAPOLEON.

"A l'Armée.
"Le moment est venu de recouvrer votre ancienne splendeur. Faits pour la gloire, vous pouvez moins que d'autres supporter plus longtemps le rôle honteux qu'on vous fait jouer. Le Gouvernement qui trahit nos intérêts civils voudrait aussi ternir notre honneur militaire. Les insensés! Croit-on que la race des héros d'Arcole, d'Austerlitz, de Wagram, soit éteinte? Voyez le hon de Waterloo encore debout sur nos frontières; voyez Huningen privé de ses défenses; voyez les grades de 1815 méconnus; voyez la Légion d'Honneur prodiguée aux intrigants, et refusée aux braves; voyez notre drapeau: il ne flotte nulle part où nos armes ont triomphé! Voyez, enfin, partout trahison, lâcheté, influence étrangère, et écriez-vous avec moi, Chassez les barbares du capitol! Soldats, reprenez les aigles que nous avions dans nos grandes journées: les ennemis de la France ne peuvent en soutenir les regards: ceux qui nous gouvernent ont déjà fui devant elles. Délivrer la patrie de ses oppresseurs, protéger les droits du peuple, défendre la France et ses alliés contre l'invasion: voilà la route d'honneur où on vous appelle: voilà votre suprême mission.

"Soldats de la République! Soldats de l'Empire! Que mon nom réveille en vous votre ancienne ardeur. Et vous jeunes soldats qui êtes nés comme moi au bruit du canon de Wagram, souvenez-vous que vous êtes les enfants des soldats de la Grande Armée. Le soleil de cent victoires a éclairé notre berceau. Que nos hauts faits ou notre trépas soient dignes de notre naissance. Du haut du ciel la grande ombre de Napoléon guidera nos bras, et contente de nos efforts elle s'écriera: Ils étaient dignes de leurs pères. Vive la France! Vive la liberté. NAPOLEON." — *Histoire de la Présidence du Prince Louis Napoléon Bonaparte*, par LEBRE, t. 24, 27.

ne vous manqueront pas." — *Vie de Louis Napoléon*, l. 31, 22.

"Au Peuple Français.
"On vous trahit! Vos intérêts politiques, vos intérêts commerciaux, votre honneur, votre gloire, sont vendus à l'étranger. Et par qui? Par des hommes qui ont profité de votre belle Révolution, et qui en renient tous les prin-

burg would have followed the example, and Louis Napoleon's march to Paris would have been as bloodless and triumphant as that of his immortal predecessor from Cannes had been.¹

In this extremity the star of Napoleon was for a time overcast, and the enterprise failed from excess of courage, and undue confidence in his fortune, on the part of its chief. Trusting to the magic of his name, and the overpowering influence which it had already exercised upon the minds of the troops, Louis Napoleon had no sooner arrived at the barracks of the 46th regiment, to which he next bent his steps, than he entered the court-yard attended only by a very few of his followers. Here, however, a very different reception awaited them. Some shouted "*Vive l'Empereur*," and threw up their caps in a transport of enthusiasm; but the majority maintained a sullen silence, and the officers all remained true to their oath. A cry got up that the Prince was not the real nephew of the Emperor, but a nephew of Colonel Vaudrey, who had been dressed up to personate him; and a lieutenant named Pleignier rushed out of the ranks to arrest him. A pistol-shot would probably then have decided the struggle, and placed the Prince on the throne of France. But it was not discharged, and the enterprise proved abortive. Pleignier was seized by the few artillerymen who had accompanied the Prince into the barrack-yard, and he had the generosity to order his release. The former no sooner recovered his freedom than he returned to the charge, and some of his company ran forward to support him. A scuffle ensued, in which the artillerymen, few in number, were overpowered by the troops of the line, and both the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey were made prisoners, and shut up in separate apartments in the barracks. The arrest of the chiefs, as is usual in such cases, proved fatal to the enterprise. The other troops which had revolted, deprived of their leaders, and without orders, knew not what to do or whom to obey; distrust soon succeeded to uncertainty; and when the news spread that the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey had been arrested, they became desperate, and, dispersing, every one sought to conceal his defection by regaining his quarters as speedily as possible. By nine o'clock all was over: an empire had been all but lost and won during a scuffle in a barrack-yard of Strasburg.²

When the telegraph first announced this audacious enterprise, the Government at Paris were thrown into the most mortal apprehension, which was hardly removed by the intelligence which soon after arrived of its speedy suppression. The defection of so large a portion of the troops, and the magical sway which the name of Napoleon evidently exercised over them, revealed the brink of the precipice on which they stood. Their conduct toward the chief of the conspiracy, however, was humane and judicious in the highest degree. He expected nothing but death. Before engaging in the enterprise, he had intrusted to a tried friend two letters to his mother—one

sealed with red wax, announcing his triumphant success; the other with black, bidding her an eternal adieu. The latter had already been sent, in conformity with his instructions; but the mournful herald proved fallacious—another destiny awaited the young aspirant for the throne. Arrived at Paris, where he expected the fate of the Duke d'Enghien, he found that the Bourbons, if inferior to his uncle in capacity, were his superiors in generosity. After an examination of two hours before the chief of the police in Paris, he was informed that his punishment was restricted to banishment to the United States of America for ten years, whither he was to be conducted on board one of the government vessels. The Prince conducted himself with dignity in these trying circumstances, expressing his gratitude to the King for his clemency, but preferring no petition but for his companions in misfortune. He soon after embarked for the place of his destination; but his career was not destined to be terminated in the New World, and ere long he returned to Europe, to visit his dying mother—the scene of his ambition, his perils, and his ultimate greatness.³

The course of events soon demonstrated that the Government had acted not less wisely than humanely in adopting this course toward this formidable competitor, and that any attempt to bring him to trial would have produced such a convulsion as would, in all probability, have overturned the throne. On the 6th January, 1837, the principal parties, other than the Prince himself, concerned in the Strasburg revolt, were brought to trial before the ordinary court of assizes of Strasburg, and the proceeding excited the utmost interest in every part of France. Among the accused were both civilians and military persons. In the former category were found MM. de Persigny, Lombard, and Gros; in the latter, Colonel Vaudrey, Lieutenants Laity and Querelles—in all seven. The former were condemned for non-appearance, but the latter were all in custody; and, as if the Government specially desired to give the whole proceeding a theatrical air, there was brought to trial along with them a young and handsome actress, Mademoiselle Gordon, who had entered into the conspiracy with all the enthusiasm of her sex and profession. The evidence against the military was perfectly clear, for they had been seized in open rebellion against their sovereign; and that against their fascinating female accomplice was not less decisive, for she had been taken in the very act of burning a number of letters which compromised herself not less than the others. So strong, however, was the popular feeling on the subject in Alsace, that from the first it was evident that a conviction was impossible. The trial speedily became, as all political trials do in France and Ireland, not a judicial investigation into guilt or innocence, but a civil tournament or wager of battle between the chiefs of contending parties, who exchange deadly thrusts at each other, with a scaffold or civic ovation hanging on the issue. After several days' suspense, during which the interest and enthusiasm of the people went on hourly in-

¹ Ann. Hist. xix. 245; L. Blanc, v. 133, 134; Cap. ix. 173, 174.

² 79. And ultimate failure.

³ Ann. Hist. xix. 245, 246; L. Blanc, v. 134, 135; Cap. ix. 177, 178.

^{80.} Humane conduct of the Government to Louis Napoleon.

¹ Vie de L. Napoleon, I. 31, 33; L. Blanc, v. 193; An. Hist. xix. 246, 247.

^{81.} Trial and acquittal of the Strasburg conspirators. Jan. 6.

creasing, they were all acquitted, in the face of the clearest evidence, amidst universal applause. Lamartine afterward said with truth, in the Chamber of Deputies, that the issue of this trial was a lasting disgrace to the administration of justice in France; and, with many others in that country and Ireland, as well as some in the Highlands of Scotland, suggests the doubt whether trial by jury is suited for the ardent temperament of the Celtic race, and whether it can safely be intrusted to any other than the Teutonic.¹⁰

The Government were extremely disconcerted by this acquittal, the more especially as the

¹⁰ Prince Louis Napoleon, who acted most generously and honorably in this whole affair, was extremely desirous to have shared the trial and fate of the other conspirators at Strasburg, instead of being sent to America. He composed, during the few days he was in prison at Strasburg, a speech in his own defense, intended for the jury, which concluded with these remarkable words: "J'ai voulu faire la révolution par l'armée, parcequ'elle offrait plus de chances de réussite, et pour éviter ainsi les déordres si fréquentes dans les bouleversements sociaux. Je me suis gravement trompé dans l'exécution de mon projet, mais cela fait encore moins d'honneur à des vieux militaires qui revoyant l'aigle n'ont pas senti le cœur battre dans leur poitrine. Il s'en est parlé de nouveaux serments, oubliant que c'est la présence de douze cent mille étrangers qui les a déliés de celui qu'ils avaient prêté. Or un principe détruit par la force peut être rétabli par la force: JE CROIS AVOIR UNE MISSION A REMPLIR: JE SAURAI GARDER MON RÔLE JUSQU'À LA FIN." — *Histoire de Louis Napoleon*, l. 29, 30.

The idea of a destiny, and his having a mission to perform, was throughout a fixed one in Louis Napoleon's mind. No disasters shook his confidence in his star, or his belief in the ultimate fulfillment of his destiny. This is well known to all who were intimate with him in this country after he returned from America in 1837. Among other noble houses the hospitality of which he shared was that of the Duke of Montrose, at Buchanan, near Lochlomond, and the Duke of Hamilton, at Brodick Castle, in the island of Arran. His manner in both was in general grave and taciturn: he was wrapt in the contemplation of the future, and indifferent to the present. In 1839, the present Earl of W——, then Lord B——, came to visit the Author, after having been some days with Louis Napoleon at Buchanan House. One of the first things he said was, "Only think of that young man Louis Napoleon: nothing can persuade him he is not to be Emperor of France: the Strasburg affair has not in the least shaken him; he is thinking constantly of what he is to do when on the throne." The Duke of N—— also said to the author in 1854: "Several years ago, before the Revolution of 1848, I met Louis Napoleon often at Brodick Castle, in Arran. We frequently went out to shoot together; neither cared much for the sport, and we soon sat down on a heathery brow of Goatfell, and began to speak seriously. He always opened these conferences by discoursing on what he would do when he was Emperor of France. Among other things, he said he would obtain a grant from the Chambers to drain the marshes of the Bries, which, you know, once fully cultivated, became flooded, when the inhabitants, who were chiefly Protestants, left the country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and what is very curious, I see in the newspapers of the day that he has got a grant of two millions of francs from the Chambers to begin the draining of those very marshes." All that belongs to Louis Napoleon is now public property, and these noble persons will forgive the author if he endeavors to rescue from oblivion anecdotes so eminently illustrative of the *fixity of purpose* which is the most remarkable feature in that very eminent man's character. This idea of destiny, of a star, or a mission, which are only different words for the same thing, will be found to have been a fixed belief in most men who attain to ultimate greatness. Whether it is that the disposition of mind which leads to such a belief works out its own accomplishment, by the energy and perseverance which it infuses into the character, and which enables its possessor to rise superior to all the storms of fate, or that Providence darkly reveals to the chosen instruments of great things—"the vessels of honor" to which the working out of its purposes in human affairs is intrusted—enough of the future to secure its accomplishment, will forever remain a mystery in this world.

evidence, especially against the military, was so decisive, and their conviction before a court-martial would have been certain. A strong sense of the necessity of the case, and of the impossibility of intrusting juries with the trial of military men in political cases, induced them to bring forward a measure on the subject, which excited a very warm opposition, and presented the only feature worthy of notice in the legislative session of 1837. To understand this subject, it is necessary to premise that, by the French law, when several persons were to be tried for their accession to an offense committed in common by several persons, some civil, some military, they required all to be tried before the *same tribunal*; and it was on account of this necessity that so many political cases embracing both sets of defenders had been sent to the Supreme Court of the Chamber of Peers, which was competent to both. As the proceedings of April, 1836, however, had sufficiently proved the inconvenience attendant on trials before that tribunal, Count Molé now brought forward a bill, the object of which was to allow civilians to be tried before the ordinary jury-courts, and military men before courts-martial, in the case of political offenses committed by them in common. This proposal was certainly no great violation of the liberties of the subject, for it only proposed to subject military persons to the trial of their military superiors, and civil to that of the ordinary tribunals. It excited, however, the most violent heats and animosities, and, like all other proceedings at that period in France, whether judicial or legislative, speedily ran into a debate between the Movement and Conservative parties.

"Why," said M. Dupin, "when a political offense has been committed by a soldier in conjunction with citizens, is the former to be subject to a peculiar and exceptional tribunal? Is it that a jury is indifferent to discipline in the army? Is it that it prefers disorder? Is it that the proprietor, the merchant, do not know that without order their labor is valueless, and that the discipline of the army is its sole guarantee? Military law, it is said, requires prompt execution. Be it so. Will you renounce the confronting the witnesses with the accused? If, on the other hand, you delay the case for bringing them forward, the proposed witnesses may in the interim be condemned to death. And if not, what can be more cruel than to keep a man during three or four months under the stroke of death? Is not his punishment quadrupled by such barbarity? And if the courts-martial do their work, I see something still more terrible; the public accuser presenting himself with bloody heads in his hand to demand those which have not yet fallen. The proposed law destroys the sentiment which makes a good soldier. What attaches the soldier to his country? Is it the memory of the home of his father, of the field of his infancy, of the cemetery which has received the ashes of his father, and is to receive his own. It is the memory of his little country which attaches him to the great one. It is good citizens alone who make good soldiers. 'Justice,' said Napoleon, 'is one only in France—the citizen precedes the soldier.' Thence it

is that the crimes of the soldier should be submitted to the civil courts; to the jury, which is an epitome of the nation. If you make of the army a body apart, as was formerly the case with the clergy—if, after having put arms into their hands, you invest them with the right to employ them in self-executed justice, you abdicate the right of judging; you invest them with a terrible right, which L. Blanc, may ere long be turned against your country and yourselves."¹

"Every one is agreed," said M. Lamartine in reply, "that the trials at Strasburg were scandalous in the extreme; but each party seeks to throw the odium off itself upon its opponent. One party accuses the jury, another the Government; all agree that some one is to blame. If the Government were to blame in bringing to trial the subordinate conspirators when the principal was allowed to escape, did that authorize the jury to violate their oaths by acquitting the persons clearly proved to be guilty who were brought before them? Is there any parity of situation between a simple citizen invested with no powers, charged with no responsibility, executing no functions, and a military commander, who can with a word dispose of two or three thousand bayonets, and at once overturn a government, pillage a city, or violate the whole sanctities of private life?—who can, by displacing a battery, cause the loss of one hundred thousand men, or, as at Strasburg, seduce his soldiers to violate all laws, trample under foot all oaths, and light the flames of civil war in a happy land? There is no parallelism between the two cases; there should be none between the courts which should try them. The military man has joined to the crime of which the civilian has been guilty a crime of a still deeper dye, which is exclusively his own—a crime against military honor and subordination; that crime which the common consent of all nations has stigmatized with the name of treason. The proposed disjunction of the trials is therefore justified by the still more marked disjunction between the crimes with which the civil and military accused are severally charged; it is marked out by the immense difference which the nature of things has established between them."²

There was much force in these able arguments on both sides; but the question was not determined by any such considerations. It was in reality a trial of strength between the Ministerial and united Opposition parties; for the Royalists on this question united with the Liberals against the Centre, which had hitherto commanded the majority. The result was, that the bill was thrown out by a majority of two; the numbers being 211 to 209! It was the same minute majority which had overturned the Administration of M. Thiers, and introduced that of Count Molé. The excitement, therefore, upon this division was very great, and it was generally thought the Ministers would resign. The ministerial papers, however, announced next morning that the Government would not retire before so small a majority; but it was nevertheless foreseen that it had received a mortal stroke, and that it was only a question of time, when a fresh combination

would be necessary to regain the majority in the Chamber. It was emphatically a *new combination*, not an entire change of ministry, which was required. No one thought either of M. Berryer and the Extreme Droit, or M. Odillon Barrot and the Extreme Gauche, being intrusted with the formation of an administration. It was a slight modification in the Centre, which might change a few votes, which alone was thought of or required, to found a ministry of the ephemeral duration which alone was now practicable—a state of things precisely analogous to that which, at the same period, obtained in the British House of Commons; but which, of course, in both assemblies, was fatal to all projects of important legislation, and deprives their debates for a series of years of much of the interest which had previously attached to them.¹

The crisis of the Ministry, which Government foresaw, but strove to postpone, was, however, not long of coming on. After struggling on several weeks, without any real majority in the Chamber, and consequently reduced to the necessity of postponing or abandoning every measure on which opposition might be expected, Ministers found their situation too uncomfortable, and Count Molé resigned his office. It was at first proposed to form a new Cabinet, in which Count Molé should resume his position as Premier, and Marshal Soult, Count Montalivet, and M. Hermann, might lend him their support. It was soon found, however, that such a combination offered no chance of success, and, on Count Molé's advice, the King sent for M. Guizot, and that accomplished statesman offered a list in which M. de Broglie was to be Prime Minister, M. Guizot Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Thiers of the Interior. This project, however, also failed, chiefly in consequence of the strong views which M. Thiers still entertained on the subject of Spanish intervention. Various other combinations were proposed, with no better success; indicating in the clearest manner that the object was not to supplant one party by another, or change one policy for another, but to form such a Ministry as might, by a skillful combination of the leaders of parties, secure a small majority for Government among their followers. At length, after nearly a month spent in vain endeavors, the *Moniteur* of 16th April announced the definitive arrangement, which was, that Count Molé resumed his place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Barthé, Minister of Justice, in room of M. Persil; M. de Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, instead of M. de Gasparin; M. de Salvandy, Minister of Public Instruction, in room of M. Guizot; and M. Lacaze Laplaque, Minister of Finance, instead of M. Duchalet. By this arrangement, both the Gauche and Doctrinaires were excluded, and the Ministry was more completely conservative than any since the Revolution of 1830.²

More fortunate in foreign diplomacy than in internal legislation, Count Molé had, before this period, arranged what was deemed an advantageous marriage for the Duke of Orleans. The times were far distant when the hand of

¹ *Moniteur*, Feb. 26, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 124; L. Blanc, *Ann. Hist.* xx. 124.

² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

²⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

³⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁴⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵³ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁴ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁵ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁶ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁷ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁸ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁵⁹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁶⁰ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁶¹ *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

⁶² *Ann. Hist.* xx. 121, 128.

¹ *Moniteur*, March 8, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 136, 137.

² *Moniteur*, April 15.

³ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁴ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁵ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁶ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁷ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁸ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

⁹ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁰ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹¹ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹² *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹³ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁴ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁵ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁶ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁷ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁸ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

¹⁹ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

²⁰ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

²¹ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

²² *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

²³ *Moniteur*, April 16, 1837; *Ann. Hist.* xx. 163, 164; *Cap. ix.* 240, 245.

the heir-apparent of France was an object of ambition to all the crowned heads in Europe: it was deemed a fortunate move when the son of the Citizen King obtained the daughter of a third-rate German prince. The vision of a Prussian or Austrian princess—the daughter of the Archduke Charles, or the royal house of Brandenburg, had melted into thin air; and the young Prince, with every amiable and attractive quality, underwent the penalty of his father's doubtful title to the throne. M. Bresson, however, the French minister at Berlin, at length succeeded in arranging a marriage between the Prince-Royal and the Princess Helen-Louisa Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick Louis, Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin. Born on the 24th January, 1814, the princess was in her twenty-fourth year, and endowed with every quality which could fit her for the brilliant but eventful career for which she was destined. She had been bred up in the Lutheran faith; but this, which would have been an insurmountable objection to the old family, was little regarded in the tolerant ideas of more recent times. The Chamber of Deputies, with the economical feelings of the class from which they sprang, made considerable difficulties about the settlement on the prince, and the dowry and jointure of the princess; but at length this delicate matter was arranged, if not to the satisfaction, at least with the concurrence of all parties. The allowance to the prince was fixed at 2,000,000 francs (£80,000) a year, with 1,000,000 (£40,000) for the marriage expenses, and the jointure of the princess at 800,000 francs (£12,000) a year. A more serious opposition arose upon a proposal for a dowry to the Queen of the Belgians, which had never been definitively fixed; but at length ¹ Ann. Hist. it was settled at 1,000,000 francs xx. 199, 205; (£40,000)—less than many private Cap. ix. 250, gentlemen in England give their 222. daughters.¹

This marriage was fixed to take place in the end of May; and the prince signalized it in the most suitable way, by the magnificent donations which he made, and establishments which he set on foot, for the succor of the indigent and relief of the poor. The sums gifted in this way amounted to 370,000 francs (£15,000), and this was accompanied by a great promotion in the army, and profuse distribution of honors and dignities by the Crown. A still more important act accompanied the marriage, which the King had long meditated, and which came with peculiar grace on this joyous occasion. This was a general amnesty for all persons in custody for political offenses, which ^{88.} was published by royal ordonnance on May 8. ^{Preparations for the marriage, and general amnesty.} May 8. This wise and humane act was accompanied by one commuting the punishment of death pronounced against Victor Boirier and François Meunier—who had been convicted of an attempt on the King's life by firing into his carriage, though happily without effect, as he was going in state to the Legislative Body, on the first day of the session, accompanied by his two sons—into ten years' banishment. With truth did M. Barthé, the Keeper of the Seals, say in the report which preceded the ordonnance: "Sire, a great act of clemency has long been the wish of your heart; but, before yield-

ing to the impulse, it was necessary that the vanquished parties should not be able to ascribe the oblivion of their faults to any other motive but your generosity. Now order is confirmed: your Government is armed with the salutary laws which have saved France, and would save it anew should fresh attempts be made. The National Guard and the army have just testified their loyalty by their acclamations. The entire nation will join in testifying their gratitude for a step which confirms your throne by founding it in clemency. Such an act can not but be regarded as a magnificent testimony to the power of the laws. Your Majesty, after having combated more and punished less than any other sovereign, will now have pardoned all."²

The princess was received in France with the universal burst of joy which had saluted Marie-Antoinette sixty years before—like her, she seemed to tread on air from the time she crossed the Rhine till she arrived in Paris. Her reception there was magnificent in the highest degree, and was assimilated in the minutest points of ceremonial to those observed on that memorable occasion. Unhappily the identity went still farther; and a calamity of mournful presage concluded the festivities on the last as on the first occasion. On the 14th June, the Champ de Mars was filled with an immense crowd, to witness a superb military fête which was held there, and which excited the utmost enthusiasm. The spectacle was over, and the crowd, which had been scattered over the Champ de Mars, was returning to Paris, when the pressure at the wicket of the Ecole Militaire became so great that numbers of persons were thrown down, and trodden under foot, or suffocated. Four-and-twenty persons perished on this occasion: a catastrophe deplorable amidst a scene of public rejoicing, but doubly so from the analogy which immediately struck every mind to the similar disaster which overshadowed the festivities at the marriage of Marie-Antoinette.³

Amidst the rejoicings consequent on this marriage was completed a design which the King had long had in preparation, and which consisted in converting the stately pile of Versailles into a museum of the fine arts, especially devoted to the illustration of the military and civil glories of France. The project was nobly conceived, and carried out in the grandest manner. The first story was devoted exclusively to the illustration of the reign of Louis XIV., the founder of the palace: in it were assembled the portraits of the victorious paladins, statesmen, and poets of that brilliant epoch, executed by the artist whose genius has done so much to perpetuate its lustre. The era of the Revolution next succeeded: in it were represented the principal events of that heart-stirring period, with portraits of Kleber, Carnot, Lafayette, and the other eminent men who signalized its course. The glories of the Empire, the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram, were next represented, with

¹ Ordonnance, May 8, 1837; Moniteur; Cap. ix. 255, 256; Ann. Hist. xx. 266, 267.

^{89.} Marriage of the prince, and subsequent catastrophe. May 28.

² Hist. of Europe, c. ix. 443; Ann. Hist. xx. 274, 275; Cap. ix. 258, 259.

^{90.} Inauguration of the palace of Versailles as a palace of the arts.

portraits and statues of the Marshals of France, the statesmen and warriors who illustrated that immortal epoch. Nor were the Revolution of 1830, the siege of Antwerp, and the recent victories in Africa, forgotten; they stood in bright prominence beside the king, princes, statesmen, and warriors of the present time. The idea was a magnificent one, and it was magnificently executed; combining thus in one splendid structure the recollections of the past with the glories of the present, history with philosophy, war with peace, art with science, the *chef-d'œuvres* of Lebrun with those of Le Gros and Horace Vernet, and presenting to the mind a vast accumulation of the whole efforts of genius, during many generations, in every department of human exertion. The museum thus grandly conceived has survived the throne of its author, and it now remains one of the most interesting of the many interesting objects which attract the youth of the whole civilized world to the French capital.

To a bourgeois Legislature, intent on economy, it was no small recommendation that this sumptuous collection had been made by the King without any L. Blanc, v. 246, 248. grant from the Chambers, and by mere savings on the civil list.¹

While these splendid spectacles were dazzling the Parisians, more passionately fond than any people of Europe of exhibitions of this description, the ground was still stirred beneath their feet by political societies, and the vigilance of Government was unceasingly exerted in discovering and counteracting conspiracies for its own overthrow. The political societies, struck at by the laws of September, 1835, had for the most part been dissolved, but they had been re-formed under different names, and ceaseless efforts were made to enlist large numbers of the working classes in their ranks. Unfortunately, the condition of the manufacturers of France at this period was miserable in the extreme, and formed a lamentable contrast to the splendor exhibited in the higher classes of society. The consequences of the monetary crisis which commenced in England during this year, the causes and effects of which will be explained in the next chapter, had now extended to France; bankruptcies were frequent among the trading classes, and the operatives in the great towns were at the lowest point of depression. In a single week, in the city of Paris, the cash drawn out of the savings banks amounted to the enormous sum of 1,766,000 francs (£70,000)! Facts of this kind demonstrate at once the existence of some great evils in society, and the precarious foundation on which, in spite of its apparent security, the Government in reality rested—as the chinks on the surface of a volcano sometimes give the trembling passenger a glimpse into the furnace which is glowing beneath his feet.²

These sufferings, however, were chiefly felt among the working class, to whom Dissolution of the suffrage did not extend; and the Chamber. Count Molé, feeling the extreme difficulty of carrying on the Government with so very slender a majority as he could at present command, determined on a dissolution. The moment appeared favorable to such a measure. The present Chamber had sat only two years; and the aspect of public affairs, and public opin-

ion itself, had materially changed during that period. The great contest with the Republicans, for the present at least, was over; the secret societies, though still existing, were intimidated; the amnesty had diffused universal satisfaction; the temper of the National Guard was excellent; and the fêtes on occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans had both diffused general pleasure, and, by the expenditure among the different orders they had occasioned, had materially alleviated the distress of the working classes. The King entered into these views, and soon after the prorogation of the Chamber, it was dissolved by proclamation. The result, though it somewhat ameliorated the condition of the Minister, was far from giving him a fair working majority: it amounted only to fifteen votes. This number, in the divided state of the Chamber, was so small that it could not be relied on in any serious crisis, and left the Government of France in the same pitiable state of weakness in which, from the same cause, Cap. ix. 338, that of England had been for two L. Blanc, v. 302, 300. years.³

It is now time to resume the thread of the colonial history of France in Africa, which had become interesting and important in the very highest degree. The gradual progress of the French from the sea-coast of Algeria had brought them in contact with more formidable and sturdy tribes in the interior, as the advance of the English from the coast of Malabar had brought them into collision with the Mahrattas and Sikhs of Hindostan. The expedition to Algiers had been nobly conceived by the Government of the Restoration, and ably executed by its generals; and the French possessions, when Louis Philippe succeeded, extended all along the sea-coast, from Bona on the east to Oran on the west. This was nearly the extent of ancient Libya, so long the granary of the Roman Empire, and which in its flourishing days contained twenty millions of inhabitants. The land was still as fertile, the sun as bright, the climate as salubrious, as when it was the main stay of the ancient masters of the world; and such were its resources that it might, under judicious management, have been rendered a most valuable offshoot of the French empire, and have for ages to come furnished a safe and capacious outlet for the swarms of prolétaires which crowded its cities and endangered its tranquillity.

A very curious circumstance facilitates the colonization of this fruitful region, and has often rendered the possessor of the sea-coast, in the end, master of the interior to the foot of the Atlas, which rears its lofty head into the clouds, and separates Libya from the parched wilderness of the Sahara Desert.

* The calculation made of the result of the elections of September, 1837, was as follows:

Ministerialists.		Opposition.	
Doctrinaires Purs	13	Extrême Droit	18
Sous-Doctrinaires	31	Socialists	4
Legitimistes ralliés	25	Extrême Gauche	19
Banc de la Cour	16	Gauche Modérée	62
Ministériels quand-même	50	Centre Gauche	119
Ministériels	82		223
Doutoux	30		

337.—CAPEFIGURE, ix. 330, note.

The fertile district in the north, adjoining the coast, still called, from its Latin name, *Tell* (*Tellus*), is inhabited by tribes of Arabs, who acknowledge, according to the Eastern ideas consecrated in the Koran, no property in land, but in the actual cultivators. Living in tents, and cultivating now one piece of ground, now another, they were truly a *nomad agricultural race*, and in every age, from Jugurtha downward, they have defended their country with courage and vigor. But farther to the south, on the slopes and ridges and lofty plateaus which ascend toward the Atlas, the inhabitants were of a still more migratory character. Shut out by the sterility of the soil and the variable nature of the climate, where storms of rain and snow, attracted by the cold summits of the Atlas, are frequent, from the labors of agriculture, they dwell in the mountains with their flocks and herds only in the winter and spring; and when the heats of summer set in they migrate regularly, with camels laden with dates and wool, to the land of labor in the north, where they assist in getting in the harvest, with a portion of which they return on the approach of winter to the moist pastures and fruit-bearing slopes on their native hills. Thus Nature has established a lasting and beneficial industrial intercourse between the cultivators of the plain and the nomads on the high table-lands in the interior; and the possessors of the former enjoy the means of establishing the most durable of all influences

which man can acquire over man—
 1 L. Blanc, that which arises from furnishing
 v. 146, 147. employment and giving subsistence.¹

After many ages of harassing and almost incessant warfare, the Romans had

95. established a permanent dominion of the Romans over these migratory tribes. They and Saracens. had penetrated their fastnesses, bridged their ravines, and established strongholds on all their most important heights. So complete had been the military possession thus acquired, that subsequent conquerors have done little more than advance on their footsteps, take advantage of their highways, and erect fortresses on the foundations of their walls. From the sea-coast to the inaccessible ridges of the Atlas, fifty leagues in the interior, the country is traversed by Roman roads and covered by Roman monuments; the Arabs, the Turks, the Europeans, have successively fought on the ancient fields, traversed the ancient bridges, and restored the ancient fortresses. When the Osmanlis established by force and fraud the sway of the Crescent in the regions for which Jugurtha contended, they erected their bastions on the hills which the successors of Scipio had fortified, and with the materials of which their strongholds had been constructed; and when the Spaniards in one age, and the French in another, brought the resources of civilized skill and science to bear on the fortitude of barbarian valor, the principal difficulty with which they had to contend arose from the judgment with which the ancient masters of the world had selected their points of defense, and the skill

2 L. Blanc, with which they had prepared them
 v. 147, 149. against the attacks of any assailant.²

Had the French Government, after the Revolution, been actuated by prophetic wisdom, or even inspired with the ordinary feelings of pa-

triotism, it would have been an easy matter, comparatively speaking, to have established their authority over all the immense and valuable territory between the Mediterranean and the Atlas which in former times obeyed the Roman sway. All that was required was vigor and perseverance in the outset, followed by protection and paternal government, and the Arabs equally with the natives would have submitted to them as the appointed of God, and blessed their dominion as a deliverance from evil. Any change from the desolation of Ottoman oppression must always be felt as a blessing. But unfortunately neither did the French Government, after the Restoration, possess the means of exerting the requisite strength to fascinate the minds and subdue the resistance of the Orientals, nor was the French character suited to the lasting labors or pacific duties of colonization. The Chamber of Deputies could not be persuaded, by any efforts on the part of the Ministry, to vote the sum necessary to establish a powerful dominion in Africa. A considerable party regarded their possessions there as an unprofitable and useless burden bequeathed to them by the folly of the Restoration; another thought it should be reduced to the narrowest limits, and restricted to a few fortified posts on the sea-coast. The few who regarded them in their true light as a valuable outlet for the surplus urban population of France, which should be extended to its natural limits between the ocean and the Atlas, were regarded as mere dreamers, and constituted only a fraction of the Assembly. The consequence was, that this noble colony was allowed to languish for want of adequate support; and while not less than 40,000 men were requisite to place it on a respectable footing, the whole armed force for some years after the Revolution, was under 10,000

96. Faults of the French Government after the Revolution.

1 L. Blanc, v. 146, 154. men.¹

This ruinous reduction of force, the result of the contracted views and economical 97. ideas of the class who, in France as The Numidian in England, had been elevated to supreme power, was the more disastrous from the character of the tribes with whom, as they advanced into the interior, the French were brought in contact. Unlike the laborious inhabitant of the fertile fields of the Tell, the Arabs of the interior have inherited all the warlike qualities of their Numidian predecessors, so often felt as formidable by the Roman legions. Mounted on swift steeds of the Arab breed, which they manage with extraordinary skill and dexterity, they are equally embarrassing to an advancing, and formidable to a retreating army. Like the Cossacks, and indeed all Eastern nations, they ride with very short stirrups, and seated on saddles generally nine inches above their horses' backs; a state of things altogether foreign to the rules of the European *manège*, but which gives them such command of their steeds, and of their own weapons, that they can pull the former on their haunches in a few seconds when at full speed, and make use of the latter in the saddle with the coolness and precision of foot-soldiers. Their dress, consisting of a shawl fastened round the body by a girdle, and going over the head, where it is wrapped

into a turban, appears at first sight incommensurable, but experience has proved it is well adapted to temper the rays of the sun in that burning climate. Intrepid in attack, sturdy in retreat, they are splendidly armed, and can, when required, charge with the utmost impetuosity. But they attach no dishonor to flight; on the contrary, it is one of their principal manœuvres, and one in which, like the Parthians of old, they often face about and discharge their weapons at their pursuers. Like all Asiatics, they do not charge in a mass, but in a swarm, and are generally far from each other when they reach the enemy. But when they do so, none are more swift with their yataghans, or formidable in single combat, and none more ready to descend for a second from their steeds, and cut off the head

¹ L. Blanc, of a prostrate enemy, which they carry off in triumph at their saddle-bows.¹ v. 151, 152.

From the moment when Marshal Clausel, after the Revolution, set foot in Africa, invested with the supreme command, he had endeavored to carry out the system by which the Romans and Turks had subdued and retained the government of this difficult country and these formidable tribes, which was by establishing a series of armed and fortified posts communicating with each other by roads, and garrisoned by adequate forces. But the forces at his disposal were so much diminished by great numbers being recalled, that, so far from carrying out this system, he was barely able to maintain his ground on the sea-coast against the Arabs, whose chiefs had preached a "holy war" against the infidel invader. General Berthozene, who succeeded him, was still farther weakened; and the result was, that a body of 4500 French, half the effective force of the colony, on its return from an expedition into the interior, was attacked in a rocky defile by the Arabs, and defeated with the loss of 300 men. This disaster led to a change in the government, and the Duke of Rovigo (Savary) was invested with the supreme command. But although 5000 fresh troops were sent to Bona, and the tribe of El-Ouffia, which had revolted against the French, was, by a frightful abuse of military power, *totally destroyed*, no material progress was made in the reduction of the country; and in March, 1833, when the Duke of Rovigo, seized with a malady which ere long proved mortal, returned to France, the French power extended in reality little beyond the environs of Algiers in the centre, Bona on the east, and Oran on the west.²

At this time there arose in the interior of the latter province one of those remarkable men so frequent in every page of Eastern story, who, by their single vigor and capacity, reinstate the fortunes of their country, and not unfrequently change the face of the world. ABD-EL-KADER, the son of a marabout or chief, renowned for his piety in the neighborhood, had been long regarded by the tribes in his vicinity as the future liberator of Africa, and avenger of Islamism. Ambitious, but yet prudent; enthusiastic, but calm; decided, but cautious, he presented that combination of fanaticism with dissimulation which forms the foundation of the Muscovite character, and which has so often prevailed over all

the intelligence and ability of the West. Impressed, as so many other great men in all ages have been, with the idea of a Divine mission, he pursued the path requisite to work it out with equal patience, perseverance, and vigor. Like his countrymen in a charge, he knew when to feign a retreat, and when to give the reins to his force, and thunder with resistless vigor in pursuit. The maxim of Machiavel, "*Qui non sa dissimulare non sa regnare*,"* expresses his character, as it does that of most savage chiefs, whether under the Arab turban or the Muscovite uniform. But this power of dissimulation was combined in him, as it often is in others, with ardent patriotism, and a religious devotion to the cause of Islamism.

At the voice of this intrepid warrior, the religious zealots and the ardent patriots of the province of Oran took fire; His first and Abd-el-Kader, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, ventured on the decisive step. He proclaimed himself Emir of Tlemson, detached a body of men to the harbor of Arzew, of which he got possession, and marched on Mortanegem, which also fell into his hands. The least hesitation would now have ruined the French power in the west of Algeria. But General Desmichels showed himself equal to the emergency. Instead of waiting to be attacked in Oran, he issued from its gates, regained Arzew and Mortanegem, and twice defeated Abd-el-Kader in pitched battles. Had he possessed an adequate force he might have then crushed the Emir, and terminated the war in Africa. But his numbers were so few that nothing of the kind could be thought of, and he deemed himself fortunate to be able to conclude a peace with him, which, like all others between the Christians and Mohammedans, is only to be regarded as a truce, and confirmed rather than weakened the Emir's authority, by recognizing him as an independent power, with whom alliances were to be formed and treaties made.¹

The French Government at this period was undecided whether to retain or abandon their possessions in Africa, and the consequence was that the war was starved in every quarter. The effects of the ruinous reduction of force, which the Chambers had forced upon the Government, were soon apparent. Abd-el-Kader, on whose pacific disposition General Desmichels had too confidently relied, now openly threw off the mask, crossed the river Cheliff, the boundary between the French territories and his own, and advanced to Medeah, which he entered in triumph amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants. General Trezel advanced to meet him with 2300 men, encountered the Mussulman army, 8000 strong, posted in very advantageous ground. After a sanguinary encounter the French were obliged to fall back. The retreat, as is ever the case in presence of the redoubtable horsemen of the East, proved disastrous in the extreme. The Arabs charged the wearied Europeans with the utmost vigor and loud cries, giving them no rest night or day. At length, after having per-

* He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

² L. Blanc, v. 134, 137.

⁹⁹ Abd-el-Kader: his character.

page of Eastern story, who, by their single vigor and capacity, reinstate the fortunes of their country, and not unfrequently change the face of the world. ABD-EL-KADER, the son of a marabout or chief, renowned for his piety in the neighborhood, had been long regarded by the tribes in his vicinity as the future liberator of Africa, and avenger of Islamism. Ambitious, but yet prudent; enthusiastic, but calm; decided, but cautious, he presented that combination of fanaticism with dissimulation which forms the foundation of the Muscovite character, and which has so often prevailed over all

100.

successes.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

June 26,

1833.

Ann. Hist.

xvii. 296, 302;

L. Blanc, v.

136, 139.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

June 26,

1833.

Ann. Hist.

xvii. 296, 302;

L. Blanc, v.

136, 139.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

June 26,

1833.

Ann. Hist.

xvii. 296, 302;

L. Blanc, v.

136, 139.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

June 26,

1833.

Ann. Hist.

xvii. 296, 302;

L. Blanc, v.

136, 139.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

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1833.

Ann. Hist.

xvii. 296, 302;

L. Blanc, v.

136, 139.

101.

General

Trezel.

Disaster of

1833.

June 26,

1833.

formed prodigies of valor, the French corps was entirely broken; a small part, consisting of some hundreds, only succeeded in reaching Arzew—while the Arabs celebrated their victory, after their barbarous manner, by erecting a ghastly pile of heads on the scene of their triumph on the banks of the Marta.¹

At the intelligence of this success, a universal burst of acclamation was heard over the north of Africa, of grief and indignation over France. The Arabs flocked in crowds to the standard of the victorious Emir: penetrated with sorrow, the French loudly called for Marshal Clausel to be restored to the command, to redeem the national honor. He was sent back, accordingly, with ample powers, and a considerable augmentation of force; and the Government, finding the national feelings now fairly roused, ventured on a firm proclamation, in which they declared that

the honor of France required that the possessions in Africa should be maintained. As soon as the marshal landed in Africa, he organized an expedition of 10,000 men against Mascara, the capital of their formidable enemy. It set out on 26th November, 1835, and marched straight on that town, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours, who shared the dangers and honors of the enterprise. The Arabs, of equal force, under Abd-el-Kader, soon presented themselves, but they were not in sufficient strength to stop the march of the French; and after two unsuccessful encounters, the Emir took the resolution of abandoning his capital to the enemy. Clausel arrived at nightfall before the walls of Mascara, and they were preparing for a desperate assault on the morrow, when a few soldiers, who had penetrated into the suburbs, arrived with intelligence that the place was abandoned. The French troops immediately advanced into the town, which they found entirely deserted. The streets were desolate, the houses evacuated, and instead of the ten thousand warriors of Abd-el-Kader, they found no living creature in his capital but an old woman seated on torn fragments of mats.²

Finding Mascara abandoned and ruined, Marshal Clausel, after completing its destruction by fire, retreated to Mortanegem, which he strongly garrisoned, and established as the centre of the French power in that quarter. Deeming the campaign over, the Duke de Nemours returned to Oran, whence he immediately embarked for Toulon; while Marshal Clausel put his wearied troops into winter-quarters. But the indefatigable Emir gave them no repose. Irritated rather than weakened by the destruction of his capital, he moved toward Tlemson, in which town he had numerous partisans, by whom he was admitted within the walls. He immediately laid siege to the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French party, and was on the point of reducing it, when Clausel, having broken up from his winter-quarters, advanced to its relief. The French troops, with their wonted spirit, marched over a desert plain for thirty-five leagues, until at length Tlemson appeared,

splendidly situated on the summit of a hill covered with olives, surmounted by mountains, whose snowy summits were, in that wintry season, lost in the clouds. Like Mascara, Tlemson was, on a nearer approach, found to be abandoned: Marshal Clausel entered it on Jan. 13. the 13th, and immediately imposed a contribution of 500,000 francs (£20,000) on the inhabitants, as a punishment for their perfidy, and retired, after having reinforced the garrison of the citadel with 500 men. A brigade was detached in pursuit of Abd-el-Kader, and followed him so closely that he was indebted for his escape to the fleetness of his horse. Not a fifth part of the heavy contribution imposed by the French ever could be extracted from the unhappy inhabitants, and the attempt to levy it only increased the dislike generally felt at their rule by the natives of Africa.¹

While fortune was thus alternately inclining to one side and another in the province of Oran, the western of the French possessions in Africa, a new enemy, hardly less formidable than the indefatigable Emir, was arising in its eastern extremity. Hadgi-Ahmed, Bey of CONSTANTINE, was there as actively engaged as Abd-el-Kader in organizing resistance to the French domination; and with such success were his endeavors attended, that their real dominion was confined to the range of cannon-shot round the walls occupied by their troops. Even in the central province of Algiers, the beys established in the French interest by Marshal Clausel at Medeah and Miliana had found it impossible to retain their authority. In a word, the people were every where against their invaders, and, animated by the double spirit of religious zeal and patriotic devotion, they were, along the whole north of Africa, linked together in a secret league, like the Spaniards in the former war, for their expulsion. The French Government, in consequence, wisely determined to strike at Constantine, the heart of hostility in the East, as Tlemson was in the western provinces. But the Chamber of Deputies, governed by the wretched spirit of short-sighted economy, threw such difficulties in the way of the requisite grants, that Marshal Clausel, in the middle of April, embarked in person for France, to lay before the Government the real state of affairs, and the absolute necessity of large reinforcements.²

During his absence on that necessary mission, important operations had taken place in Western Algeria. Clausel had there directed the construction of a fortified camp on the banks of the river Tafna, to form the centre of communication between the garrison of Tlemson and the sea-coast of Oran. To effect this object, General d'Arlander moved with 8000 men and eight guns to the banks of that river, where he commenced the construction of the requisite works. Abd-el-Kader attacked him with 10,000 men, and was vigorously repulsed; but meanwhile the situation of the garrison of Tlemson, which was sorely straitened for provisions, became so alarming, that the French general gallantly advanced with half his

¹ Ann. Hist. xviii. 371, 373; L. Blanc, v. 163, 164.

102. Victory of Marshal Clausel. Nov. 26, 1835.

July 28, 1835.

Nov. 29.

Dec. 6.

² Ann. Hist. xvii. 375, 382; L. Blanc, v. 163, 166.

103. Capture of Tlemson by Abd-el-Kader, and its recovery by Clausel.

¹ Ann. Hist. xviii. 252, 255; L. Blanc, v. 166, 167.

104. Ahmed Bey of Constantine joins the league against the French.

² Ann. Hist. xix. 254, 255; L. Blanc, v. 169, 170.

105. Operations in Western Algeria, and victory of the Sickak. July 5.

force to see if he could discover any mode of throwing in relief. Attacked immediately by the Emir with greatly superior force, the little April 28. band of heroes was speedily enveloped on all sides by the Arab horse, and only made their retreat good to the fortified camp with infinite difficulty, and with the loss of 250 men killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General d'Arlanger himself. The intrenched camp was immediately blockaded by the victorious Arabs, and the lines drawn still closer round Tlemson, while General Rapatel, who, in the absence of Marshal Clausel, commanded in Algiers, was himself too hard pressed to be able to render any assistance. In this extremity it would soon have been all over with the French in the province of Oran, when deliverance came, and victory was again chained to their standards by the succor which the urgent representations of Marshal Clausel had extorted from the French Chamber. In the end of June, when the blockaded French on the Tafna were reduced to the last extremity, GENERAL BUGEAUD appeared on the coast of Oran with 4500 men, and immediately made his way to the blockaded garrison. Having relieved it, he proceeded to Tlemson; but on the way thither he was met at the passage of the river SICKAK, by Abd-el-Kader at the head of 7000 men, of whom 1200 were foot-soldiers disciplined in the European fashion. A furious conflict ensued, in which both parties evinced the greatest resolution, and the Emir the genius of a consummate commander. At length the discipline and courage of the Europeans prevailed over the impetuous valor of the Orientals; the Arabs were entirely defeated, and driven headlong over the precipitous sides of a ravine, where great numbers of them perished. The Emir himself escaped with a few followers, but so broken in fortune and ruined in general estimation that many of his allies deserted him. Tlemson was revictualled, and the blockade of the camp of La Tafna raised, and the French power in the west of Algeria established on a solid foundation.¹

When Marshal Clausel arrived at Paris, he demanded 30,000 regular troops, and 100. 4000 irregulars. "With such a Preparations for the siege force," said he, "I will subdue the of Constantine interior; if you confine yourself to the sea-coast, you will soon be driven into the sea." Notwithstanding the obvious truth of these words, they were far from meeting with general concurrence. "Algiers," said M. de Broglie, "is nothing but a *box at the opera*;" a phrase which was warmly applauded by the Doctrinaires, and drew from Talleyrand the cutting remark, "Nothing is more light than a heavy Doctinaire." A large part of the Chamber embraced these ideas; but the King, whose sagacious mind saw in Algiers an invaluable outlet for his Republican enemies, and field of glory for his soldiers, adopted the opposite views, and strongly urged the necessity of supporting the African settlements. "I love," said he, "to listen to the cannon in Algeria: it is not heard in Europe." M. Thiers, who was still in power, and whose mind was imbued with Napoleon's ideas of making the Mediterranean a French lake, strongly supported the same

views. But such was the infatuation of the Chamber, and their belief in the saying of M. Dupin, that "Algiers was a fatal legacy bequeathed to us by the Restoration, which must be abandoned if we would not see our last man and last sou swallowed up," that all that their united efforts could extract from the Chamber was 30,000 men for the colony, not 30,000 combatants—a difference which reduced the effectives in the field to 200,302; ¹ *Cap. ix. 166, Blanc, v. 171.* little more than 23,000.^{1*}

The memoir which Marshal Clausel presented to the Cabinet, and which induced 107. them to sanction the expedition Commence- to Constantine, stated: "To avoid ment of the the great heats of summer, we must expedition. not begin the campaign before the month of November. The distance from Bona to Constantine is twenty-eight leagues, or eight days' march, allowing for unforeseen accidents and partial combats: the country is admirably intersected by ravines, the inhabitants agricultural rather than warlike: you find in that oasis a sort of reflection of the mild manners of Tunis. An expedition would have great chances of success in its favor, and would necessarily be crowned by the capture of Constantine." Impressed with these ideas, and anticipating no serious opposition, Marshal Clausel undertook the expedition, though the whole force he could command was only 7000 men, with a few field-pieces of the lightest calibre, and no *siege artillery*. With this force, perfectly inadequate, as the event proved, to the enterprise, 108. undertaken, Marshal Clausel com- ² *Ann. Hist. xix. 270, 273; L. Blanc, v. 178, 179; Cap. ix. 190, 191* menced his march for Constantine on the 12th November, carrying provisions for fifteen days.²

The morning on which the army began its march was clear and bright; the day's journey proved in the highest 108. degree agreeable; the natives hastened to bring them offerings of vegetables and provisions; and at night they bivouacked on the borders of a cool stream, amidst laurels, roses, wild thyme, cactuses, and fragrant blossoms. Every one went to sleep in the highest spirits, but the awakening was very different. A terrible storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, arose during the night; the rain fell in torrents; and one half of the oxen employed in dragging the stores took fright at the lightning, broke loose from their fastenings, and disappeared. Cold and wet, the army resumed its march in the morning, and in the evening of the 15th reached and rested amidst the Roman ruins of Ghelma. But their condition was daily becoming more deplorable, and the most sinister presentiments had already got possession of the minds of the soldiers. The inhabitants, indeed, were peaceable, and intent only on their flocks and herds. But the rigors of the season were hourly increasing. The rain, accompanied by violent gusts of wind, fell in torrents; night and day the troops

* "Je suis convaincu, malgré tous les rêves de colonisation, que nous ne ferons jamais rien de bon en Afrique, surtout en agissant sur une aussi vaste échelle d'opérations.—quand il aurait dû suffire d'y garder seulement quelques points pour empêcher la piraterie de renaitre et entretenir des relations paisibles et honorables avec les indigènes."—M. DUPIN au MARÉCHAL CLAUSEL, Dec. 28, 1836; CAPRIGIUS, ix. 202.

were dripping wet; and the cold, felt the more severely that the troops had so long been exposed to the rays of an African sun, became so oppressive that great numbers of the troops perished, or fell out, unable to continue the march. The roads, mere horse-tracks, required to be repaired by the sappers before the carriages could be dragged over them, and even then it was with the utmost difficulty they could be got forward. The thermometer, as they ascended to the higher regions of the Atlas, sank to 25° of Fahrenheit; the country around was covered with snow; and in the interior of Africa the severities of an arctic winter began to be experienced. At length, on the morning of the 20th, after eight days of fatiguing march, and undergoing the severest hardships, the long wished-for towers of Constantine appeared.¹

Situated on the summit of a conical hill, which the military genius of the Romans had converted into a strong-hold of the utmost importance, Constantine presented a magnificent spectacle to the French soldiers. The Ciritha of the Numidians and Romans, it recalled, at a distance, from the multitude of its domes and minarets, the aspect of Toledo, or the Moorish cities in Andalusia; but its substantial means of defense were much more formidable than those of any of these cities. Surrounded by a ravine 100 feet deep and 150 broad, with precipices on either side, it was provided by nature with a natural fosse, impossible to pass, save on two bridges of great elevation, which entered the town through strong iron gates, powerfully defended by artillery and loopholed walls. The houses were, for the most part, handsomely built, with flat roofs, after the Eastern fashion, and the environs adorned by the cemetaries and cypresses which give such a picturesque air to Oriental cities. The French troops established themselves on the opposite plateau of Mansoura, from whence they gazed with the utmost anxiety on the splendid spectacle, which was illuminated by a passing gleam of sunshine, when the red flag of defiance was hoisted by the Arabs, and several shots from pieces of heavy calibre issued from the ramparts.²

It was now evident that a surprise was not to be looked for; and as they had neither supplies nor siege artillery for regular approaches, nothing remained but to try a *coup-de-main*. A desultory attack of the Arabs, who hovered in the vicinity, having been easily repulsed by the troops on the plateau of Mansoura, the few field-pieces which were with the army were brought forward to the front, and began to fire against the defenses of the two gates at the end of the bridges, but they were speedily dismounted by the 24-pounders on the ramparts; and an attempt to run mines under the gates to blow them up failed from the hardness of the rock on which they stood. In despair of being able to effect the reduction of the place by any other means, Clausel ordered an assault on each of the gates. Two regiments accordingly were formed in close column, and advanced over the bridges with the utmost intrepidity. But such was the strength

of the inner gates, cased in iron, that they resisted all the efforts of the sappers to force them open, and after sustaining a heavy loss from the fire of the place, which was still wholly unsubdued, the troops, in deep dejection, were obliged to retire.¹

Nothing remained now but to retire; but how to conduct a retreat during eight days, in the face of a cloud of pursuing Arabs, at that inclement season, it was not easy to see. In those elevated regions, several thousand feet above the sea, and among the first ridges of the Atlas, the ground was covered with snow, and the march back, from the very outset, exhibited on a small scale the horrors of the Moscow retreat. The retrograde march was covered by a rear-guard under the orders of GENERAL CHANGARNIER, who, like his immortal predecessor, Marshal Ney, amidst the Russian snows, exhibited alternately the capacity of a general and the courage of a private soldier. On one occasion, when a cloud of Arabs was preparing to charge his little band, formed in square, he said, "My friends! look at those people there; they are 6000, you are 300: the sides are equal." Immediately after, the thundering charge was met by a volley within pistol-shot, which speedily sent the assailants to the right-about. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers, discipline was relaxed, and disorder appeared in the column; the severity of their hardships, as is always the case in similar circumstances, broke through all rules. The casks of wine were forced open by the starving multitude, and numbers sank on the snow, and perished in the midst of the howling wilderness. On the 28th the army reached Ghelma, when the sick and wounded were left under the charge of a strong garrison; and at length, on December 1, the long wished-for minarets of Bona appeared, and the troops enjoyed the sweets of cover and repose after their excessive hardships. They brought back with them their guns and part of their caissons, but they had to lament the loss of 472 killed, or dead of cold and fatigue, and 288 wounded.²

The war of the sabre and musket over, that of recrimination in France commenced, and it was so violent as for a time to drown every thought of the real nature of the disaster in the anxiety to discover to whom it was to be ascribed. The Liberals, headed by M. Dupin, were clear that it was all owing to the attempt to retain Algiers, that fatal bequest of the Restoration, and loudly demanded that it should be instantly evacuated. The Ministerialists laid the whole blame on Marshal Clausel, a favorite Republican chief, who had, they alleged, commenced the operation in the most tempestuous season of the year, without any information of the enemy he was going to attack, and no heavy artillery to subdue his defenses. In the midst of this general recrimination, all felt, but few ventured to say, that the real fault lay with the Chamber of Deputies,³ and the constituencies which had returned them, who had starved the national forces in Af-

¹ Cap. ix. 196, 197; An. Hist. xix. 273, 277; L. Blanc, v. 182, 183.

² Disastrous retreat of the French. Nov. 23 to Dec. 1.

³ Ann. Hist. xix. 277, 279; Cap. ix. 193, 196; L. Blanc, v. 183, 186.

⁴ Mistrust and bitter recriminations in France.

⁵ L. Blanc, v. 185, 186; Cap. ix. 197, 198; Ann. Hist. xix. 278.

rica, till they were rendered incapable of effecting any thing decisive, and, governed by little and economical considerations, rendered the nation incapable of achieving any thing great.

Amidst this tumult of passion and selfish recriminations, when every party was striving to turn a public disaster to their private advantage, the King and the Cabinet acted a noble part, and showed the world that, to governments not less than individuals, "sweet are the uses of adversity." Instead of being discouraged by misfortune, they took counsel of it only to shun error: they followed the advice given to Æneas, not to yield to evils, but resist them the more vigorously.* In opening the Chamber,

Dec. 27, 1836. the King said: "While I regret with you the losses of the army, I have the consolation of thinking that my second son has shared its dangers; and if success has not crowned its efforts, at least its heroism, patience, and perseverance, have sustained its ancient reputation; and I doubt not that the Chamber will take such steps as will secure in Africa preponderance of our arms, and put our possessions in that quarter in a state of entire security." These gallant words produced the greater impression, that a few minutes before they were uttered intelligence had been received in the Chamber that an attempt had been made to assassinate the King in passing through the archway of the Tuileries to come

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 28, 1836; to the Chamber, by the murderer Ann. Hist. xx. Mennier, and that the Prince-Royal 3, 4; Cap. xi. 204. had been slightly wounded in the face by the splinters from the shot.¹

This intrepid conduct electrified the country, and overpowered the selfish by the national feelings. The Chamber voted larger supplies, and the force put at the disposal of the generals was made more considerable, amounting to 80,000 effective men. Marshal Clausel was recalled, and the command of the province given to General Damremont, an able and intrepid officer, thoroughly abreast of the times, and whose honor and sincerity had been evinced by his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, to which he had been attached. General Bugeaud commanded in the province of Oran, where he was opposed to Abd-el-Kader; and he had so long been accustomed to a separate command, and was at such a distance from head-quarters, that he was in a manner the chief of a separate principality, and little inclined to receive orders from his superiors. The consequence was, that an unfortunate rivalry got up between the two commanders; and General Bugeaud, fearful that General Damremont might forestall him in effecting the pacification of the western province, and the submission of the redoubted Emir, was induced to go into measures attended in the 341, 342; Cap. end with disastrous effects to the 1x. 341, 343. French interests in Algiers.²

The force in the western province had been considerably augmented since the calamitous expedition to Constantine had opened the eyes of France to the absolute necessity of voting large forces for the war, and they amounted now to 10,000 men, occupying the strong posts

of Tlemson, La Tafna, Arzew, and Mortanegem. The Arabs, under Abd-el-Kader, 115.

were posted in the open country, and, without pretending formally to invest these places, contented themselves with simply blockading them at a distance, and interrupting all the convoys destined for their supply. Such a state of things could not be prolonged without hazard to the interests and discredit to the honor of France; and both General Damremont and General Bugeaud were very anxious to bring it to a termination. The former had written in the strongest terms to the latter, however, that no pacification was to be entered into but on the basis that the Emir was not to pass the river Chelif, and that a ten years' war in Africa would be preferable to such an alternative.* Bugeaud, however, fearful that his commander would take the matter into his own hands, and get the credit of pacifying the west, hastened his preparations, and in the beginning of May, having formed his army into three divisions, set out from Oran at the head of 8000 men, with which he moved toward Tlemson, with the view of revictualing that fortress, and driving the Emir, sword in hand, into the wilds of the interior of Africa.¹

Alarmed at the approach of forces so considerable, which he was in no condition at the moment to oppose, Abd-el-Kader had recourse to the usual Asiatic resource of dissimulation. He professed an anxious desire for peace, and for that purpose proposed an interview with the French general. To this Bugeaud, who was a better match for the Emir in the field than in the cabinet, consented, and the interview took place near the camp of La Tafna, each general being accompanied by a fixed number of attendants. Faithful to the Asiatic principle of impressing the imagination, the Emir kept General Bugeaud waiting some hours before he came up to the agreed-on place. At length the advanced posts made their appearance, and information arrived that the chief was a little behind. General Bugeaud immediately advanced to meet him, and the Emir appeared at the head of 8000 cavalry, surrounded by horsemen in magnificent attire. Their splendid trappings formed as great a contrast to the modest garb of the French escort, as those of the followers of Agesilaus did in former days to the guards of Tisaphernes. The figure of the Emir was slender, and his stature small, his face pale, and expression melancholy; but the fire of his eye, and the delicate make of his hands and feet, revealed the genuine and pure Arab descent. The conference lasted an hour, and at one time bore an unpromising aspect, for the Emir made no concealment of his sense of superiority. At length, however, it was

* "Il faut que Abd-el-Kader s'engage à ne jamais dépasser le Chelif, et qu'il contribue à établir à Tlilleri une puissance régulière indépendante de lui, et soumise à la France. Nous ne devons consentir pour rien au monde à ce que Abd-el-Kader établisse sa domination dans la province de Tlilleri, d'où il peut sans cesse menacer celle d'Alger et prêter son appui à Achmet Bey. Une guerre de dix ans serait préférable dans l'intérêt de nos établissements en Afrique, à une paix qui mettrait Abd-el-Kader dans Médéah."—GENERAL DAMREMONT au GENERAL BUGEAUD, April 8, 1837; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 342, 343.

* "Tu ne cedes malis, sed contra audentior ito"
VIRG. *Æneid.*

Diverging views of Generals Damremont and Bugeaud on them.

¹ Ann. Hist. xx. 343, 344; Cap. ix. 343, 344; L. Blanc, v. 253, 254.

^{116.} Conference of Abd-el-Kader and General Bugeaud. June 1.

concluded, and the terms of peace agreed on. The Arab chief shook hands with General Bugeaud on parting, and assured him of his fidelity. "I have visited the tomb of the Prophet," said he, "and my word may be trusted."¹

Abd-el-Kader had good reason to be satisfied with the result of this interview, for he gained more by it than he could have hoped from the result of the most successful campaign. It stipulated that Abd-el-Kader was to recognize the sovereignty of France, but in return for this he was to receive large accessions both of territory and influence. In the province of Oran, France reserved to itself only Mortanegem, Mazaghan, and their respective territories, with Oran, Arzew, and a small country adjacent to each. The disputed fortress of Tlemson, with all its territories, was ceded to the Emir. In the province of Algiers, nothing was retained but the fortress of that name, the district of Sahels, and a part of the plain of the Metidja. The whole province of Titleri, which General Damremont said a ten years' war should be incurred rather than cede, was abandoned to the Emir. By this treaty the French possessions were substantially limited to a few fortresses on the sea-coast, with very circumscribed adjacent territories; and the vast district of the interior, with the fortresses which guarded the approach to them, was left in the hands

of the Arab chief, in consideration of which, all that he did was to bind himself to furnish to the French army 30,000 fanegues of wheat, as many of barley, and 5000 oxen.²

When the terms of this treaty were known in France, one universal cry of indignation arose from one end of the country to the other. General Bugeaud was loudly accused of having compromised the dignity of France by consenting, as he did, to a conference on terms such as no general should have admitted, and abandoned its interests by the terms finally agreed to. What! it was said, is France then so far reduced as to be compelled to consent to terms so humiliating? Has she no army in Africa to assert the honor of her arms? Where are the 15,000 men who have been assembled with so much difficulty in the province of Oran, and by whom war to the knife was to be carried on against the presumptuous Emir? Is it from the midst of such formidable preparations that a peace, at once humiliating and injurious, is to arise? What do we retain of all our boasted conquests in the province of Oran but a few towns on the sea-coast, which, separated from each other, and surrounded by hostile tribes, may be regarded as in a state of permanent blockade? What can be expected from such a treaty but a long train of disasters? and after having recognized the Emir as an independent power, how do we expect to be able to prevent him, swelled as his influence will be by our concessions, to re-establish the sway

of the Crescent over the whole north of Africa?³

The discontent, with reason excited by this ill-judged treaty in the west of Algeria, only rendered the Government more desirous to re-

deem their credit by a dazzling exploit in the eastern part of the province. The disaster sustained in the preceding year at Constantine had roused both the Chamber and the nation to the absolute necessity of largely reinforcing the army in Africa, and the number which Marshal Clausel had in vain requested was now without difficulty conceded. Preparations, on a great scale, for a fresh expedition were made during the whole summer: a camp of 15,000 men was established on the plateau of Medgoz; Amar, near Bona, was amply provided with artillery and ammunition, and the want so grievously felt on the preceding occasion of siege-guns completely supplied. Instead of a few light field-pieces, sixty pieces of cannon, chiefly heavy, with 2000 horses to drag the siege-equipage, were provided, and the expedition was undertaken at a more suitable period, before the approach of winter had brought the storms of the Atlas down into the plain. On the 1st of October the army commenced its march, 18,000 strong, under the immediate command of General Damremont, the commander-in-chief, having the Duke de Nemours as one of his generals of division, who had come from Paris to share the dangers and glories of the expedition.⁴

The first night the troops bivouacked amidst the laurels, roses, fig-trees, and olives, which had charmed the soldiers of Marshal Clausel at the commencement of the first expedition; but though they encountered some bad weather when they ascended the higher ridges of Mount Atlas, where rain is so frequent, they were far from experiencing the dreadful hardships undergone on the former occasion; and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th October the leading column reached the plateau of Mansoura, and beheld the far-famed cupolas and bastions of Constantine. The ground was strewn with the skeletons of those who had fallen in the former assault; and the troops, seeing the bastions filled with the enemy, and the preparations made for a vigorous defense, were animated by the most gloomy forebodings. But the general gave them no time for reflection, and ere long drowned melancholy by activity. The garrison consisted of 6000 regular troops, besides the militia of the place, who were 1500 men, and their spirit had been greatly raised by the glorious defeat of the former attack. "These men," said Achmet Bey to the troops, "are not invincible; small in stature, fatigued with long marches, they may easily be put to flight, for they are the enemies of the Prophet."⁵

Damremont formed his army into three divisions, each of which was charged with a separate attack. The divisions of Generals Trezel and Rulhières were to occupy the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, which overhung the town, while the Duke of Nemours was reserved for the perilous honor of conducting the approaches meant to batter in the breach, and directing the assault. The operations, however, were grievously impeded by the heavy rains,

¹ L. Blanc, v. 326, 328; Cap. ix. 344, 347; him of his fidelity. "I have visited the tomb of the Prophet," said he, "and my word may be trusted."¹

² L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁴ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁵ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁶ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁷ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁸ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

⁹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁰ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹¹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹² L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹³ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁴ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁵ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁶ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁷ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁸ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

¹⁹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁰ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²¹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²² L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²³ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁴ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁵ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁶ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁷ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁸ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

²⁹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³⁰ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³¹ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³² L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³³ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³⁴ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

³⁵ L. Blanc, v. 344, 346.

which fell without intermission from the time the troops took up their ground, filled the trenches with water, and so soaked the powder that little of it would go off. The fascines were filled, not with earth, but liquid mud, which escaped through the interstices of the wood; and the guns, which repeatedly stuck fast in the tenacious mire, were only dragged out by the almost superhuman efforts of the Zouaves. By immense exertions, however, these difficulties were overcome, and on the 9th October a sufficient number of guns were got into position to open fire, which was done amidst a shout from the whole army, which drowned even the roar of the artillery. General Damremont, after the fire had continued twenty-four hours, summoned the place to surrender, but the governor returned this noble answer: "If the French have no longer any powder or bread, we will give it them, but we will defend our houses and town to the last extremity. No one shall be master of Constantine till he has put to death its last defender."¹

A sad event soon after occurred, which, without stopping the progress of the siege, filled the soldiers with the most melancholy feelings. General Damremont, who, from the commencement of the siege, had exposed his person like the meanest grenadier, had taken post, surrounded by his staff, on a prominent point on Condiat-Ali, to reconnoitre with his own eyes the ground, with a view to the final direction of the assaulting columns, when a ricochet-shot, starting from a rock in the vicinity, struck him on the breast. He fell, and instantly expired; dying thus, like Turenne, on the field of honor, and on the eve of victory. This calamitous event did not for a moment suspend the progress of the siege. General Vallée took the command, and proved himself worthy of the trust. The following day was a Friday, and an ancient prophecy had announced that a Friday was to be a fatal day to the Mussulman domination in Africa. The signal for the assault was given at seven in the morning, and the troops, divided into three columns, under the orders of GENERAL LAMORICIERE, Colonel Combes, and Colonel Corbin, advanced to the assault. With breathless impatience the troops not engaged, from the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, beheld the columns running with impetuosity to the breaches, amidst the rolling of drums, the flourish of trumpets, and the shouts of the whole army. Lamoricière, then, by a rapid rush, gained the summit of the breach without much difficulty; but there, as in other Turkish fortresses, began the real difficulty of the struggle. The Turkish yatagan maintained a desperate contest with the European bayonet; from every roof-top and every window issued a shower of balls, and it was only hand to hand, and by a series of desperate personal encounters, that the assailants were able to maintain their ground in the pass they had so bravely won. At the head of the assaulting column the officers, even of the highest grade, were seen: Colonel Serignay was killed at the head of his battalion; Generals Perregaux and Lamoricière, and Colonel Combes, were severely wounded. In the midst of the tumult a

mine was fired, and great numbers, both of the assailants and defenders, were blown into the air. But the supports were rapidly brought up; a continual stream of armed men ascended the breaches, and at length the steady courage of the Arabs yielded to the heroic intrepidity of the French. Gradually the besieged were forced backward; house after house, street after street, bastion after bastion, was successively won; and at length the armed multitude, forced to the extremity of the town, was driven over the ramparts, and a frightful human avalanche rolled over the cliffs which formed the southern defense of the city. Constantine was taken, and the French power in Algeria firmly established. From the summit of a neighboring hill Sultan Achmet beheld, with tears in his eyes, the capture of his capital, the ruin of his power, and, turning his horse's head, fled into the solitudes of the desert.¹

In this desperate strife the Duke de Nemours exhibited the coolness of a veteran 123. joined to the ardor of a young soldier. Colonel Combes was brought to him mortally wounded; two shots had passed through his lungs. Concealing his suffering and danger, he said, "Those who are not wounded mortally will feel joy at this success." To General Boyer he said, "Receive my last adieu; I ask nothing for my wife or children, but I would recommend the following officers of my regiment." These were his last words. Death closed his lips. After a short time had elapsed, the desolation of the storm disappeared, and such of the inhabitants as survived returned to their houses; the breaches were repaired, a garrison of 2500 men was left in the place, and the army returned to Bona. General Vallée was made Governor of Algeria and a Marshal with the general approbation of the army, and an extensive promotion rewarded the inferior officers who had contributed to the success. But while the army had thus gloriously discharged its duty, the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies afforded a melancholy proof of the sway of parsimonious ideas among them, and how unworthy the bourgeois class was to rule the empire. Government proposed to the Chamber of Deputies to settle a pension of 10,000 francs (£400) a year on General Damremont's widow; they reduced it to 6000 francs (£240); and to the widow of the heroic Colonel Combes they refused even the moderate pension of 8000 francs (£120), proposed by the Government! This economy was the more discreditable that at the same time the Chamber voted ² Ann. Hist. xxi. 117, 119, 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a year 193; Cap. ix. 358, 359; L. 358, 359; L. 359; L. Blanc, v. 270, 271. to the theatres of Paris for the amusement of themselves and their constituents.²²

"It was the fashion," says Macanlay, "to call James II. a tyrant, and William a deliverer; yet before the deliverer had been a month on the throne, he had deprived the English of a

* SUMS VOTED TO THE THEATRES IN 1838.

Grand Opera.....	620,000 francs, or £25,000
Opera Comique.....	240,000 " 10,000
Opera Italien.....	70,000 " 2,600
Théâtres.....	270,000 " 10,400
	1,200,000 " £48,000

—Ann. Hist., xxi. 193.

¹ L. Blanc, v. 265, 266; Cap. ix. 367, 358; Ann. Hist. xx. 251, 254.

122.
Death of General Damremont.
Oct. 12.

¹ General Vallée's Disp., Oct. 13, 1837; Cap. ix. 356, 359; L. Blanc, v. 269, 270.

123.
Heroism of the army.

²² Ann. Hist. xxi. 117, 119, 193; Cap. ix. 358, 359; L. 358, 359; L. Blanc, v. 270, 271.

precious right which the tyrant had respected.

184. This is a kind of reproach which a government sprung from a popular revolution almost inevitably incurs. From such a government men naturally think themselves entitled to expect a more gentle and liberal administration than is expected from old and deeply-rooted power. Yet such a government, having, as it always has, many active enemies, and not having the strength derived from legitimacy and prescription, can at first only maintain itself by a vigilance and a severity of which old and deeply-rooted power stands in no need. Extraordinary and irregular vindications of public liberty are sometimes necessary, yet, however necessary, they are almost always followed by some temporary abridgments of that very liberty, and every such abridgment is a fertile and plausible theme for sarcasm and invective. "Macaulay's five." Louis Philippe was no exception to these just and forcible observations; on the contrary, they furnish the true explanation both of the increased rigor of his Government and the unbounded animosity which it excited among its former supporters. A very simple reason explains both—it was necessity. A government which has risen by revolution can only maintain itself by suppressing the spirit from which it sprang; and the more violent that revolution has been, the more severe and lasting will be the measures of repression to which it must have recourse. England will feel the consequences of the Revolution of 1688 as long as the National Debt endures; France that of 1830 as long as its huge standing army is kept on foot, and that is not likely ever to be diminished. Had any of the early conspiracies against Louis Philippe's government proved successful, the only consequence would have been that the liberties of the country would have been more completely prostrated even than they were by the bayonets of the Citizen King. A Cabinet composed of Fieschi, Alibaud, and Meunier would only have been distinguished from those of Count Molé or M. Thiers by being more despotic, more expensive, and more bloody.

VOL. III.—P

A great revolution was going on in the affairs of the world when France was the theatre of these convulsive throes.

125. Lasting ascendancy now gained by the Cross over the Crescent. From the contests of the European states with each other, emerged a Power which soon came to overshadow all the other countries of the world. Ever since the date of the fall of Napoleon all the great conquests of nations were those of the Christians over the Mohammedans; from the infidelity of the French Revolution arose the lasting superiority of the Cross over the Crescent. In 1816, Algerine slavery was terminated by the cannon of Lord Exmouth; in 1829, Turkey narrowly escaped subjugation at the hands of the Muscovites; in 1830, the power of France was permanently established on the coast of Africa; in 1832, the Grand Seignior was only saved from destruction at the hand of his rebellious vassal by the dangerous protection of the Russians; in 1840, that very vassal was driven, by the broadsides of the English, delivered at the foot of the Lebanon, within his own dominion. Hardly had the sound of the French cannon ceased to re-echo in the mountains of the Atlas, when the British guns were heard in the Kyber Pass amidst the Himalaya snows, and their standards were seen in Ghuznee, the cradle of Mohammedan power in Central Asia. Subsequent events have not belied these appearances; all the interests of the world are now wound up in the East. The greatest strife which modern Europe has witnessed has occurred on the shores of the Euxine, between powers contending for the protection of the decrepit Mohammedan conquerors of the East. There is something in these marvelous events succeeding one another so rapidly, and so different from the former balance of the Cross and the Crescent, which can not be ascribed to chance; they betoken a decided step in the Divine administration. The tide of conquest, which long flowed from east to west, has now set in in an opposite direction; civilization is returning to the land of its birth, and the descendants of Japhet, in the words of primeval prophecy, are about to "dwell in the tents of Shem."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FRANCE FROM THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINE IN OCTOBER, 1837, TO THE TREATY REGULATING THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST IN JULY, 1841.

THE storming of Constantine and restoration of the lustre of the national arms on the coast of Africa, diffused universal satisfaction in France, and powerfully contributed to strengthen the throne of Louis Philippe. In proportion to the grief and mortification which had been experienced at the preceding reverse, was the joy at the glorious and decisive manner in which it had been expiated. The Liberal party in Paris, indeed, had never been favorable to the occupation of Algeria, and had repeatedly, both in the Chambers and the press, urged its entire abandonment. But none could be insensible to the glory of the French arms; and the romantic incidents of the siege of Constantine, with its heart-stirring assault, acted like the sound of a trumpet on the hearts of that warlike and imaginative people.

The general election of 1837 had somewhat, though not materially, augmented the majority of Count Molé and of peers. the administration in the popular Chamber; they had now a nominal majority of twelve or fifteen in the Deputies. But this majority, small as it was, was composed of so many and such divided sections of parties that it could hardly be relied on in any decisive crisis, and was likely entirely to fail on any question which strongly agitated the public mind. The Cabinet therefore felt the necessity of strengthening themselves in the Upper House by a fresh creation of peers, and they had recourse to another of those desperate acts which purchased present ease at the expense of the future respectability and influence of the Chamber of Peers. By an ordonnance of 3d October, 1837, fifty-two additional peers were created, and took their seat on the benches of the Upper House. This was the fourth great creation which had taken place within a few years; and, combined with the limitation of the titles to life, and their exclusive appointment by the Crown, it deprived the peers of all respect or influence, either as a check on the Executive, or a barrier against the people. The object of this new creation was to form a sort of *juste milieu* in the Chamber, which might counterbalance a possible coalition of the Legitimists, headed by M. de Montalembert and M. de Dreux-Brézé on the one side, and the Liberals under MM. Villemain and Cousin on the other. It is remarkable that a system which in this manner proved utterly destructive of the mixed constitution and balance of power in France, had been so recently before earnestly pressed upon the English Government by the popular party, and that not only by political leaders in the heat of conflict, but by sagacious philosophers in the solitude of rural life.*

* See, in particular, Sydney Smith's Letters to Earl Grey, urging, in the strongest terms, a creation of sixty

As the parties in the Chamber of Deputies were so nearly balanced, the greatest efforts were made by both sides. M. Arago as a political leader for the city of Paris. With a view to organize an effective opposition against the Government, a central committee was formed in Paris to watch over and promote the Liberal interest in the elections; and so narrow was the division of parties, that an ample field was afforded for this, for out of 13,982 voters 6303 were ranged on the side of Opposition. At the head of the committee in Paris was placed M. ARAGO, a man scarcely less eminent in political strife than in the peaceful walks of science. Indomitable energy and perseverance were his great characteristics, evinced at every period of life, as they are of almost all who do great things in the world. At the age of twenty, having been dispatched by the Bureau des Longitudes at Paris to complete the measurement of an arc of the meridian in Spain, he passed six months on the inhospitable summit of one of the Castilian mountains. Sent by Napoleon as envoy into Spain at the commencement of the Peninsular War, he was thrown into the prison of Valencia, and subsequently of Rossa, where he declined the opportunity of escape presented to him rather than separate from his beloved scientific instruments. What distinguished him in an especial manner was the variety and extent of his acquirements. While renowned as a scientific man in every country of Europe, he brought to bear on his political adversaries a nerve, an eloquence, and an extent of information which created universal astonishment, and rendered him one of the most popular leaders of the Liberal party, to which he was strongly attached. Ardent in every thing, he turned alternately, and with equal vigor, from the calm contemplation of nature to the stormy affairs of men, and, like Wallenstein, as figured by the poet, sought relief from the contests of the forum in the study of the celestial bodies.¹

These eminent qualities in Arago, however, were not without a certain intermixture of alloy. He had more vehemence than perseverance, and often did injustice to his great powers by the variety of objects to which they were applied. He was so keen in every pursuit that he was often distracted by the multiplicity of those in which he was engaged. More skilled in books than men—the child of thought, not of experience—he was little qualified to be the leader of a party, and often created jealousy by his neglect of the inferior agents upon whom the fortune of every public man must in great part be

or eighty peers to force the Reform Bill through the House of Lords, in May, June, and July, 1832, in Lady Holland's very interesting Life of that eminent man.

built. His temper was violent, and often very irritable; and he was far from possessing that coolness in debate which so frequently gives practiced speakers so great an advantage over men, in other respects their superiors, who have been trained only in the closet. Impetuous in all things, he often sacrificed his ultimate end for a momentary impulse; and was diverted from an important object by the vehemence with which he assailed an adversary, or the warmth with which he resented the injuries of a friend.¹

¹ L. Blanc, v. 377, 378.

With this illustrious philosopher and orator, however, were united others of more practical character, and who supplied what he wanted in the management of a political party.

M. LOUIS BLANC, to whose genius and eloquence this History has been so often indebted, brought to the guidance of the democratic committee the energy of a powerful mind, the skill of an accomplished orator, and, what was of still more value to them, a devout belief in human perfectibility and the unbounded improvement of the people, under the influence of Socialist principles and the sway of the most ignorant, inflammable, and destitute of the community. With him was associated M. Dupont de l'Eure, who was equally sincere in his hatred of the *bourgeoisie*, now in possession of power, and in his belief of the disappearance of all social evils before the rising sun of democracy. M. Lafitte, also, was a member who, disappointed in the result of his dream of a "throne surrounded by republican institutions," and essentially injured in fortune by its effects, was now inclined to go all the lengths of pure republicanism. From the character and talents of these leaders it was evident that, though the social contest was for the time hushed, and the thirst for gain had come, in the middle class, to supersede the passion for power, yet the revolutionary principle was far from being extinct, and that nothing was wanting but general distress or extraneous circumstances to fan the embers, and cause the fire to blaze up again with fresh fury, and embrace the whole monarchy in its flames.²

² L. Blanc, v. 372, 373.

The session of 1838 met on the 18th December, 1837, and the King, with reason, congratulated the deputies on the improved internal condition of the country, and the glorious event which, externally, had added so much lustre to the French arms. "France," said he, "is free and tranquil; its prosperity rapidly increases, its institutions are consolidated, it has daily more confidence in their stability. The supremacy of the laws has permitted me to realize the dearest wish of my heart—a great act, the memory of which will always be pleasing to me; the amnesty has demonstrated the force of my government. That act has calmed men's minds, weakened the influence of the bad passions, isolated more and more the projects of disorder. I have, in these auspicious circumstances, desired that the electoral colleges should be called together. My confidence in the country has not been misplaced. I feel assured that I shall find in you the firm support which I have received from the Chambers for seven years past, to secure to France the benefits of order and

peace." These words were, in the circumstances, undoubtedly well founded; but the first division in the Chamber proved how strong, despite the general prosperity, the democratic feeling was in the bourgeois class, of which the majority of the constituencies was composed. The address, in answer to the speech from the throne, was indeed carried, after a Jan. 12, 1838. stormy debate of three weeks' duration, by a majority of 100—the numbers being 216 to 116; a victory which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Ministerialists. And on the question of the secret-service money, which was a still truer touchstone of Government influence, the majority was even more considerable—the numbers being 249 March 21. to 133. But on other occasions the state of parties was very different, and on one vital question the Government underwent a signal defeat. The vexed matter of a reduction June 26. of the interest of the public funds having been again brought forward, the majority for the Government proposal was carried in the 1 *Moniteur*. Deputies by 251 to 145; but so great Dec. 19, 1837, was the public clamor on the subject, March 22 and June 27, 1836; that it was rejected in the Peers, An. Hist. xxi. notwithstanding the recent crea- 3, 4, 107, 160; tion, by a majority of 124 to 84.¹ Cap. ix. 362.

A matter of vast social importance, and far more momentous ultimate consequence than any of these party divisions, was brought forward by the Government in this session, and occupied the Chambers several months. This was the question of RAILWAYS, and whether they should be left, as in England, to the enterprise and direction of private companies, or taken at once into the hands of Government, and regulated like the Post-office and the Chaussées, by its direction. This question could no longer be avoided, for the demand for more rapid and useful modes of conveyance was rapidly developing in all quarters; and the growth of capital in the country, joined to the increased confidence in the stability of Government, had not only provided ample funds for the construction of the lines, but inflamed to a very high degree the mania for speculation in them. The societies which proposed to undertake them were established on the principle of *commandite*, or limitation of the liability of partners to the stock subscribed, which, as it lessened the risk of such undertakings, increased the favor with which they were regarded by small capitalists, and the avidity with which, as a matter of speculation, the shares were sought after by the public. In the two months of January and February, 1838, no less than sixty-seven societies of this description were set up, with the requisite legal formalities, in France, with a subscribed capital of 118,222,000 francs (£4,730,000), divided into 219,212 shares; and in March the fever of speculation had increased to such a degree that companies with a capital of 274,572,000 francs (£11,000,000) were established in addition, divided into 399,686 shares. It may be readily conceived what important interests were at stake when undertakings so vast were suddenly brought forward, and how great must have been the public interest excited in their success,² when numbers so immense had embarked

¹ *Rapid growth of railway companies.*

² Cap. ix. 380, 381.

their credit or their capital in their prosecution.*

M. Arago presented the report of the committee to whom the matter had been referred on the subject, which was drawn by himself, and, as might have been expected from such a hand, was a very able and luminous document.

It proposed to establish a network of nine trunk-lines, whereof seven were to terminate in Paris, and to run from that capital to Belgium, to Havre, to Nantes, to Bayonne, to Toulouse, to Marseilles by Lyons, and to Strasbourg by Nancy. Two other lines were to unite Marseilles on the one side with Bordeaux by Toulouse, and on the other Bâle by Lyons and Besançon. In the mean time, however, only four lines were to be begun—viz. from Paris to Belgium, from Paris to Rouen, from Paris to Bordeaux by Orleans and Tours, and from Marseilles to Avignon, which were to embrace in all 878 leagues of railway. It was wisely proposed not to go farther in the mean time, both in order to test by experience, before going too deep, the probable success of the undertakings, and in order to be enabled to take advantage, in any future lines that might be constructed, of the improvements that might be adopted in the neighboring states, and especially in England. It was not deemed expedient to undertake the formation of these lines on the part of Government, especially at a period when the budget was to be charged with 49,000,000 francs (£1,960,000) for canals, roads, and other improvements, and therefore they were to be left to private companies. Government, however, reserved to itself the right of requiring adequate security from the subscribers for the completion of the undertaking, and of preventing competing lines from interfering with the fair profits that might be expected from them. This report was adopted, with certain

modifications, by the Chamber, and formed the foundation of the railway system in France. It were to be wished that an equally wise one had been simultaneously adopted in Great Britain.¹

It must be confessed that a more favorable time could not have been found for

these undertakings, for an extraordinary flood of prosperity had set in upon France. The exports, imports, and revenue increased steadily during the three years subsequent to 1835; the public funds rapidly rose; and the national industry, sus-

tained by a plentiful supply of the precious metals, and a liberal issue of paper by the Bank of France, diffused general ease and happiness over the community. The same effect took place then which had ensued in England upon the subsiding of the Reform agitation, though, from tranquillity being longer of being restored to the south than to the north of the Channel, the prosperity of France was two years later of becoming decided than that of England had been. But when it did arrive, it was equally signal and progressive, and in like manner led to undertakings of the most extravagant kind, and a fever of speculation which recalled the days of Law and the Mississippi Scheme, a century before. A change in society, and the objects of general interest, came over France, so extraordinary that it could not be credited, were it not attested, as the former: *Ann. Hist.* had been, by contemporary evidence *xxi. 168-171*; of the most unquestionable description. *L. Blanc, v. 328-331.*

The thirst for gain, fed by the immense rise of the shares of some fortunate companies, and the colossal fortunes made by a few speculators, often without capital or apparent risk, led to a universal mania, seizing all classes of society. It swept away all heads, pervaded all ranks, and for a season almost absorbed all interests. It was difficult to say whether the sober shop-keeper, whose life had been spent in counting small gains, and pursuing a sober, steadfast line of conduct—the zealous scholar, whose thoughts had been set on the contemplation of the ideal world—the intrepid soldier, who had hitherto dreamed only of visions of glory—or the volatile woman of fashion, who had hitherto glittered in the sunshine of rank and opulence, were most carried away by the torrent. All that was recounted in the memoirs of that former time, but hitherto hardly believed, of the prostration of all celebrities, the destruction of all feelings of pride, the oblivion of all the privileges of rank or sex, before the altar of Mammon, was now more than realized. Morning, noon, and night the offices of the bankers, merchants, or companies who had the shares of the undertakings most in request for sale, were besieged by files of carriages and clamorous crowds pressing forward to acquire what they felt assured would, in a few weeks, without expenditure, trouble, or risk, put them in possession of an ample fortune. Ladies of the first rank and fashion hastened to bestow their smiles, and sometimes more than their

* The number of companies having movable and saleable shares in France was very large. From 1816 to 1836, the number was 1103, divided in the following manner:

Journals and periodicals	401	Brought forward	740
Manufactures	93	Insurance companies	37
Coaches and carriages	93	Agricultural and draining	23
Iron-works	61	Theatres	34
Internal navigation	82	Miscellaneous	289
Banks	40	Total	1103
Carry forward	740		

—CAPEPIQUE, *Des Ans de Louis Philippe*, ix. 382, note.

† INCOME, EXPENDITURE, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND TONNAGE OF FRANCE FROM 1837 TO 1841, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Revenues.	Expenditure.	Exports.	Imports.	Tonnage Inward.
	France.	France.	France.	France.	
1837	1,087,572,903	1,027,059,018	758,097,450	807,792,965	1,404,580
1838	1,056,302,461	1,039,818,631	935,907,656	937,054,479	1,671,804
1839	1,061,680,917	1,021,062,404	1,003,331,788	946,971,426	1,244,092
1840	1,115,763,232	1,069,913,487	1,010,922,514	1,052,286,026	1,741,915
1841	1,211,683,666	1,167,843,234	1,065,375,603	1,121,424,316	1,823,360

—*Ann. Hist.* xix. 69; xx. 71, 75; xxi. 93; xxii. 59-61; xxiii. 94; xxiv. 60-61.

smiles, on those who had the means of opening an early and secret door to the magic scenes, where riches, exceeding those at the disposal of the geni of the lamp and the ring, awaited the first fortunate entrant. And such was the astonishing rise of shares, sometimes to the amount of 1200 and 1500 per cent. in a few months, that L. Blanc, v. the expectations, extravagant as 338, 339; Cap. they were in many instances, were ix. 317, 338. almost realized.¹²

Immeasurable were the frauds perpetrated on the credulous and senseless public during this brief period of general insanity. Mines which never existed became the subject of companies, the shares of which were, for a few weeks before the bubble burst, sold at extravagant profits. Inventions which had never been realized even in the brain of the most speculative mechanic, became the subject of eulogistic advertisement and eager purchase. France was inundated with impostures, which in many instances made the fortunes of their lucky fabricators. A dramatic piece got up at this period entitled *Robert Macaire*, which exposed the follies of the day, but at the same time turned into equal ridicule every generous or elevated sentiment which could fill the human breast, was interdicted at the theatre from the immensity of its success. "Society had reached," says the annalist, "that point, the lowest in the scale of social degradation, when the selfish and degrading sentiments have ceased to be an object of shame even to those influenced by them, and the theatres are crowded to hear those feelings expressed as common and unavoidable, of which all are conscious in the recesses of their own breasts."¹³

The prevailing passion for gain comes soon to affect both the higher and the more ephemeral branches of literature. M. Guizot, whose great powers were not absorbed in the less durable objects of office, wrote three articles in the *Revue Française* on the state of society in France, which revealed its dangers, and displayed his usual impartiality and sagacity of thought. M. Lerminier abandoned his former extreme democratic opinions, and by several articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in favor of Count Molé's government, incurred the lasting hostility of his former republican allies. At the theatres, a number of popular pieces, which fell in with the frivolity of the times, attracted crowds to the comic boards, while the rising genius of RACHEL, who had made her first appearance on the stage, occasioned in some cultivated minds a reaction in favor of the elevated style of former tragedy. The young actress, however, met with a formidable rival in the

Caligula of Alexander Dumas, which brought before the eyes of the admiring Parisians the manners of the Romans under the Empire, their armies, gladiators, and amphitheatre. History labored with success to portray the glories of the Empire, as if to cry shame on the selfishness and frivolity of modern ideas; and we owe to that period many of the most remarkable works which characterize the era of Napoleon. The universal object was to be amused or to make money; and the daily press, despairing of political change, adapted itself to the taste of its readers, and abandoning the asperity of former political discussion, glided down the broad stream of social enjoyment or individual gain.¹

The effect of this change, which had occurred also nearly in a similar degree in

Great Britain shortly before, was to remove in a most material degree the difficulties of Government. The passions of men having taken a different direction, and the thirst for individual gain having come to supersede that for political power, it became a comparatively easy task to manage them. Nothing was required but to adopt a prudent popular course of administration, which might eschew the resuscitation of the political passions, and meanwhile to disarm hostility by a plentiful diffusion of those advantages which had become the object of general and passionate desire. The immense patronage at the disposal of Government, which amounted to 140,000 offices in the civil service of the State, besides the commissions in the army and navy, gave them ample means of gratifying the prevailing thirst for gain; while the Chamber of Deputies and their constituents designated at once the channel in which the golden stream should flow. Influence, exerted not by the bestowing of bribes, as was the case for seventy years after the Revolution of 1688 by the Whig Government of England, but by the disposal of patronage, became the established means by which the administration of affairs was carried on; and the majority which it commanded, though sufficiently large on general questions, gave token of its origin when any change touching the pecuniary interests of the *bourgeoisie* was brought forward. Thus it threw out in the Peers the project of reducing the interest of the national debt, and took to itself from Government the administration of railways. This system has been openly admitted by M. Guizot, and defended on the footing of absolute necessity. When Government has neither the hereditary loyalty felt toward an ancient race of sovereigns to rest upon, nor the rude despotism of a soldier of fortune to enforce its mandates, it is compelled to have recourse to the thirst for individual gain, which never fails, after a time, to make itself felt in every community. This necessity was felt, and this effect followed, in England after the Revolution of 1688, and in France after that of 1830; and those who object to a government being established on such a basis, would do well to pause before they overturn that which rests on another.

But although it may be easy to see how it happened that the government of corruption came after the Revolution in France to succeed that of force, yet the effects of the change

¹² "Telle action constituée à 500 francs s'était élevée par la fiction du cours à 3000 francs."—CAP. IX. 335.

PUBLIC FUNDS IN PARIS AND BANK SHARES.
Five per Cent. Actions de la Banque.

Jan. 1837.....	109	2430
Dec.	107	2500
Jan. 1838.....	109	2542
Dec.	110	2710
Jan. 1839.....	110	2650
Dec.	112	3000
Jan. 1840.....	112	3150
Dec.	111	3280
Jan. 1841.....	112	3200
Dec.	116	3420

—Ann. Hist. xx. 371; xxi. 419; xxv. 316.

were not the less injurious, or the less debasing to the national character of the

14. Scandalous increase of corruption in France. The worst corruptions of the old monarchy anterior to the first Revolution were revived on a more extensive scale, and made to descend

and to degrade a far greater number of men. The *pots de vin*, so well known as the *douceur* which followed the bestowing of an office on a minister, or a farmer-general of the revenue, came to be a regular and established part of almost every transaction, not only between Government and the people, but between all in authority or possessed of influence, and the recipients of what they had to bestow. Two celebrated trials which ere long occurred—that relating to the vessel *Ville de Paris*, and another to the alleged mal-administration of M. Gisquet, the Minister of Police—revealed in all their turpitude the base transactions of this venal period. It was judicially proved that, in consideration of shares allotted, money bestowed, mistresses bribed, actions promised, offices bestowed, political opposition was bought up; journals silenced, and men of powerful talent gained to the cause of Government, or the great railway or mercantile companies which shared with it the distribution of patronage. So far did this system of universal corruption go, that it even tarnished the glory of that branch of the public service which had hitherto stood pre-eminent in purity as well as lustre; and the catastrophe attending the first attack on Constantine

led to strange revelations in the mutual accusations of the generals, v. 339, 330; which it would have been well for the honor of the French arms to have buried in oblivion.¹

The effect of this state of things was, that before the end of the session the Doctrinaire party, disgusted with the venality and corruption with which the Government was surrounded, diverged from Count Molé. The elder of the party were dissatisfied at not being admitted into the Administration, and the younger were alienated by the open establishment of government on the basis of venality and selfishness. Finding his position in the Chambers becoming more critical, Count Molé attached himself more strongly to the court; and in a magnificent fête given by him in his splendid chateau, and surrounded by his ancestral trees of Champlatreux, he was honored by the presence of royalty, the queen, princes, and princesses. Every thing there was redolent of the olden time: on the walls of the saloon were the pictures given by Louis XV. to one of Count Molé's ancestors; in the gardens were the marble fountains, shady alleys, and overflowing *jets d'eau* which recalled the splendor of Versailles. Surrounded here by the memorials and reminiscences of the past, in which he so much delighted, and basking in the fleeting sunshine of the present, the monarch felt for a brief period the enjoyment of real felicity, which was soon enhanced by the accompaniment of the Duchess

of Orleans, who on 24th August gave birth to a son and heir, who received the title of the Count of Paris, and promised to perpetuate in future times the new-born monarchy.²

Aug. 24.

¹ *Moniteur*,

Aug. 25,

1838; Cap.

ix. 393, 394.

The war establishment of 1838 and 1839 was fixed at a high standard, which the Chamber, alarmed by the first disaster of Constantine, voted without opposition. It amounted to 319,348 men, and 63,178 horses. Of this

large force 38,000 men and 8779 horses were assigned to Africa. The men voted in Great Britain in the same year for the army were to be 81,000 men, and 37,000 sailors for the royal navy; forces miserably inadequate when the immensity of the force within a day's sail of the southern coast of England is taken into consideration. Some very curious facts were brought out in the debates in the Chamber on the state of the poor, and the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births in Paris. It appeared that out of every 1000 births 316 were illegitimate, and that "38,000 orphans abandoned by their parents passed annually through the hospitals of the country." M. Lamartine, in an eloquent speech, declaimed against the measure in progress to suppress or diminish those establishments, which went to rescue from death or ruin the unhappy beings thus brought into the world only to encumber it. "Foundlings are for us," said he, "for all modern societies, one of those sacred necessities for which we must provide, if we would eschew a dissolution of morals, an inundation of crime and popular agitation, which no one can contemplate without trembling. Do not trust to those fatal measures which go only to conceal an evil which will immediately burst forth in other quarters. Insensate are they who are alarmed at the increase of population, if we take sufficient steps to implant and organize it. Man is the most precious of all capitals; and to those who are alarmed at its increase I would say, What would you be at? Are you prepared, as in China, to provide against the dreaded superabundance of population by immersing the children in rivers? It is a noble task to replace the care of a family for those unhappy children whom God has placed in your hands. That task the charity of St. Vincent and the genius of Napoleon have rendered easy: you have nothing to do: beware lest you undo what they have done; rise superior to those who would inflict a mortal wound on the honor, the morality, the security of the country; recollect that there are higher duties than those of property or economy, and that those who are born have the right to live."³

While the Legislature was engaged with these important topics, public attention was for a brief period arrested by the last illness and death of a man who had played an important part on the theatre of nations in the last generation. On the 17th May, M. Talleyrand died. Arrived at the advanced age of eighty-two, his life had exceeded the ordinary term, and he retained his faculties to the last. Before his death, he had felt a desire to be reconciled to the Church to which he had originally belonged, and in which he had held the rank of bishop; and at the earnest entreaty of his young and beautiful relative, Mademoiselle de Dino, who watched his last days with pious care, he had on 10th March written a recantation of his errors, both religious and political, but which, with characteristic

16. Statistics of the army, and social concerns.

Ann. Hist. xxi. 193, 194; *Moniteur*, Feb. 17, 1838.

17. Last illness and death of Talleyrand. May 17.

cantion—an instance of “the ruling passion strong in death”—he kept by him, and only signed a few hours before his decease.* At the same time he addressed a penitent letter to the Pope, in which he professed his entire adherence to the tenets of the Romish Church. Shortly after signing his recantation, the King paid him a visit, and inquired anxiously after his health. “This,” said the dying penitent, “is the highest honor my house has ever received.” Books of devotion were frequently, at his own desire, in his hands during his long deathbed illness, one especially, entitled, “The Christian Religion studied in the true Spirit of its Maxims.” “The recollections which you recall,” said he to the Abbé Dupanloup, “are dear to me, and I thank you for having divined the place they have preserved in my thoughts and in my heart.” Shortly before his death he received extreme unction; and on hearing the names of Charles, archbishop of Milan, and Maurice, his patron saint, he said in a feeble voice, “Have pity on me!” M. Dupanloup having related to him that the Archbishop of Paris had said, “I would give my life for M. de Talleyrand,” “He might make a better use of it,” replied the dying man; and with these words he expired.¹

Belonging to, and celebrated in, another age, M. de Talleyrand had outlived his reputation and his influence; but he is too important an historical character to be permitted to depart this earthly scene without an obituary notice. That he was a man of remarkable abilities is sufficiently proved by his career: no man rises so high, even amidst the storms of a revolution, without the aid of those talents which are peculiarly adapted to the times in which he lived. It was to the possession of these talents that the ex-bishop of Autun owed his elevation, and the long duration of his influence through all the mutations of political fortune. He was neither a great nor a good man: had he been the first, his head would have been severed from his shoulders in the early part of his career; had he been the second, he never would have emerged into the perilous light of political, from the secure obscurity of ecclesiastical life. He was an accurate observer of the signs of the times, and a base accomplished time-server. It is such men who in general alone survive the storms of a revolution, and reap the fruits of the courage and magnanimity, the ambition or recklessness, of others. Essentially selfish and egotistical, he never hesitated to sacrifice his religion, his oaths, his principles, to the necessities or opportunities of the moment: adroit and supple, he contrived to make himself serviceable to all parties, and yet not the object of envenomed hostility to any. Having sworn fidelity to thirteen constitutions, and betrayed them all, he lost no character by his repeated tergiver-

sations; no one expected consistency or honor from him, but all expected from him, and most in power received, valuable secret information and useful time-serving. His manners were courteous, and had all the polish of the old school, and his colloquial powers constituted no inconsiderable part of his reputation. His memory, stored with anecdotes of the many eminent men of all parties with whom he had passed his life, rendered his conversation always amusing, often interesting; but there was nothing original in his ideas, or elevated in his conceptions. His celebrity as a talker, like that of Rochefoucauld's Maxims, arose chiefly from the casual felicity of expression and uniform tracing of all actions to the secret workings of selfishness in the human breast. Judging from themselves, both these far-famed observers were doubtless in the right. The reputation of Talleyrand was greater with his contemporaries, to whom his witty sayings were known, than it will be with posterity, which will form its opinions from his actions; and both conspire to demonstrate that intellectual powers, even of the highest kind, can not compensate for the want of those still more lofty qualities which spring from the pure fountains of the heart.*

This year brought to light another of those dark conspiracies which revealed the extreme hatred at Louis Philippe that Conspiracy pervaded the republican classes of so-called Hubert. On the 8th December, 1837, a man, landing from the English packet-boat on the quay of Boulogne at ten at night, accidentally let fall a portfolio of papers. It was picked up by one of the Custom-house officers, and, not being claimed, opened to discover to whom it belonged and should be sent. It was found to contain several letters, particularly one signed “Stiegler,” which seemed to indicate a conspiracy formed against the Government. It concluded with the words, “The whole *matériel* has been collected in Paris. I bring the plan which is desired.” A man named Stiegler was upon this arrested, and in the crown of his hat was found the drawing of an infernal machine, similar to that which had proved so fatal in the hands of Fieschi when Marshal Mortier was killed. Some papers found on Stiegler, whose real name proved to be Hubert, led to the discovery of several accomplices in the plot; and in May, 1838, Hubert, Mademoiselle Laure Gronville, Jacob Stenblé, and several others, were brought to trial before the assize court of the department of the Seine at Paris. M. Emmanuel Arago, Favre Ferdinand Bruat, and sev-

* Some of M. de Talleyrand's sayings which have become most celebrated were not his own, or at least they had been said by others before him. That in particular which has made the round of the world, “The principal object of language is to conceal the thoughts,” was probably original in him, for it exactly painted his mind; but it is to be found long before in several English authors. Thus in Young's *Night Thoughts*—

“Where Nature's end of language is declined,
And men talk only to conceal their mind.”

“The principal end of language,” says Goldsmith, “according to grammarians, is to express our wants so as to receive a speedy redress. But men who know the world maintain very contrary maxims. They hold, and, I think, with some show of reason, that he who knows best how to conceal his necessities and desires, is the most likely person to find redress; and that the true use of speech is not so much to express our thoughts as to conceal them.” —GOLDSMITH'S *See*, No. III., Oct. 20, 1769; Works, III. 37.

† “Toussé de plus en plus par de graves considérations, conduit à juger de sang-froid les conséquences d'une Révolution qui a tout entraîné, et qui dure depuis cinquante ans, je suis arrivé au terme d'un grand âge, et après une longue expérience, à blâmer les excès du siècle auquel j'ai appartenu, et à condamner franchement les graves erreurs qui dans cette longue suite d'années ont troublé et affligé l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine, et auxquelles j'ai eu le malheur de participer.” —*Dernière Pièce de M. DE TALLEYRAND*, May 17, 1838. *CAPETIQUA*, IX. 466.

eral other counsel of eminence, conducted the defense; and the trial soon assumed that dramatic air, and produced those impassioned scenes, which at that period characterized all the state trials in France. The accused conducted themselves with a courage bordering on frenzy. It appeared that Mademoiselle Grönville was so ardent a character, that she alternately was engaged in the pious offices of a *sœur de la charité*, and occupied in dressing with flowers and funeral ornaments the tomb of Ali-baud. The trial terminated in the conviction of Hubert, who was sentenced to transportation, and of Laure Grönville, Steublé, and several others, who were sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Laure Grönville died during her confinement, in a state of insanity.¹

Louis Napoleon, as already mentioned, had returned from America in August, 1837, to see his mother, the Duchess of St. Leu, who was in a dying state. Although the prudent lenity with which he had been treated by Louis Philippe seemed to impose, at least, an implied obligation on him to abstain from any attempt to disturb the Government of France, yet the Prince was too strongly impressed with the hope of ultimate success, and the belief of his mission, to abstain from the attempt to realize them. After the death of his mother, accordingly, he remained at Arenenberg, which again became the centre of political intrigues. There was drawn up a pamphlet, shortly after published by Lieutenant Laity at Paris, on the Strasbourg attempt, and which was so hostile to the existing Government that the author was brought to trial for it, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 10,000 francs (£500). The Cabinet of the Tuileries, having received authentic intelligence that the young Prince was renewing his attempts to organize conspiracies in France and to shake the fidelity of the army, addressed energetic remonstrances through their minister at Berne to the Swiss Government, calling on them to remove Prince Louis Oct. 8, 1838.

Napoleon from their territories. This demand was warmly supported by Prince Metternich on the part of Austria. The demand was resisted by the whole strength of the united Republican and Napoleonist parties in Europe, and excited the warmest and most acrimonious debates in the Swiss Assembly, where the loudest declamations were heard against this "unheard-of stretch of tyrannic power." The strength of France and Austria, however, was too much for the Helvetic confederacy. The significant hint that the *débouché* for their cattle by the Ticino and the St. Gothard would be closed if the demand was not complied with, was not lost on the Swiss farmers; and after some hesitation, the Government, in courteous but decided terms, intimated to the young Prince that he must select a new asylum.* He made choice

of Great Britain, and arrived there early in November, 1838. Great events were linked with this change of scene; it led to the Boulogne attempt, the captivity of five years in the chateau of Ham, and was indirectly instrumental in producing the alliance of France and England, which has since wrought such wonders.¹

The cordial union of France and Austria on this attempt of Prince Napoleon led to the removal of the most serious apple of discord which still remained between them. It had never been intended by the French Government that the occupation of Ancona should be permanent; it had only been adopted as a temporary measure to counterbalance the influence of Austria in Tuscany and the Roman States. Now, however, this necessity had in a great measure ceased, and the troops employed in Ancona were loudly called for on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean. Italy was tranquil. An amnesty, with very few exceptions, had been wisely proclaimed by the Austrian Government on occasion of the coronation of the Emperor at Milan, as sovereign of the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice; and the attention of the French Government was so evidently absorbed by the affairs of Northern Africa, that no danger was to be apprehended from their ambitious designs in Italy. The moment, therefore, seemed favorable for the evacuation, and it was brought about without difficulty. The French Cabinet at first insisted on some stipulations in favor of the constitutional régime in the Legations being forced upon the Pope, but this was not persisted in, as derogatory to his dignity as an independent power; and in the end an order from General Bernard, Minister of War at Paris, removed the little garrison of Ancona to Bona, on the opposite coast of Africa. The evacuation was made as quickly as possible, to avoid exciting the revolutionary party in Europe, and show the appearance of the French eagles openly receding before the Imperial standards.²

While every thing was peaceful in the south of Europe, and the evacuation of Ancona removed the last ostensible cause of difference between the French and Austrian Governments, affairs were embroiled in the north, and the senseless obstinacy of the revolutionary party in Belgium had well-nigh lighted up again the flames of a general war in

y renouveler de criminelles intrigues, et avouer hautement des prétentions insensées, et que leur folie même ne peut plus absoudre depuis l'attentat de Strasbourg. Il est de notoriété publique que Arenenberg est le centre d'intrigues que le Gouvernement du Roi a le droit et le devoir de ne pas tolérer. Vainement Louis Napoléon voudrait-il les nier: les écrits qu'il a fait publier tant en Allemagne qu'en France, celui que la Cour de Pairs a récemment condamné (Laity), auquel il était prouvé qu'il avait lui-même concouru, et qu'il avait distribués, témoignent, assez que son retour d'Amérique n'avait pas seulement pour objet de rendre les derniers devoirs à une mère mourante, mais aussi bien de reprendre des projets et d'afficher des prétentions auxquelles il est démontré aujourd'hui qu'il n'a jamais renoncé. La Suisse est trop loyale et trop fidèle alliée pour permettre que Louis Buonaparte se dise à-la-fois l'un de ses citoyens, et le prétendant au trône de France."—*Duc de MONTRELLLO au Gouvernement de la Suisse*, Oct. 8, 1838. *CAPETIQUE*, ix. 429, 430. *Moniteur*, Oct. 10, 1838.

* "Après les événements de Strasbourg et l'acte de généreuse clémence dont Louis Napoléon Buonaparte avait été l'objet, le Roi des Français ne devait pas s'attendre à ce qu'un pays tel que la Suisse, et avec lequel les anciennes relations de bon voisinage avaient été naguère si heureusement rétablies, souffrirait que Louis Buonaparte revînt sur son territoire, et au mépris de toutes les obligations que lui imposait la reconnaissance, osât

¹ Ann. Hist. xxi. 162-180, 212, Chron.; L. Blanc, v. 343-348.

²⁰ Louis Napoleon is obliged to leave Switzerland and come to England.

¹ Cap. ix. 429, 430; L. Blanc, v. 355-357; Ann. Hist. xxi. 213.

²¹ Evacuation of Ancona Dec. 4.

Sept. 6, 1838.

Oct. 25.
² Cap. ix. 426, 427; An. Hist. xxi. 301; *Moniteur*, Oct. 26, 1838.

Europe. The affairs of that State had been definitively settled by the capture of Antwerp in 1832, and subsequent treaty, by which the limits of the new State were exactly defined. Leopold had signed that treaty, and accepted the twenty-four articles agreed to by the Conference at London. By them the territories of Limbourg and part of Luxembourg had been assigned to the King of Holland, in his right as Prince of Nassau, and member of the German Confederation. Upon various pretexts, however, the cession of these provinces to the Dutch authorities had been evaded, and they still remained in the hands of the Belgians. The disturbances in the Rhenish Provinces of Prussia, in consequence of the dispute between the Government and Archbishop of Cologne, relative to the religious education of the children of mixed marriages, already mentioned, now awakened new hopes in the leaders of the revolution in Flanders; they aspired to nothing less than uniting the Rhenish Provinces of Prussia with the newly-erected kingdom of Belgium, and forming a State which should be able to maintain its ground against either France on the one side, or Prussia on the other. The strong feeling in favor of the Romish Church which animated both countries, appeared to form the basis of an indissoluble union. "The moment has come," said they, "when the idea of a *Rhenish-Belgian* Confederation will pass from Utopia to realization. It had been already mooted in 1831 at Brussels. An advocate of Cologne, sufficiently authorized by the great body of the devoted and influential patriots of his country, made proposals to us of a union, which were prudently rejected by the equivocal or irresolute men who at that time were at the head of affairs. The moment has now come when it is possible to renew the ideas with far greater chances of success, to deliver ourselves forever from all anxiety on the side of Prussia; to enter into a confederacy with a neighboring people, whose strength will guarantee us from the double danger of a Prussian or a French invasion; to secure peace without commencing war, and to anticipate the necessity of a strife by exercising a propagandism incomparably more powerful than that of bayonets."

Cap. ix.
413-415.

The prevalence of these ideas, which were strongly supported by the Catholic clergy, ever possessed of so great an influence in Flanders, explains the tenacity with which the revolutionary party there clung for so long a time to the possession of Limbourg and Luxembourg. These provinces were of some value in themselves, but they were of far more as a link to connect them with Cologne, the stepping-stone to the Rheno-Belgian Confederacy. In vain was it represented to these heated republicans that these provinces were part of the Germanic Confederacy, which would not yield them without a struggle, and could bring 300,000 men into the field. In vain did the Government point to the treaty to which the signature of the King was attached, which provided for the cession of these provinces to the King of the Netherlands. To the first it was replied that principles were more powerful than bayonets, and that the first approach of the German armies would be the sig-

nal for a general war of opinion, which would terminate in their entire discomfiture; to the last, that treaties made by despots could not bind the free and enlightened Belgians. To such a length did the ferment proceed that the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels, on the motion of M. Metz, the deputy for Luxembourg, adopted unanimously a resolution, praying the King not to consent to the separation of the provinces in dispute from Belgium, to which he returned an evasive answer.* Inflamed with these extravagant ideas, they, by their influence in the Chambers, forced warlike measures upon Leopold; and the Belgian enthusiasts, trusting to their tumultuary levies, ill disciplined and scarcely equipped, ventured, with a force which had sunk before the troops of Holland, to throw down the gauntlet, to the united strength of Germany, France, and England.¹

The great powers were now, however, united on the Belgian question, and the prospect of divisions in a more momentous interest made them all desirous to be done with its discussion. THE EAST had opened with its complicated interests and boundless prospects; the difficulty of solving its questions was present to every mind; and the cabinets, anticipating a coming struggle in the Levant, were all desirous of leaving no source of disquietude behind them on the banks of the Rhine. All parties were tired of the Belgian question, and desirous, with a view to a more momentous struggle, to be done with it. "I have seen Lord Palmerston," said General Sebastiani, the French ambassador in London, "and he is desirous, with the English Government, to arrange on any terms the Belgian question, in order to be able to give his whole attention to the affairs of the East." Count Molé, in reply, enjoined the General to endeavor to obtain a modification of the territorial cessions to Holland; and Sebastiani's answer was: "I have again seen Lord Palmerston, but I could not prevail on him to modify the views of the English cabinet. King Leopold must accept, purely and unconditionally, the twenty-four articles." The German powers, through M. Bresson, the French ambassador at Frankfort, wrote in like manner, that no modification of the treaty as to the frontier was possible, and that Austria, Prussia, and Russia would insist on the full payment of the indemnity stipulated to Holland by Prussia, and the Belgium. An official announcement to the same effect was made to the Belgian Government, in the strongest terms, by Russia and Prussia.²

Cap. ix.
415-417.
Ann. Hist.
xxi. 226,
327.

Plenipo. de
France,
Grande Bre-
tagne, and de
Prussie, à la
Belgique, à la
Ambassadeurs
de la
Belgique,
Nov. 28,
1838; Cap. ix.
417, 418.

* "Sire! En 1831 des circonstances malheureuses menaçaient la Belgique, du douloureux sacrifice de nos frères du Limbourg et du Luxembourg; peut-il se consumer aujourd'hui que sept années d'existence commune les ont attachés à la Belgique? La Chambre, Sire, ose espérer que dans les négociations à ouvrir pour le traité avec la Hollande, l'intégrité du territoire Belge sera maintenue."—*Moniteur*, May 17, 1838.

† "Les Soussignés, plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse, conjointement avec ceux de la France, la Grande Bretagne, et la Russie, ont remarqué avec regret, dans les actes publics qui viennent de paraître à l'ouverture des Chambres Législatives à Bruxelles, un langage annonçant hautement le dessein de se refuser à la restitution des territoires qui d'après le second des 24 articles

23.
Military preparations, and wild views of the Belgian republicans.

Notwithstanding these decided remonstrances from the great powers which surrounded them on all sides, the Belgian Chambers still held out. Their reliance was on the numerous malcontents in the very countries from whom these remonstrances emanated. They were in close communication with the secret societies and republicans of France, who, although quiescent at the moment, were unceasingly carrying on their dark machinations: they relied on the profound feeling of discontent occasioned by the religious dispute in the provinces of Rhenish Prussia, and fomented in Ireland by the efforts of O'Connell and the Catholic Association; and they trusted to the co-operation of the English Radicals, whose ranks had been immensely swelled by the general suffering which had long prevailed from the contraction of the currency, and the numerous strikes among workmen in consequence of the fall of wages resulting from it, which amounted to little short of open insurrection. In a word, the Belgian republicans counted on a general revolt and war of opinion in all the States with which they were surrounded; and not without reason, for now, for the first time in history, by a strange combination of circumstances, the Papacy and Democracy were drawing in the same direction. In spite of all the warnings they had received, the Belgian Chambers abated nothing of their haughty spirit, and their military preparations continued without intermission. The allied powers in consequence also took up arms. A French army 25,000 strong was collected at Compiègne, and 30,000 Prussians were concentrated on the Meuse. Still the Belgian Chambers stood firm. "France," said M. Simmons, the deputy of Limbourg in the Chamber, "can never see with indifference a people sacrificed at its gates, which has lent it the hand. It is time to enter into more energetic relations with France and England, and if their governments abandon us, to appeal to the people."¹

Every thing breathed hostility, and possibly, notwithstanding the apparent hopelessness of the contest, a European war of opinion might have arisen at this period, instead of ten years later, when it was averted by an event which, although the natural consequence of the monetary crisis which was now producing such distress in England, had not been anticipated by the party which was calculating on its effects, and utterly disabled

them from carrying their designs into execution. This was the failure of the Bank of Brussels, which took place when the political crisis was at its height, and at once deprived the malcontents of their resources and means of action. For once insolvency produced effects the very reverse of those with which it generally is attended; it became the herald of peace, not the harbinger of war. In a manufacturing and industrious community, where credit was the soul of enterprise, and an adequate currency was the life-blood of the nation, the effects of this failure were incalculable. They were much enhanced by the failure of the Savings' Bank of Brussels, which immediately after ensued, and which was only appeased by the Government instantly and wisely coming forward and guaranteeing the sums in the Savings' Bank, which amounted to 1,600,000 florins (£150,000). This seasonable relief, however, only assuaged the terror of the working classes; it did not restore the credit of their employers, which, participating in the monetary crisis, then at its height in England, was violently shaken. In these circumstances, to maintain the contest further on the part of Belgium was impossible. Silence succeeded to the vehement declarations of the tribune, and the Belgian standards were quickly replaced by the Dutch in the disputed territory. On December 11, a fresh protocol was signed at London by the representatives of the four great Powers, by which it was stipulated that Holland should renounce all claim to the arrears of the 8,400,000 florins (£840,000) agreed to be paid to her by Belgium, from the day on which the adhesion was given and the payments in future be reduced to 5,000,000 (£500,000). The territorial limits were left as before. This protocol was immediately accepted by the King of Holland, and on 18th February, 1839, it was presented for acceptance by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Belgian Chamber. A violent opposition was made,* but at length the necessity of the case prevailed; the merchants of Ghent, Liege, and Antwerp represented that they would be ruined by the war; the Finance Minister admitted the public funds could not support it; and on the 18th March the adhesion to the treaty was carried by a majority of 58 to 42. It was immediately afterward signed by the Belgian minister, and the Belgian question, at one time so threatening to Europe, finally set at rest.¹

The foreign transactions of France in this year were signalized by an event honorable to the French arms, as well as creditable to their vigor, and which went far to raise the prestige of the kingdom in the eyes of foreign nations. This was the successful bombardment of St. Juan d'Ulloa in Mexico, by a fleet under the command of Admiral Baudin,

arrêtés par la Conférence de Londres, le 16 Octobre, 1831, doivent continuer à appartenir au Grand Duché de Luxembourg, ainsi que de la partie de la province de qui, conformément au quatrième des dits articles, doit appartenir à sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas, soit en sa qualité de Grand-Duc de Luxembourg, soit pour être réunis à la Hollande, — actes contre lesquels le Gouvernement Belge a omis faire valoir les engagements contractés par un traité solennel, et les droits d'un tiers qui s'y oppose! Également, les Soussignés peuvent d'autant moins s'empêcher de voir dans ces manifestations une atteinte portée aux droits de la Confédération Germanique, qu'elles émanent d'une partie qui ne se trouvant que dans une possession provisoirement tolérée des territoires mentionnés, prétend de son propre chef convertir le fait de cette possession en un droit permanent, ce qui constitue dans le présent cas, un envahissement impéite. *SEN. BULOW.* — *CAPETIOWE*, ix. 417, 418, note.

* "Notre cause est celle des peuples; ils se lèveront en masse pour nous soutenir. Le premier coup de canon tiré en Europe sera le signal d'une conflagration générale. L'exemple sera dangereux pour l'absolutisme, qui redouterait le bien-être d'une nation vivant sous un régime de liberté. Dans l'intérêt de mon pays, et pour le repos de ma conscience, je vote contre le projet." — *Fa-roles de M. le Comte de REYNIS, Ann. Hist.*, xxii. 267.

¹ An. Hist. xxi. 226-230; Cap. ix. 416-420; x. 17.

²⁶ Failure of the Bank of Brussels, and settlement of the question.

Mar. 18, 1839. Protocol, Dec. 11, 1836; Moniteur, Dec. 13; Treaty, April 10, 1839; An. Hist. xxii. 255, 267, 278; App. to Chron.; L. Blanc, v. 368, 369.

²⁷ Differences of France and Mexico. Nov. 27, 1838.

under whose orders the King's youngest son, the Prince de Joinville, made his first essay in arms. The French Government had become involved in a serious dispute with the Mexican, in consequence of some piratical acts committed on French subjects by the inhabitants, and a refusal on the part of their government to admit the French to the privileges enjoyed by other nations. Negotiations having failed to produce any effect on those hot-headed republicans, who were as ignorant of the strength of their enemies as they were incapable of developing any of their own, a squadron, consisting of three line-of-battle ships, *La Néréide*, *La Gloire*, and *L'Iphigénie*, the *Creole* frigate, and two bomb-vessels, approached Vera Cruz; and not having succeeded in bringing the Mexican authorities to terms, Admiral Baudin prepared for an immediate attack on the fort of St. Juan d'Ulloa, which commanded the entry to that town. The vessels approached the fort at 2 P.M., and opened their fire. Such was the vigor of the cannonade that at six the white flag was hoisted, the walls being a mere heap of ruins. During the four hours that the fire lasted, the five ships engaged threw 8000 round shot and 520 bombs into the place: the *Iphigénie* alone, from its broadside of 50 guns, threw 8400 balls, or, on an average, *fourteen a minute*, during the whole time! Not content with this success, Admiral Baudin landed a strong body of marines, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, which, advancing toward Vera Cruz, soon compelled the submission of that city. It was stipulated that all the Mexican troops, excepting a thousand, should leave the city, and the French evacuate St. Juan d'Ulloa, and the privileges contended for by the French for their subjects were conceded.¹

The experience of war has not yet determined whether or not the improvements of fortification, which have been so signal of late years, especially among the Russians, have enabled works at land successfully to resist the most formidable attacks from ships. Many considerations may be urged, and many examples cited, on both sides. On the one hand, it is certain that a powerful three-decker of one hundred or one hundred and twenty guns can concentrate a weight of metal, in her broadsides, superior, at short range of one hundred or one hundred and twenty yards, to any battery, even of three tiers, which can be brought to bear upon it, and that the splintering of stone from ordinary embrasures is more dangerous to life than from the wooden sides of a ship. Add to this, that, by the application of steam to ships of war, a concentrated fire from several vessels can be brought to bear on a single bastion; and the flank fire of other bastions can be taken off till the requisite impression is produced on the main point of attack, by the fire of the ships specially charged with that part of the undertaking. On the other hand, a three-decker, which will burn or sink, seems hardly a match for a stone bastion which will neither burn nor sink; and the skill of the Russian engineers has discovered the means of protecting the mouth of the gun, by net-works of ropes and other

defenses, from almost every danger, except round shot of heavy calibre, and left only an aperture a few inches in diameter for the sight of the commander of the gun.

The examples of this species of attack are almost equally divided. Two instances occurred during the war, Instances three after it, but none of them can be considered as altogether decisive. side. Nelson's attack on Copenhagen was an assault on a strong naval line of defense, supported by heavy batteries; but the principal contest was with the ships, and the Trekroner battery was unsubdued at the close. The bombardment of Flushing in 1809 was a joint land and sea operation, which was headed on the latter side by Sir R. Strachan with seven sail of the line; and it was to the effect of the fire of the ships, which was kept up, as the French governor expressed it, "with uncommon vigor," for four hours, that the necessity of capitulating was by him mainly ascribed. The attack on Algiers, in 1816, by Lord Exmouth, was entirely successful, though with very heavy loss; but the besieged there were Turks, not Europeans; and their allowing the English to come in and take up their stations within pistol-shot of the batteries without firing a shot, proved that, however individually brave, the Mussulmans at that period were little skilled in the art of defense. The capture of Acre by Admiral Stopford and Sir Charles Napier was a lucky accident, owing to the casual blowing up of the Egyptian magazine; and that of St. Juan d'Ulloa by Admiral Baudin can hardly be considered as an instance in point, as the defenders of the fortress were Mexican revolutionists, not European soldiers.

During the war in after times with Russia, the instances of this species of warfare present an equally indecisive result. Instances 30. The capture of Bomersund from the present war. can not be ascribed to the navy, for it was effected, not by the ships, but by six guns on shore, planted within 600 yards. The successful bombardment of Sweaborg was effected, with scarcely any loss, by the gun-boats and mortar vessels having artillery on board, which threw shells at 4500 yards into the town when almost beyond the reach of the Russian guns; and as it was, though great damage was done in the inside of the town, not a defense was injured, and hardly a gun dismounted in the place. The failure of the allied fleets with an immense force before Sebastopol on the 17th October, 1854, despite the signal gallantry of Sir Edmund Lyons and the ships under his command, seems a weighty precedent against the possibility of successful naval attack; but it can not be considered decisive, because the shallowness of the water before Fort Constantine compels the vessels to anchor at nine hundred yards' distance, the most advantageous range for land batteries, and the least for naval fire, which is most powerful at short distances. The fort of Kinburn was crushed in an hour by the concentric fire of the allied floating-batteries and mortar-vessels; but the attacking force was there overwhelming, and the Russians had only sixty-six guns on the bastions of the besieged fortress.

Where considerations and precedents are so equally divided, it seems difficult for any one,

28.
Reflections
on the attack
of land de-
fenses by sea
forces.

1 Traite,
Nov. 23,
1838; Ann.
Hist. xxii.
129; App.
to Chron.
and 227;
Cap. x. 15;
L. Blanc, v.
370; Moni-
teur, Dec.
24, 1838.

especially one not professionally versed in such matters, to form a decided opinion on the subject. Possibly experience may, ere long, resolve it one way or other. So far as conclusions can be safely drawn from what has already occurred, it would rather appear that powerful ships of the line, if they can approach *near enough*, are more than a match for the ordinary fortresses hitherto constructed in war; but that, if either they can not get near, or the fortress is defended in the new Russian fashion—that is, with the guns entirely covered save at the mouth, and three guns of the same calibre lying under cover beside each to replace such as may be disabled, and an ample supply of men to supply the gaps of the killed and wounded—the chances are very great that the vessels will be sunk or burned before the batteries are silenced. With regard to bombardment from a *distance* with mortars and bombs, the case seems to be different. If a number of such vessels, propelled by steam, and firing as they move, commence a bombardment at four thousand yards, the mark presented to the land-batteries is so small compared with that to which the fire of the ships is directed, that fifty shots will take effect on the one side for one on the other. This mode of attack, however, leaves the real defenses uninjured, however fatal to the magazines or buildings within range; and even that danger may be avoided, in a military point of view, by having the magazines under bomb-proof cover, or so far off as to be beyond the range of the ships' guns.

The session of 1838 was closed without any further incident, for the state of parties was such as to render any measure of importance impossible. A coalition had been formed between the Gauche and the Centre Gauche, which rendered the majority for Government on any material question doubtful, if not hopeless. When the Chambers met, the coalition presented a very formidable aspect, and the Government received convincing

Dec. 19, 1838. proof of its strength from the divisions on the president's chair. M. Dupin, the Opposition candidate, had 183 votes; M. Passy, the Ministerialist, only 178. A long and animated debate ensued on the Address,

Jan. 21, 1839. and it was carried by a majority only of 13, the numbers being 221 to 208. This majority, however, was so small that it revealed the approaching downfall of the Government, and they resolved accordingly to have recourse to the last resource of a dissolution, which was done by ordonnance of 31st January. But their condition, so far

Mar. 13. from being improved, was rendered much worse by this step, for the calculations made on the result of the elections showed a majority of 50 for the Opposition.^{1*} In these circumstances, the Ministry felt it was all over, and they accordingly threw

* STATISTIQUE DE LA NOUVELLE CHAMBRE, 1838.

Opposition.	Ministerial.
Députés restés. 192	Députés restés. 183
“ nouveaux 62	“ nouveaux 22
254	205

Majorité de l'Opposition, 49.

—CAFEFIGURE, x. 25, 26.

up their situations, and their resignations were finally accepted.

A long and painful interregnum ensued upon this change, which was only at last terminated by another of those insurrections which had so often reunited parties and strengthened the hands of Government. The avowed object of the coalition which had now obtained the command of the Chamber was to force their own policy upon the King, to terminate the individual direction which the capacity of Louis Philippe had for years enabled him to assume, and to realize their favorite maxim, “Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas.” Unwilling as the King was to adopt such a system, he had no alternative, for by no other Ministry than that which embraced it could a majority in the Chamber be obtained; and he accordingly, by the advice of Marshal Mar. 17. Soult, whom he consulted on the occasion, sent for M. Thiers. This aspiring leader of the Centre Gauche, however, was too ambitious, and felt too strongly the advantage of his present position, not to turn it to the best advantage; and the negotiation with M. Guizot and the Doctrinaires broke off from his declining to give that very eminent man the position to which he was entitled in the Ministry.* He submitted to the King a series of propositions as the conditions of his adhesion, which went to change in a fundamental manner the existing system of government. The first was that the King was henceforward to abstain from any direct or personal interference with his Government, and to act only through his responsible Ministers; the second, that a certain qualified interposition in favor of the Liberal Government in Spain was to be permitted; the third, that M. Odillon Barrot was to be selected as President of the Chamber, and M. Dupont de l'Encre obtain a seat in the Court of Cassation. The King, yielding to necessity, was inclined to have accepted these conditions;† but, on the other hand, this concession disconcerted Marshal Soult and M. Guizot, who were by no means inclined to go such lengths in favor of the Gauche, and still clung to the idea that, by means of a skillful selection of Ministers, it might be possible to form a combination of the Centre and Centre Droit, which should command a majority in the Chamber. The result was that the negotiation March 31. with M. Thiers and the Centre Gauche went off; and on the recommendation of M. Guizot and the chiefs of the Doctrinaires, who insisted that a provisional cabinet should be nominated to try the temper of the Chamber on this point,¹ which could not be done without a cabinet, a Min-

* “Si M. Odillon Barrot,” dit M. Guizot, “veut le Ministère de l'Intérieur, je le lui cède, à condition qu'on me donnera la Présidence de la Chambre. Est-ce trop exiger? La coalition a trois chefs, et j'en suis un: il y a trois grandes positions à occuper, et je ne demande que celle dont MM. Barrot et Thiers ne voudront pas; rien de plus légitime.”—LOUIS BLANC, v. 396.

† “Mon cher M. Thiers,—J'ai été appelé ce matin par le Roi, au moment où vous m'adressiez votre lettre: le Roi accepte toutes les conditions du programme, qui lui a été remis. J'ai même été étonné, d'après ce qui s'était passé hier, de trouver sa Majesté dans une disposition semblable.”—Marschal SOULT à M. THIERS, March 20, 1839. CAFEFIGURE, x. 30.

Ministerial crisis, and attempt to form a Liberal Administration.

Mar. 17.

1 Moniteur, March 31, 1839; Ann. Hist. xxii. 102, 103; Cap. x. 32, 33.

istry avowedly temporary only was appointed.*

The position of the interim cabinet, when the Chamber met again, was not such as to inspire any well-founded hope that a government formed of the Centre and Droite could command a majority. On the 16th April a division took place on the question of the presidency of the Chamber, and on that occasion the Conservatives voted for M. Passy, in the hope of detaching him from the Gauche; and the manoeuvre proved so far successful that he obtained 225 votes, while M. Odillon Barrot had only 193. In consequence of this division, a fresh attempt was made to form a Ministry, from which both M. Guizot and M. Odillon Barrot were excluded. M. Thiers was Minister for Foreign Affairs. This arrangement was very near succeeding; and on 29th April the Carrousel was filled with a crowd expecting to see the new Ministers, for whom carriages were in waiting, make their entry to the Tuileries. But the hours passed, and no one appeared; and at length M. Dupin announced that the negotiation had broken off from the parties, through mutual jealousy, being unable to agree on a president of the council, without whom neither would have a majority in the Cabinet. Upon this every thing was thrown adrift, and the public anxiety redoubled. "At the time of the contest of Pitt and Fox," said the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "England was some weeks without a Ministry, and the crisis would have continued longer, had not George III., worn out with their difficulties, declared he would go to Charing Cross, and take for Ministers the first seven gentlemen he met." Possibly Louis Philippe might have been reduced to a similar necessity, had not the crisis been terminated by an unexpected event,

which diffused general consternation, and for a time stifled the jealousy of parties by the dread of another revolution.¹

Unknown to the police, unsuspected by the Government, a society had long existed in Paris, which was of the more dangerous character that its proceedings were conducted with secrecy and caution. It began in 1834, after the suppression of the insurrections of that year. It was entirely military in its organization and plans, and proposed to overturn the Government, not by the press or influencing opinion, but by force, kept carefully concealed till the moment for action had arrived. The better to conceal its designs, it was styled *La Société des Familles*, and professed to be entirely occupied with projects of mutual succor and assistance. Like all the other secret societies of that period, it obeyed the orders of an unseen and unknown authority. The unit of the association consisted of six members, who received the name of a "family;" six families, which obeyed one chief, formed a "section;" and three sections formed a "quarter." The

chiefs of the "quarters" took their instructions from a "revolutionary agent," who was the instrument for conveying the orders of an unknown committee which directed the whole. The operations of this secret society had been so vigorous, that in the beginning of 1836 it contained twelve hundred men, for the most part of the most intrepid and dangerous character. It had collected several dépôts of ammunition, and formed dangerous ramifications in two of the regiments stationed in Paris.^{1*}

In spite, however, of all the precautions taken to insure entire secrecy, the police got a clew to this association; several of its chiefs were arrested, and an attempt at open insurrection failed. The society in consequence was dissolved, and its members reunited in a new one under the name of the *Société des Saisons*, which professed to be entirely occupied with fruits and flowers, and the varied productions of the earth in all seasons. In that society, which, like the former, was entirely of a military character, it was determined, on the motion of M. Martin Bernard, to have frequent reviews of the forces of the society, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, always in the dark, and with the utmost secrecy, without any one knowing, till an hour before the orders were given, where they were to meet. It was resolved also that there should be no dépôts of ammunition, which only excited suspicion, and were liable to detection; but that when the moment for action had arrived, it should be dis-

* The oath taken by the entrants into this society was in these terms: "Au nom de la République, je jure haine éternelle à tous les Rois, à tous les Aristocrates, à tous les oppresseurs de l'humanité. Je jure dévouement absolu au Peuple, fraternité à tous les hommes, haine les aristocrates. Je jure de punir les traîtres. Je promets de donner ma vie, de monter sur l'échafaud, si ce sacrifice est nécessaire pour amener le règne de la souveraineté du peuple et de l'égalité. Que je sois puni de la mort des traîtres, que je sois percé de ce poignard, si je viole mon serment."—*Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes*, II. 56; and CAPEFIGUE, x. 48, note.

Those about to be initiated were subjected to the following interrogatories: "Que penses-tu du Gouvernement actuel?—Qu'il est traître au peuple de ce pays. Dans quel intérêt fonctionne-t-il?—Dans celui d'un petit nombre de privilégiés. Quels sont aujourd'hui les aristocrates?—Ce sont les hommes d'argent, les banquiers, les fournisseurs, monopoleurs, gros propriétaires, agitateurs; en un mot, les exploités qui s'enrichissent aux dépens du peuple. Quel est le droit en vertu duquel ils gouvernent?—La force. Quel est le vice dominant dans la société?—L'égoïsme. Qu'est ce qui tient lieu d'honneur, de probité, de vertu?—L'argent. Quel est l'homme qui est estimé dans le monde?—Le riche et le puissant. Quel est celui qui est méprisé, persécuté, et mis hors la loi?—Le pauvre et le faible. Que penses-tu du droit d'octrui, des impôts sur le sel, et sur les boissons?—Ce sont des impôts odieux, destinés à pressurer le peuple en épargnant les riches. Qu'est ce que le peuple?—Le peuple est l'ensemble des citoyens qui travaillent. Comment est-il traité par les lois?—Il est traité en esclave. Quel est le sort du prolétaire sous le gouvernement des riches?—Le sort du prolétaire est semblable à celui du serf et du nègre; sa vie n'est qu'un long tissu de misères, de fatigues, et de souffrances. Quel est le principe qui doit servir de base à une société régulière?—L'égalité. Faut-il faire une révolution politique, ou une révolution sociale?—Il faut faire une révolution sociale. Nos tyrans ont proscrit la Presse et l'Association, c'est pourquoi notre devoir est de nous associer avec plus de persévérance que jamais, et de suppléer à la Presse par la propagande de vive voix, car les armes que les oppresseurs nous interdisent sont celles qu'ils redoutent le plus, et que nous devons surtout employer."—CAPEFIGUE, *Dis. Ans de Louis Philippe*, x. 53, 54.

* Ministère du 31 Mars, 1839: M. Gasparin, Pair de France, Ministre de l'Intérieur; Girod de l'Ain, Pair de France, Justice et Cultes; Le Duc de Montebello, Affaires Étrangères; General Dupont Cubières, Guerre; M. Parant, Instruction Publique; M. Gautier, Finances.—*Moniteur*, 31st March, 1839.

tributed in small quantities by trusty agents to the members in their march to their different rallying-points. Manufactories of cartridges, however, were going on, and one was discovered in 1838 by the police; but so skillfully was the design managed, that they got no clew to the chiefs or centre of the conspiracy. In April, 1839, the society had one thousand armed men on its rolls, and twelve thousand cartridges distributed in small magazines, and it was directed by Armand Barbès, an enthusiastic, chivalrous young man; Martin Bernard, a resolute, determined soldier; Blanqui, an ardent conspirator, and several other persons of lesser note but similar character. Such was the spirit with which they were animated, that the cry was unanimous among the conspirators for

1 L. Blanc, v. 411, 412; Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, ii. 30-41.

immediate action, and not a doubt remained among them that decisive success would attend their first insurrection.

The insurrection began on the 12th of May, the conspirators calculating, not without reason, that during the interregnum of the Ministry the resistance of Government could not be so formidable as might otherwise be apprehended. The insurrectionists assembled first in the Rue l'Abbé, where a gunsmith's shop was broken open, and the corps were speedily armed. Followed by a band of devoted followers, Barbès moved, amidst cries of "Vive la République" and the chorus of the "Marseillaise," to the Palais de Justice, where he summoned the officer in command to surrender, and upon his refusal he was shot dead. The post was then carried; but the alarm being now given, the prefecture of police was put in a posture of defense, and troops began to arrive from all sides. By a sudden rush, however, the conspirators succeeded in making themselves masters of the Hôtel de Ville, where Barbès with a loud and firm voice read his proclamation. At the same time a bold attack made them masters of the Place St. Jean, and the united corps proceeded to the Mairie of the 7th Arrondissement. But the troops and National Guard now crowded in on all sides; the alarm was spread through the whole town, the *générale* beat in all the streets; the conspirators feeling their enterprise hopeless, gradually slipped off, and at length they were reduced to three hundred, who retreated into the narrow streets in the neighborhood of the Rue Transnonain and the Clôître de St. Méri. In the midst of their blood-stained pavements the "Marseillaise" was heard chanted in mournful strains, and the utmost efforts were made to strengthen the position. Three barriers were erected in the Rue Trinitat; but the conspirators in raising them only dug their own graves. They were speedily surrounded on all sides, and forced to surrender. The chiefs were nearly all wounded; Barbès was taken with his hands black with powder, and his figure covered with blood from a wound in his head.*

The immediate effect of this audacious enterprise was to terminate the ministerial crisis. Matters had become too serious to admit of any further delay; the jealousies of chiefs, the ambition of parties, yielded to the stern reality of

danger.¹ The *bourgeoisie*, terrified for their property, and disquieted by these repeated and alarming breaches of the public peace, rallied, as they had so often done before, around the throne. The King felt the necessity of a firm and intrepid ministry, with an undaunted soldier at its head, and he was not long of forming it. On the very day on which the insurrection broke out, and before the firing had ceased in the streets, an ordonnance was signed, appointing Marshal Soult President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Duchatel Minister of the Interior, and M. Villemain Minister of Public Instruction.* Neither M. Guizot nor M. Thiers were in the Ministry, which, doubtless, diminished its strength; but the jealousy of these two rival chiefs had become such that the one could not be admitted without alienating the adherents of the other, and both aspiring to the lead, would accept no inferior situation. The Cabinet was formed by a combination of the *Moniteur*, *May 13, 1839*; *Cap. x. 32*, *39*.
tre with the *Doctrinaires* and a small fraction of the *Centre Gauche*.¹

M. VILLEMMAIN, who was now for the first time brought forward in the important situation of Minister of Public Instruction, was a man who had risen to eminence chiefly from the brilliant works with which he had adorned the literature of France. A peer of France, and attached both by family and connections to aristocratic society, he yet depended mainly on popular support, and was passionately desirous of retaining the suffrages of the reading multitude. He had all the sensitiveness to criticism and love of praise which is so often the accompaniment of genius, especially of a poetic or romantic kind. While this turn of mind, however, rendered his literary works charming, and eminently qualified him to produce the beautiful sketches of French literature during the eighteenth century, and of contemporary character, which have given such celebrity to his name, it in a great degree impeded his ability as a minister, by producing a nervous apprehension of the press, and a feminine desire of approbation inconsistent with the insensibility to every thing but the calls of duty, which forms the noblest feature of the masculine character, and is more than any thing called for in a minister of state in troubled times. He had acquired great popularity at the tribune of the Peers by his eloquent declamations in favor of the independence of Poland, and against the laws of September, 1834, but on that very account he was the less qualified to have a share in holding the helm in troubled times. Like Mr. Canning, he looked more to the immediate applause of the newspapers than to the ultimate consequences of his actions, or the lasting opinion of thinking men—a weakness common to him with most others who live on the breath of public applause, and one which so often disqualifies literary men from taking a place pro-

* Président du Conseil et Secrétaire des Affaires Etrangères, *Maréchal Soult*; Garde des Sceaux et Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes, *M. Teste*; Guerre, *General Schneider*; Marine et Colonies, *l'Amiral Duperré*; Intérieur, *M. Duchatel*; Commerce, *M. Cunin-Gridaine*; Travaux Publics, *M. Dufréne*; Instruction Publique, *M. Villemain*; Finances, *M. Passy*.—*Moniteur*, May 13, 1839.

portioned to their genius in the government of mankind.

The formation of this Cabinet, in a manner, cast the parties in the Chamber in a new mould, and drew the line more distinctly and irrevocably between them. M. Thiers became the avowed leader of the Gauche and Centre Gauche, and be aspired to nothing less than the premiership, with a cabinet of his own formation, including M. Odillon Barrot. It was foreseen that the age and infirmities of Marshal Soult would disable him from long holding his present arduous post, and at any rate he was more a man of action than words, and better fitted to subdue an insurrection in the streets by grape-shot than win a majority in the Chamber by persuasive language. M. Guizot was the man to whom the Conservatives of all shades in the Legislature now looked to form the future head of an anti-revolutionary cabinet, and combat democracy in the Chamber, and with its own weapons of declamation and eloquence. The press followed this now decided line of demarcation of parties. The *National* declaimed violently against the ministerialists, and accused M. Odillon Barrot of having deserted his principles, and become lakewarm in the cause of democracy, since he had the prospect of a place in the Cabinet, and the *Siècle* and *Courrier Français* in vain defended his cause. But meanwhile the Liberals, who made this violent assault on M. Odillon Barrot, were themselves attacked in rear by a set of journals (the *Moniteur Republicain*, and *l'Homme Libre*) still more violent, which spoke the voice of the "Société des Familles" and the "Société des Saisons," and openly aspired to overturn the Government and establish a republic. The *Constitutionnel* and *Temps* feebly defended MM. Dufaure, Passy, and Teste, and the Liberal part of the Cabinet—while the *Journal des Debats* and *La Presse* openly supported the new

Cabinet, as they had done that of Count Molé, with undiminished vigor and no small share of ability.¹

The Chamber of Peers was, by an ordonnance of 14th May, 1839, charged with the trial of the parties accused of access to the late revolt, and the proceedings commenced on the 27th June. Armand Barbès, Martin Bernard, Bonnet, and fifteen others, were first brought to trial, and the proceedings soon ran into that violent and impassioned duel between the opposite parties, which all the state trials of France at that period became. Barbès, with generous enthusiasm, took upon himself the whole blame of the proceeding, and strove only to exculpate his companions in arms. "I declare," said he, "that all the citizens, at three o'clock on the 12th May, were ignorant of our project of attacking the Government. They had been assembled by the committee without being informed of the reason of their convocation. They believed they were coming to a review, and it was only on arriving at the ground, whither we had previously sent ammunition and arms, that I put weapons into their hands, and gave them the signal to march. These citizens then were hurried away, forced by moral influence to follow that order. According to me, they are innocent. For my own part, I desire to take no benefit by this

declaration. I declare that I was one of the chiefs of the association—I admit that I gave the order for the combat, and prepared the means of its execution—I admit that I took part in it, and fought against the troops; but while I assume on myself the entire responsibility of the general acts, I deny that I am responsible for acts which I neither counseled nor approved. Among these is the death of Lieutenant Drouineau, of which I am specially accused. That is an act of which I am incapable. I did not slay M. Drouineau; had I done so, it should have been in open combat, as in the days of chivalry. I am no assassin—that is all I have to say. When an Indian falls into the hands of his enemy, he does not think of defending himself—he gives up his head to be scalped.” “The accused,” said M. Pasquier, “had reason on his side when he compared himself to a savage.” “The pitiless savage,” resumed Barbea, “is not he who gives his head to
1 L. Blanc,
v. 419, 420.

In these circumstances it was evident that the only question on which there could be any dispute was the accession of the accused to the death of Lieutenant Drouineau—as all the rest was admitted, and could not be denied, for they were taken with arms in their hands fighting against the Government. It was very material, however, to obtain a conviction of this offense, because murder was a crime which, unlike treason, it was understood the King could not pardon. After a long trial Barbès was found guilty of insurrection against the State, and “voluntary homicide committed with premeditation.” He was in consequence sentenced to death, and the other accused to long periods of confinement, from five to twenty years. The utmost efforts were immediately made by the family of Barbès, which was in the highest degree respectable, to obtain a commutation of his punishment; but there was much difficulty felt on this point, as, however the Sovereign might pardon attempts on his own life, it was very doubtful how far he was entitled to do the same with the murderer of another. The Council of State were divided on the subject, and the majority were inclined to let the law take its course. At length, however, by the intercession of the Duke of Orleans, at whose feet the sister of Barbès had thrown herself, the King was so far strengthened as to feel authorized to give way to those humane feelings which formed so bright a feature in his character. The sentence of death against Barbès was commuted first into forced labor for life, and then into imprisonment for the same term in the prison of Mont St. Michel, on the coast of Normandy. Blanqui, another leader of the conspiracy, with eighteen others, were afterward tried before the same court, and sentenced, the first to death, the rest to long periods of imprisonment. The capital sentence against the first was in like manner commuted, by the clemency of the King, into confinement for life in the state prison of Mont St. Michel. There, in the solitary chambers which the austerity of the monks in the dark ages had formed for the voluntary infliction of expiatory discipline,

did these gallant but deluded men mourn incessantly over their fallen prospects, amidst a silence broken only by the ceaseless surge of the waves by which they were surrounded on the iron-bound rock on which their prison was built.

This conspiracy threw a light on the attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strasbourg in the close of the preceding year, and the obstinacy with which the Belgian revolutionists had braved the hostility of combined Europe, rather than relax their hold of a territory containing only three hundred thousand inhabitants in Limbourg and Luxembourg. Both looked for an outbreak at Paris, which, although directed to different objects from either, would have operated as a powerful auxiliary to both. Yet were the designs of Barbès, Blanqui, and the conspirators of the 12th of May, in reality more at variance with those of the young scion of the Imperial house than even with those of the Government on the throne. Their ideas were an amplification of those of Robespierre and St. Just, but without the belief of the latter in the necessity of blood to cement the social edifice. They had embraced the views of Babouff in the conspiracy in 1797, which so severely tried the Directory; but they were influenced by more humane and philanthropic principles. Their code was founded on a misapplication of that of Christian morality. They applied to the social concerns of men, and the foundations of civil society, the words which our Saviour delivered as a guide for private life, and to combat the innate and universal selfishness of human nature. "The last shall be first, and the first last," they thought was intended to designate, not the next world, but this; and the great object of legislation, in their opinion, in consequence, should be to bring society toward that desirable consummation. They openly inculcated, as a corollary from these principles, the abolition of all gradations of rank, of all capital, and of the invidious distinction of property. All should be equal; and to insure the continuance of that equality, all possessions should be equally divided, and never permitted to accumulate in the hands of one more than in another. The first precept of the Gospel, they observed, was "to sell all your goods and give to the poor." These doctrines are very remarkable, and they heralded another revolution, very different in principle from that of 1789, but perhaps still more formidable in practice. The world was far from the infidel and irreligious spirit which ushered in the first great convulsion: "LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ," was still the principle; but men now founded that principle, not on the denial, but on the misinterpretation, of the doctrines of the Gospel.¹

While the enthusiastic democrats of Paris were thus laying the foundation of the revolution, which, nine years after, overturned the throne, the partisans of Napoleon were not less active in strengthening their own party, and preparing the way for that still more marvelous change, which enabled him to reap the whole fruits of the coming convulsion. In their anxiety to propitiate the Liberal majority in the Cham-

bers, the Government unconsciously favored the growth of the feelings which were favorable to the imperial dynasty. A pension of 100,000 francs (£4000) a year was settled, with the cordial approbation of the Chamber, on the widow of Murat; monuments were every where erected or designed to perpetuate the memory of the glories of the Empire. The press cautiously, but assiduously, inculcated the same ideas; and the very remarkable work of Prince Louis, *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*, in a skillful manner favored them, by representing the incessant wars, which were the chief reproach against his memory, as a temporary and painful effort to secure that general and lasting peace which was the grand object of his desire. "Napoleon," it was said, "was always the friend of peace; he was the protector of commerce and industry: it was for this he waged war with England, the eternal oppressor of both: he was the civilizer of the world; the most pacific and liberal sovereign that ever reigned. It was for the interests of real freedom that he suppressed the Tribunal, its worst enemy, and chased the deputies who had betrayed it through the windows of St. Cloud. If he went to Moscow, it was that he might conquer the peace of the world in the Kremlin; if he sacrificed millions of soldiers, it was because that peace could be purchased at no lower price." These ideas were not only sedulously inculcated in *Le Capitole*, a journal specially devoted to the Napoleon interests, but in several other publications, both in France and foreign states. The report was carefully circulated in secret, and therefore the more readily believed, that Prince Napoleon was in reality supported by Austria, Russia, and Great Britain; and in a pamphlet published at this time, which made a considerable sensation, it was openly asserted that the existing Government was incapable of providing for the security, prosperity, and glory of France, and that the Napoleon dynasty alone was equal to its requirements. Prince Louis at this time addressed a letter to the editor of the *Times*, in which he solemnly disclaimed any connection with the enterprise of Barbès, and declared that, if his friends engaged in any attempt in his favor, he would be found at its head.¹

While future events, however, were in this manner "casting their shadows before," the government of Louis Philippe was in the mean time greatly strengthened by the insurrection in Paris and defeat of Barbès. The question of the secret-service money came on for discussion on May 28th, a fortnight after the suppression of the revolt, and the sum of 1,200,000 francs (£48,000), proposed by Government, was carried by a majority of 262 to 71. It was, however, a reduction of 500,000 francs (£20,000) on the vote of the preceding year. This majority, on what was always the trying question for Ministers, confirmed them in office for the remainder of the session, and they were careful not to shake the advantage they had gained, by bringing forward any measure on which their majority might be less decided.² Railway lines, then so much the object of interest, soon succeeded, and absorbed the principal at-

¹ Cap. x. 49, 50. misinterpretation, of the doctrines of the Gospel.¹

² While the enthusiastic democrats of Paris were thus laying the foundation of the revolution, which, nine years after, overturned the throne, the partisans of Napoleon were not less active in strengthening their own party, and preparing the way for that still more marvelous change, which enabled him to reap the whole fruits of the coming convulsion. In their anxiety to propitiate the Liberal majority in the Cham-

^{45.} Cap. x. 57. increased strength of the Government.
58; Vie de L. Napoleon, par Lespes, i. 33.

An. Hist. xiii. 111-113.

tention of the Chamber, before which no other question of general domestic interest was brought during the remainder of the session.

Foreign affairs, however, were now beginning to occupy a large share of public at-
 46. tention, and debates, fraught with
 Debate on the the deepest interests of humanity,
 affairs of the East. and prophetic of future changes,

took place on that all-important subject. Turkey had, at that period, been reduced to the last straits, in consequence of the victories of Ibrahim Pasha in Asia Minor, and the refusal of England and France to render her any aid, when applied to for succor, when the victorious Egyptian legions threatened Constantinople in 1832. The result had been, that Russia gave the required assistance, and extorted, as the price of it, the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which excluded all ships of war, except the Russian and Turkish, from the Black Sea, and converted its waters into a Muscovite lake.¹

The Western Powers had become sensible, when it was too late, of their extreme folly in thus throwing Turkey into the arms of Russia; and each was endeavoring to repair it, and regain its lost influence in the Levant—France by supporting Mehemet Ali in his Syrian conquests, England by upholding the decaying Ottoman empire against its southern enemy, so as to avoid all pretense for any further interference on the part of the colossus of the north.

The system supported by the French Cabinet was to leave every thing in *statu quo*
 47. Lamartine's in the Levant, neither disturbing the
 speech on the Russians in their influence at Con-
 subject. stantinople, nor Ibrahim in his Syrian conquests. This policy met with a powerful opponent in Lamartine. "I understand," said he, "the system of *statu quo* for the integrity of the Ottoman empire before the treaties with Russia in 1774, 1792, and 1813—before the annihilation of the Turkish navy in 1827 at Navarino, that act of national madness of France and England for the benefit of Russia. But after the conquest of the Crimea by Catherine—after the Russian protectorate of Wallachia and Moldavia—after the emancipation of Greece, and its occupation by your troops, and the millions of subsidies you have still to pay to uphold its independence—after the subjection of the Black Sea to the Russians, and the erection of Sebastopol, where the Muscovite fleets are only twenty-four hours' sail from Constantinople—after the treaties of Adrianople, Unkiar-Skelessi, and Kutaya, and the dismemberment of the half of the empire by Mehemet Ali and yourselves, who protect him—after all this, to speak of the *statu quo* is, allow me to say, as ridiculous as to speak of the existence of Polish nationality. What! are you about to arm for the *statu quo* of the Turkish empire, which is essential, you say, to the security of Europe, when that *statu quo* is the dismemberment, the annihilation, the agony of the empire which you pretend to support? Be, then, consistent, and if Turkey is as material to you as you say it is, go to the support, not of the revolt in Syria, but of the imperial government at Constantinople. Lend your counsels, your engineers, your officers, your fleets, to the support of the generous efforts of Sultan Mahmoud to civilize his people;

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aid him to crush Ibrahim, and to recover Egypt, and all the parts of his empire which are now detaching themselves from it. Instead of this, what are you told to do? Arm for the *statu quo*. That is to say, spend the blood and treasure of France to maintain what? Turkey in Europe and Constantinople, under the power of Russia; Turkey in Asia, under the sabre of Ibrahim and the usurpation of Mehemet.

"Are the Crimea and the shores of the Black Sea, covered with Russian fleets and military establishments, the Turkish
 48. Continued. empire? Are Wallachia and Moldavia, chained by the Russian protectorate, and where an Ottoman soldier does not dare to set his foot? Is it to be found in Serbia, which has three times defeated the Turkish armies, and is now rapidly growing under the shade of liberty and the protection of its illustrious chief, Prince Milosch, the Washington of the East? Is it to be sought for in the four millions of Bulgarians, the Greeks of Epirus or Macedonia, or in the Peloponnesus or the Isles, torn by yourselves from the Turkish empire? In fine, are you to look for it in Cyprus, with its forty thousand Christian inhabitants, and sixty Turks in garrison; or in Syria, with its infinite diversity of races; or in Egypt, Candia, Arabia, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, which are all now more or less independent, and some of which you yourselves have wrested from the Ottomans? No! All these splendid territories must be deducted from the Turkish empire—that is to say, you must subtract three-fourths of its extent. What remains? Constantinople—the finest site for a capital, and the finest situation in the world, but on that very account the most coveted—pressed on one side by the mouth of the Black Sea, where the Russians can debouch any hour they please, and on the other by the entrance into the Archipelago, where the English and French fleets may any day find an entrance. A capital without a territory, and constantly besieged—that is the true state of the Ottoman empire. And in that capital we have an emperor, heroic, but powerless, contemplating the insolent intrigues of the powers who are disputing beforehand the spoils of his empire. It is the last scene of the Lower Empire, at the time of its overthrow by Mohammed II., a second time on the stage. There is the phantom on which you propose to rest your alliance; there is the pillar which, according to you, is to support the weight of the Russian colossus.

"What is to be done in these critical circumstances, when the fate of the world,
 49. Continued. in a manner, hangs in the balance? We must take the initiative in the contest which is about to ensue. It is in vain to expect any thing from the Arab domination. It was bold after victories, but it had neither a base nor a future. A hero is not there, as in the West, an expression of a people; he is a meteor, a speciality, which appears for a moment amidst the surrounding darkness, only to render it more impenetrable; a man who does great things with the thousand of slaves who surround him, but does nothing to elevate the level of the people below him; who founds nothing, neither an institution, nor a dynasty, nor a legislation, and of whom it may be said that, in dying, he folds up all his greatness round

himself, as he folds up and lays by his tent. Such, and no more, is Ibrahim Pasha. If to this you add the age of Mehemet Ali, and the health of Ibrahim, broken by war, it becomes evident that the realization of an Arab dynasty is impossible. Even if it should for a moment succeed, the want of all unity among the people subjected to its power, the internal divisions and revolts always ready to break out, would put insurmountable obstacles in the way of a new empire. Yes! your Arab empire would have all the vices of the Ottoman empire, without its legitimacy; it would not subsist a day beyond the terror which has founded it.

50. "The system of *statu quo* would turn entirely to the advantage of England, mistress of the Mediterranean, of the mouth of the Nile, and of the Red Sea, those great stations on the road to India. It is not for a moment to be thought of. But, without abandoning the English alliance, our policy in the East may be European, by supporting a partition of influence and territory among Russia, France, Austria, and England, who have an interest in and right to it. We should open a congress immediately, and negotiate on these principles; but if time presses, as it probably will, we should positively refuse to attack the fleet of the Sultan, and immediately take possession of some military station in the Levant, such as England possesses in Malta, and Russia in the Black Sea. By so doing we would acquire a commanding voice in the negotiations; in a word, gain what Casimir Périér did by seizing Ancona. The *statu quo* can never be maintained in the East, but, far from being alarmed, we should be rejoiced in the interest of humanity at the progress of civilization; for, rest assured, the first cannon-shot fired on the Euphrates will not be a signal of distress; it will be the signal which will call its different populations to liberty, to life, to organization, to industry, and open to

1 *Moniteur*, July 2, 1839; 2 *An. Hist.* France a sphere of action worthy xxii. 187, 189. of itself."

It required all the talent and influence of the Ministry to withstand those eloquent arguments, which acquired additional force from the intimate acquaintance of M. Lamartine with the East, and the halo which his genius had shed over its romantic scenes. M. Villemain, however, made the attempt, and with much ability. "The conclusion," said he, "to which the eloquent speaker who has last addressed you has arrived, does not correspond either with the brilliancy of his exordium or his splendid ideas for the regeneration of the East. To what does it all amount? To this, that we should imitate Casimir Périér, and seek another Ancona in the East, from whence we might have a commanding voice in the approaching partition of the Turkish empire. Such a project can not for a moment be entertained. It would render necessary the entire remodeling of the territorial divisions of Europe, and would itself be a measure of such obvious and flagrant injustice as, like the partition of Poland, could not fail to recoil on the heads of all the states concerned in the spoliation. A general war would in all probability arise in the division of the mighty spoil, and even if the ambition and pretensions of rival

states were adjusted at the moment, such a measure would leave the seeds of eternal discord and jealousies in all the states that had engaged in it.

"We all see the difficulties, perhaps insurmountable by human wisdom, with which the question of the East is enveloped; and the question really is not whether any particular plan that may be proposed is open to objection, but whether every other is not liable to still greater. Viewed in every light, it will be found that the proposition advanced by the Government is the safest one on the subject; and that proposition amounts to this, 'Great events are about to ensue in the East: an empire may be about to perish; it may survive, it may endure for a long time; let us be prepared for all the chances.' The eloquent speaker, who has such advantages in this debate, from having seen so much, and retained so much in his memory, and possessing such power of bringing it forth at the proper moment—is he aware how much of vitality there is, even amidst apparent decay, in every people? Has he been at Varna—has he been at Schumla? Has he seen how long the military genius of Europe, directing the military strength and enduring courage of the Russians, has been arrested before the weak walls of Varna and Schumla, defended by the intrepid Mussulmans? There is still the remains of a great power. The day when it should be attempted to tear up the Turks from the soil which they occupy—the day when you invade the tombs of their fathers and the mosques of their Prophet—may be the day when a great insurrection will burst forth on both sides of the Bosphorus, and possibly you may resuscitate the people in the midst of the ruins in which you would bury them.

"It is not proposed to set Europe at defiance; no one wishes to engage in such a desperate project for the nationality of a people. God forbid, however, that in the anticipations which are common to us all, I do not foresee a period when great changes are to be brought about. Without interdicting to France the protectorate of Egypt and the East at some future time, it is wiser at present to be regulated chiefly by the experience of the past. The strongest guarantee for the future stability of the Turkish empire does not suppose any intention to restore to it that which time, force, or policy may have torn away; it is only meant to declare that such as it is it shall remain, and that no one has a right to tear fresh fragments from it. Are we to embrace the system of giving to him who has the power to take, and, if force is about to overspread the East, are we to open the gates to it? Infinite are the dangers of such a policy; for the power which advances toward the East may turn in another direction. Constantinople is far from central Europe, but Warsaw touches it."

This very interesting debate reveals both the extreme difficulty of the Eastern question, and the state of uncertainty in which the French Government was in regard to the policy which should be pursued concerning it. All the other powers of Europe, including England, were inclined to support the Porte against his rebell-

52. Continued.

53. Concluded.

1 *Moniteur*, July 3, 1839; 2 *An. Hist.* xxii. 190, 191.

54. Marshal Soult's measures in the East.

ious vassal, while France conceived that its interests lay in maintaining the ascendancy which the Pasha of Egypt had acquired. These difficulties were increased by the intelligence received of the sailing of the Turkish fleet from Constantinople, and the resumption of hostilities at land by Ibrahim Pasha. Marshal Soult, to be prepared for any event, sent orders to the French fleet in the Levant to steer for the coast of Syria, and sent M. Caille, his aid-de-camp, to Cairo, to assure Mehemet Ali of the eventual support of France, and to endeavor in the mean time to avert hostilities. He arrived, however, too late; he reached Cairo five days after the battle of Nezib. In the critical circumstances the French Government demanded and obtained from the Chambers a credit of 10,000,000 francs (£400,000), to put the naval armaments on a respectable footing. The necessity of this precautionary measure was so obvious that no serious opposition was or could be made to it, but the debate revealed a very important tendency in the Chamber, which now appeared openly for the first time. This was the desire to intermeddle with the mysteries of diplomacy, and subject the Crown to the direct control of a popular assembly—an innovation fraught with the utmost danger to the ultimate interests of nations. The debate was closed by the following remarks on the part of Government by M. Jouffroy, the reporter of the commission:

“The first consideration on this subject which strikes every one, is the danger of the exclusive occupation of Egypt or Constantinople by any European people; the second, that these two positions are so closely connected together, that to secure Constantinople you must defend it in Egypt, and to secure Egypt you must defend it in Constantinople. These two systems, though plausible, are equally false; the *Ottoman* or *Arab* policy will equally lead to a disaster. The only way to avoid it, is to assemble an European congress, the basis of whose deliberations is to be, that no power is to be permitted to aggrandize itself in the East. The initiative of such a policy belongs to France. It is not timid; it is disinterested. Should the Ottoman empire go to pieces, it can only be a transformation. Death does not authorize the seizure by a stranger of the property of the defunct.”

“This great question and great debate impose on the Cabinet an immense responsibility. In receiving the credit of 10,000,000 francs which the Chamber has voted, the Ministry have contracted a solemn engagement, and that is to enable France, in the affairs of the East, to occupy a position worthy of herself, and which may not cause her to decline from the position which she occupies in Europe. That is a difficult task; the Cabinet feels all its extent and weight. It has only been recently formed; it has not had time to commence those acts which consolidate an administration. But fortune has thrown into its hands an affair so great, that if it directs the Government as becomes France, it will be, we venture to say, the most glorious Cabinet which has governed France since 1830.” The vote of credit passed by a majority of 287 to 26.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xlii. 197, 198.

The difficulties of the Eastern question, sufficiently great in themselves, were much enhanced at this period by an outbreak which occurred in Africa, that could be compared only to the sudden raising of a pillar of sand by the whirlwind of the desert. It almost seemed to justify the assertion of M. Villemain, that if it were attempted to dispossess the Turks from Constantinople, it might produce a storm which would restore the Ottoman power. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, after the storming of Constantine, the dispossessed bey retired into the interior, and the French dominion was pushed farther into the Atlas, particularly to Stora, the ancient Roman station of Rusicada, which was occupied by their troops, Djemillah, the old Roman Colonia, and Setif, the ancient Sitifis and capital. Modern Europe could not advance in Africa but by treading on the footsteps and resting in the stations of the ancient conquerors of the world. These conquests enabled the French to extend their dominions in the south of Algeria in a line, which, going round from Constantine toward the sea, and on the other by the frontier of Tunis to the bay of Stura, embraced a territory amply sufficient for the wants of the colony, and easily susceptible of defense.¹

While the French power was in this manner consolidating in the province of eastern Algeria, the war, in pursuance of the treaty of La Tafna, ceased in the western provinces of Algeria and Oran. It soon appeared, however, that the Arab and the French interpretations of that treaty were very different. The Arab chief, having obtained the provinces allotted to him by it in absolute sovereignty, soon began extending his dominions, laying siege to fortresses, and establishing or dispossessing subordinate emirs, in a way which gave early and serious disquietude to the French Government. Complaints were made on both sides, and on both with much reason: the French complaining of the ceaseless encroachments of the Arabs; the Arabs declaiming on the invasion of the Giaours, and calling on all true believers to rally round the standard of the Prophet. So threatening did affairs become in the province toward the end of 1839, that the Duke of Orleans proceeded to it; disembarked at Algiers on 27th September, and made his entry into Constantine on 11th October. From thence he advanced to Milah, Djemillah, and Setif, where, amidst the remains of the old Roman citadel, he received the homage of the newly-subjected tribes. From thence an expedition under the command of the Prince-Royal and General Galbois was directed to the mountainous ridges of the Atlas, farther in the interior, by the awful passes styled the Iron Gates, which were passed by the French army, which inscribed on the rocks the words “Armée Française, 1839.” The French troops were with great vigor pursuing their conquests, when, on the body of an Arab Chief who had been slain, was found a letter from Abd-el-Kader, calling all the faithful to a holy war against the infidels;² and intelligence was received of a war on a great scale having commenced in

¹ Affairs of Africa after the storm of Constantine.

¹ An. Hist. xlii. 256.

² Their threatening aspect. Oct. 1839.

Oct. 11.

Oct. 25.

² Ann. Hist. xlii. 244-247; Cap. x. 119, 120.

the western provinces, where his authority was chiefly established.

The insurrection proved to be of the most formidable description. From the Straits of Gibraltar almost to the confines of Egypt, a secret league appeared to have been formed, and the French establishments were every where attacked by hordes of Arabs at the same time, and with inconceivable vigor. Several detachments were surprised by clouds of Bedouins, and after an heroic resistance entirely cut off. So sudden was the irruption, so unforeseen the shock, that the French establishments along the whole extent of the coast were wrapped in flames before it was well known that hostilities had commenced. Every where the French were driven back into their fortified posts, and soon reduced to the ground commanded by the guns of their fortresses. Sixty thousand Arabs, with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other, overspread the colony from one end to the other, and Algiers itself beheld their tents in the plain, and their yataghans gleaming in the evening sun.¹

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At the first intelligence of these disasters, the French Government immediately took the most vigorous measures to repair them. Reinforcements to the amount of 12,000 men, 3800 horses, and 1500 mules, with immense stores in ammunition, guns, and material, were forthwith directed with the utmost haste to Toulon, from whence they were hurried over to Africa. By these means the effective force in the field was increased to 40,000 men and 12,000 horses; and the effect of this augmentation speedily appeared. The Arabs retired for the most part before the formidable forces which issued from the sea-ports, and in several detached actions they were worsted.

In particular, on the last day of the year Dec. 31, 1830, a body of 4000 French infantry attacked the regular infantry of Abd-el-Kader, strongly posted on the edge of a ravine which covered their front, and after a sharp action drove them from it with the loss of one gun and 300 men slain. This success, though not on a great scale, was very important as restoring the spirit of the troops, and giving the turn to a long train of disasters.²

The royal family were plunged into grief in the course of this year by the death of the Princess Maria, daughter of the King. Of a pious disposition, and endowed with every feminine virtue, she resembled those saintly characters which, during the violence and bloodshed of the Middle Ages, revealed the blessed effect of higher influences. She had been married some time before to the young Prince of Würtemberg; but she bore in her bosom the seeds of a mortal malady, which, after a lingering illness, brought her to the grave at Pisa in Italy, whither she had been conveyed for the benefit of a milder climate. This event, which was most acutely felt by the whole royal family, by whom she was extremely beloved, revealed the melancholy reality of the slender hold which

the house of Orleans had of the sympathy or affections of the people. A few words only were addressed to the King by the Chamber of Deputies on the melancholy bereavement, and the funeral cortège traversed all France from Mont Cenis to the place of sepulture at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy, without one expression of condolence or sorrow either on the part of the legislature or the people.¹

If this mournful event was of sinister augury as to the loyalty of the French people to the throne, another was equally significant as to the irrecoverable wound which had been inflicted on the peerage, first, by the precedents of creating peers in batches to get over particular difficulties or support a particular administration, and next, from the limitation of those honors *for life*. On 7th November appeared an ordinance elevating to the peerage Generals Cavaignac and Borelli, Count Jules de Rochefoucauld, and several others, nearly all of the second order of merit. It is true, as peerages were now for life only, frequent additions were necessary to keep up their number; but the creation of a number at once, which had now become a usual step with every administration, especially when, as in this instance, they were appointed for political purposes rather than personal merit, tended daily more and more to degrade the Upper Chamber, and utterly destroy its character as an independent branch of the Legislature, a check alike on the encroachments of the Crown and the vehemence of the Commons. It is not a little remarkable that a system so obviously destructive of the most important constitutional bulwarks, and found to be so in France, should on the other side of the Channel have been so earnestly pressed on the Crown, not merely by a great party as a party measure, but by political philosophers at a distance from the sphere of action, and professing the warmest desire for public liberty.²

Seeing the Upper House irrevocably degraded by the system which they themselves had introduced, the Liberal chiefs began to agitate for a great extension of the powers and sphere of action of the Lower. Their efforts were directed chiefly to two objects: 1st. To obtain a great reduction of the electoral franchise, so as to let in a lower class of voters. The different sections of the Liberals, however, were much at variance as to where the line should be drawn: some, among whom were MM. Lafitte, Garnier Pages, and Dupont de l'Eure, contending that it should be fixed at fifty francs (£2) of direct taxes; and others, numbering Odilon Barrot and the majority of the Liberals, inclining for a higher standard at a hundred francs. The Legitimists, represented by the *Gazette de France*, contended that every person who had served in the National Guard, or paid any sum, however small, of direct taxes, should have a vote, resting on the belief that democracy is the passion of the *bourgeoisie*, and that universal suffrage would ere long restore the old influences. In this diversity of opinion no common measure could be agreed on, and a

50. Commencement of the insurrection.

Oct. 20.

Oct. 21.

¹ Cap. x. 120, 121; An. Hist. xxii. 248-250; Moniteur. Oct. 25, 1830.

60.

Vigorous defensive measures and successes of the French.

² Cap. x. 120, 121; An. Hist. xxii. 250-252; Moniteur. Jan. 10, 1840.

61.

Death of the Princess Maria of Würtemberg.

¹ Cap. x. 19, 20.

62. Creation of twenty peers Nov. 7.

² Moniteur. Nov. 7, 1839; Cap. x. 67, 68.

63. Commencement of agitation for a lowering of the suffrage

change was not immediately to be apprehended. But the seed was sown; men began to think and speak on the subject, and the foundation of a revolution was laid, destined, at no great distance
 1 Cap. x. 69, of time, to overturn the throne and
 70: L. Blanc, restore by means of universal suf-
 v. 430-444. frage, the Napoleon dynasty.¹

2d. The second great object of the Liberal party was to obtain for its chiefs a direct control over the measures of Government, especially in diplomatic affairs. By this was meant not merely that they should have the appointment of a ministry, which is the inherent principle of constitutional government, but that they should have a direct control over the measures of the executive, and in the administration of affairs. In a word, they desired to erect the majority of the Chamber into a large cabinet, which was of its own authority, and at its own pleasure, to govern the country. This was the great object of the Liberal chiefs, and it was to effect it that so many combinations were made, and so many administrations of ephemeral endurance formed. M. Thiers in an especial manner was inflamed with the desire to acquire a direct control over the executive in the critical times evidently approaching, when the Eastern question was every day acquiring more colossal proportions, and France seemed to be destined to take an important if not decisive part in the conferences upon which the fate of the world was to depend. Around him, as the great diplomatic chief who was to carry the principles of the Left Centre into the affairs of nations, and open to themselves the
 2 Cap. x. 69, 70, 125; advantages of office and power, the
 L. Blanc, v. 464. various shades of the Liberals out of office were grouped.²

The session of 1839 closed without any further event or discussion of general interest, and that of 1840 commenced with the following speech from the throne: "My relations with foreign nations have maintained that pacific character which the general interest requires. Our flag, in concert with that of Great Britain, and faithful to the spirit of that union, always so advantageous to the interests of the two nations, watches over the security and independence of the Ottoman empire. Our fixed policy is to uphold the integrity of that empire, the preservation of which is essential to the maintenance of general peace. Our efforts have at least succeeded in arresting in the East the course of hostilities which we would willingly have prevented; and how great soever may be the diversity of interest, I entertain a sanguine hope that the accord of the great powers will bring about a pacific solution of the question. A great change has been effected in the situation of Spain, and if I can not yet announce that civil war has entirely ceased, yet the northern provinces are pacified, and the contest has lost the serious character which threatened the throne of Isabella II. In Africa other hostilities have broken out, which call for a decisive repression. Our brave soldiers and cultivators, to whom my son has gone as a pledge of my solicitude, have been perfidiously attacked. The progress of our establishments in Algeria and the province of Constantine is the real cause of

that insensate aggression; it is indispensable that it should be punished, and a renewal of it rendered impossible, in order that nothing may hereafter interrupt the progress of settlements which the French arms are
 1 Moniteur, Dec. 94, 1839: Ann. Hist. xliii. 4, 5. never to quit, and that our allies may find under our flag the most efficacious protection."¹

In the debate on the Address, M. Thiers made a brilliant speech, remarkable as the manifesto of the powerful parliamentary coalition of which he was the head. "I am," he said, "I admit it, a partisan of the English alliance, but that as a man who never forgets what is due to his country. I can not renounce that noble alliance, which is founded not only on the union of material strength, but still more on that of moral principles. When alongside of England, we are not obliged to conceal our standards; they bear as a device, 'Regulated freedom and the liberty of the world.' And on what do the opponents of the English alliance rest? What has been the cause of the profound hatred, the envenomed strife, which has separated France and England? I will tell you in one word. Democracy has exploded in France at one time with a bloody committee at its head, at another led by a great man, Napoleon. It has astonished the world, but at the same time alarmed it; and, as happens always when liberty alarms, an immense power was given to its enemies. Who has sustained the contest which the French democracy had provoked? Naturally that of all aristocracies which was the most powerful, the most rich, the most skillful. Aristocracy also found a great man, Pitt: the English Aristocracy, on behalf of the terrified world, struggled, with a great man at its head, against French democracy with its great man. The strife was dreadful. Napoleon often said, 'I committed one error in my life, an error common to England and me. We might have been allies, and done much for the good of the world. I would have done so if Fox had been at the head of its affairs.' What did that mean, if not that it was the English aristocracy which sustained the contest with Napoleon?"

"But behind that question of principle there was an immense material interest. France had not then abandoned the hope of being a maritime and colonial power of the first order. She had not renounced the brilliant dream of distant possessions. She had desired to get Louisiana, to keep possession of St. Domingo, and even to attempt to effect a settlement in Egypt, of which the avowed object was to threaten the English possessions in India. To what object at that time did we make all our power bend? To coalesce all the nations of Europe against England. There were then good reasons for a desperate strife at that period. But happily nothing of that kind now exists. Moderated revolution governs France; moderated revolution governs England. The strife of interests has become as impossible as that of principles. France has become enlightened as to the true path of her greatness. Who among us now thinks of distant possessions? Whence this change? Because the mind of France has altered—because all the world sees

View of the Liberals as to the government of the executive.

Cap. x. 69, 70, 125; L. Blanc, v. 464.

65. Commencement of the session of 1840: the King's speech.

1 Moniteur, Dec. 94, 1839: Ann. Hist. xliii. 4, 5.

66. Speech of M. Thiers on the Eastern question.

67. Continued.

that our true grandeur is to be found on the Continent.

“Every one in Europe professes a desire for peace, and happily in a firm and decided way. That is the reason that

Continued. Russia can not come to an understanding with us. If the system of partition is impossible, what remains but that of precaution? But the system of precaution—that system which consists in taking a position which might enable us at once to adopt such a line as is consistent with the dignity and interests of France—can be carried into execution only in concert with one nation, and that is England. She is our natural ally in principle, always of importance in Europe, and not less so is she an ally necessary for the policy of observation and precaution. The power most interested in preventing Constantinople being occupied by any European state—the power which has always made the greatest efforts to prevent it—is England. It is no wonder it is so. The danger is at sea. England is a great maritime power, and France is one also. Russia menaces Constantinople from Sebastopol; to meet that danger it is necessary to take a defensive position in the Dardanelles, which communicate with France and England. How is that defensive position to be secured? By an Anglo-French fleet in the Dardanelles, for there we shall find an alliance alike in the object and the means. Russia has no need to hasten the period when she is to touch the shores of the Mediterranean. She already occupies the most beautiful shores of the Black Sea, and although the keys of that sea are to be found in Constantinople, yet they are there held by weak and feeble hands, entirely under her control. Russia, therefore, has no need to accelerate matters; her only interest is to prevent those keys falling into younger and more vigorous hands. Where are those younger and more vigorous hands to be found? Clearly in the Pasha of Egypt, and in him alone.

60. Concluded. “The Pasha, however, does not desire the perilous honor of guarding those Straits. He knows that if he attempted it, Russia would be there before him: 1833 has taught him that lesson. He knows that to provoke it would be to hasten the partition of the Turkish empire and his own ruin. There is no need, therefore, of trepidation or haste in the Eastern question—there is time to conduct it with prudence, deliberation, and skill. The course to be pursued is quite simple; it consists in placing a combined French and English fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and having done so, not to substitute PREMATURELY for the question at issue between the Sultan and the Pasha, the question of Europe. The Pasha demands an hereditary right to Egypt and Syria; that is a mere word. Turkey is not in a condition to reconquer them—she should not, therefore, wish to do so. It is necessary that Turkey, as she did with Greece, should make the sacrifice of Egypt and Syria. The victory of Nezib—the defection of the fleet—has decided the question. The death of Sultan Mahmoud has removed the most implacable enemy of the Pasha.¹ Nothing is wanting for the entire pacification of the East but the cession, in hereditary right,

of those provinces which are already his *de facto*, and by the right of conquest.”

It is one of the most interesting things in history to observe how great combinations are anticipated in the thoughts of far-seeing men—how on the much more rapidly do events succeed each other in the realms of ideas than on the theatre of real life. One would have imagined from these words of M. Thiers, that the great alliance between England and France, which afterward worked such wonders in the East, was on the point of being formed, and yet thirteen years elapsed before it took place, and in the interim England and France were three times on the verge of a serious war! M. Thiers the Minister proved very different from M. Thiers the leader of the Opposition. In the mean time, however, all went on smoothly. The Address, which re-echoed the speech, was carried by a majority of 212 to 43; and the King made a gracious answer, which concluded with these words: “The concurrence of the three powers for the prosperity, the strength, and the dignity of France has always been the object of my most anxious solicitude. It is thus that can alone be displayed, *without and within*, the salutary action of the constitutional monarchy which we have all sworn to maintain. Your loyal and patriotic adhesion is a new pledge to me of the support which my Government will find in you for the true interests of the country, which are inseparable from the rights and the ascendancy of authority.”¹

These flattering appearances, however, were entirely fallacious. The Chamber was not inclined to support the Ministry; they were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to overturn it. A coalition, of which M. Thiers was the head, had been formed between the Left and the Left Centre, which calculated upon possessing a small majority in the Deputies; but they were for some time at fault, from a difference of opinion as to the question on which the trial of strength should take place. At length, it was agreed to make it on the settlement to be made on the Duke de Nemours, between whom a marriage had been arranged and the Princess Victoire Auguste Antoinette de Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, sister of the King of Portugal, niece of the King of the Belgians, and cousin of Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. The high connections of the bride, who was in her nineteenth year, and very pleasing, rendered the marriage a great object to Louis Philippe, and he proposed, as a suitable settlement for the young couple, a grant of 500,000 francs (£20,000) a year. This income, which was not more than many English noblemen enjoy, was vehemently objected to by all shades of Liberals, and it was resolved to make the debate on it their *cheval de bataille* against the Government. Africa was at stake from the insurrection of Abd-el-Kader; the fate of the East hung in the balance on the solution of the Eastern question; but it was not on either that a coalition of the Liberals of France could be formed.² That could be effected in a bourgeois-
elected legislature only by a pitiful

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 28, 1839; *Ann. Hist.* xlii. 63-67; *L. Blanc*, v. 486, 486.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xxiii. 112; *Moniteur*, 24th Dec., 1839.

² Marriage of the Duke de Nemours and the Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

¹ *Cap. x.* 150-152; *Ann. Hist.* xxxiii. 128, 159.

combination against the marriage-settlement of the second son of their sovereign.

It must be admitted, however, that there was a great deal to say against the proposed settlement; and if it was unworthy of the Legislature of a great nation to hold out on such an occasion against the request of the King, it was not less ill-judged on his part to make that request. By a law passed on 4th March, 1832, it had been declared that in case of the insufficiency of the private domain of the King, the provisions for his sons should fall on the State. This necessarily gave the Chamber a title to inquire whether the private domain of the Sovereign was really inadequate for the proposed settlement, so as to entitle him to come on the State for the deficiency. The commission to whom the matter was referred reported in favor of the settlement, with the provision only that the jointure of the princess should be restricted to 200,000 francs (£8000) a year. This report was rested mainly on the fact that, by the senatus-consultum of 1810, appanages were created for the younger sons of the Emperor Napoleon, and each was left a revenue of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000) a year, and that a pension of 100,000 francs (£4000) had already been settled on Madame Murat. This, it was alleged, was an indication of the State necessity of providing in a liberal manner for the younger sons of the reigning sovereign. On the other hand, it was strongly urged, especially in a pamphlet by M. de Cormenin, which had an immense circulation, entitled *Questions Scandaleuses d'un Jacobin*, that the King had a large private fortune, which produced at least 3,000,000 francs (£120,000) a year, and that no earthly reason could be assigned why the burdens of the people, already so great, should be increased to enable the King to augment the riches of his family. The question came on on the 20th February, and the vote was taken in deep silence, and amidst breathless expectation on both sides. The result was decisive; only 200

Feb 22. supported the proposal of the Cabinet, while 226 voted against it. A majority of 26 appeared against Marshal Soult's Ministry. The triumph of the coalition was complete — no Ministry since 1830 had experienced such a defeat.¹

This vote necessarily induced a change of Ministry, and there could be no doubt on what basis it required to be formed. A considerable majority of the Chamber, composed of the Left and Left Centre, had declared against the Government, and therefore its successors required to be taken from the chiefs of that coalition. The King, in the first instance, consulted Count Molé—the usual practice in a change of ministry being to take the opinion of the Premier who immediately preceded the one who had been displaced—and he recommended that the Duke de Broglie should be sent for. The Duke, however, was inspired with a reverence almost amounting to idolatry for M. Thiers, and, in consequence, he not only declined the office of Premier himself, but earnestly pressed him as the successor of Marshal Soult. The King was not averse to M. Thiers individually, though he

feared the party to which he belonged; but even if he had been hostile to him, he had no alternative, for the brilliant orator was the chosen of the majority of the Chamber. The King accordingly sent for M. Thiers, and professed the utmost confidence in him; the adroit Minister pledged himself to combine the former system of government with his own principles, without any considerable change; and a list of ministers was forthwith submitted to the sovereign, approved of, and appeared next morning in the *Moniteur*.^{1*}

The new Cabinet contained some of the Doctrinaires, in particular M. Joubert, but none of their chiefs. Rivals in politics and literature, M. Thiers and M. Guizot, were too brilliant stars to shine in the same hemisphere. By this division of the Doctrinaires, however, a considerable accession of strength was gained for the new Ministry; and M. Guizot, though not included in the Cabinet, was appeased by the important situation of ambassador at the court of London. The skill with which the Ministry had been formed from the chiefs of the different parties into which the Chamber was divided, appeared in the first debate which took place after it had entered upon office, which was on a supplementary grant of 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) for the secret expenses of 1840. This subject elicited from M. Thiers a statement of the principle on which the Ministry was founded, and the necessities which had led to its construction. "The largest party in the Chamber," said he, "is that which supported the Ministry of the 15th April; but there are also several intermediate divisions, which are classed under the name of the Centre Gauche, and have lately gained much strength by what is called the Coalition, which has now formed the ancient majority; in fine, there is the old Opposition. The new Cabinet has sprung from these intermediate parties. Were any of these parties so compact, so determined, that it would not support any cabinet but such as came exclusively from itself, the Government, difficult under any circumstances, with the present Chamber would become impossible. What is to be done in such circumstances? Evidently to come to a compromise. Such an arrangement is allowed by all to be indispensable. Is it honorable? Yes; for during the last three years we have disputed more about words than things, and there is no such diversity of opinion between the middle parties as to render acting together discreditable." The justice of these remarks was universally felt; and the result was, that the ministerial proposition was carried by a majority of 246 to 160 in the Chamber of Deputies, and of 143 to 53 in the Peers. This majority was so considerable as to establish firmly the Administration of M. Thiers in power.²

* The new Cabinet stood thus: President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thiers; Minister of the Interior, M. Rémusat; Justice and Public Worship, M. Vivien; Finances, M. Pelet de La Lozère; Public Instruction, M. Cousin; War, General Cavaignac; Marine and Colonies, Admiral Roussin; Public Works, M. Joubert; Commerce, M. Gouin.—*Moniteur*, 23th February, 1840.

72.
Dotation of
the Duke de
Nemours
thrown out
by the
Chamber.

1 *Moniteur*,
Feb. 28,
1840; Ann.
Hist. xxiii.
1631-66;
Cap. x.
1561-62.

74.
First divi-
sion sup-
ports the
Ministry.
Mar. 24.

2 *Moniteur*,
Mar. 23 and
April 16,
1840; Ann.
Hist. xxiii.
163, 191.

Although, however, the victory of Ministers appeared to be so complete in the Legislature, yet it was far from being equally so in the country. On the contrary, the inherent weakness of a coalition administration appeared from the very first. The only real concession made to the Liberal party, which, in the person of their chief, had now ascended to power, was an ordonnance which appeared on occasion of the marriage of the Duke de Nemours,

75. Early measures of the Ministry. April 27, 1840. which was celebrated at St. Cloud on the 27th April. This ordonnance extended the amnesty declared by the ordonnance of 8th May, 1837, to persons condemned *par contumace*—that is, in absence—as well as those actually convicted on trial. This was a very important concession to the Liberals, for the number of persons who stood banished by these sentences in absence was very considerable. But it was their last triumph; and such as it was, it was gained for persons, not things. When their general measures came to be brought forward, they were found to be scarcely distinguishable from those of the former administration. The question of Parliamentary reform and an extension of the suffrage was adjourned indefinitely, upon the plea that the present was not a convenient time to bring it forward. A proposal of the Liberals, that all persons holding office under Government should be excluded from the Chamber, was, to use the expression of the day, “interred in the bureaus;” the conversion of the *rentes* adjourned, though M. Gouin, the great promoter of that measure, was Minister of Commerce; in fine, M. Odillon Barrot voted with Ministers on the secret-service money, though he had a hundred times denounced it as a scandalous engine of corruption. In short, it was soon evident that the Liberals, having succeeded in displacing their opponents from the helm by an outcry raised for popular measures, and got quit of the sentences pronounced against their exiled adherents, were content to fall back into the former system of government as to general measures, and to bury in oblivion their favorite maxim, “*Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas.*”¹

The same division among the Liberals, and tergiversation of many among their ranks, appeared in the public press, ever so influential in forming opinion, and placing and displacing administrations in France. The *Constitutionnel*, charmed to see its former contributor, M. Thiers, prime-minister, instantly became his supporter, and on every occasion strongly supported his measures. The same course was adopted by the *Courrier Français*, also a Liberal journal, and the *Siccle*, the known organ of M. Odillon Barrot. On the other hand, the *Presse*, which was in the interest of Count Molé, vehemently denounced the Administration, and in particular accused M. Thiers, in no measured terms, of having gained the favor of such of the journals as supported him by the most shameful corruption and unscrupulous use of ministerial patronage. The *Journal des Débats*, though preserving a more measured tone in its opposition, was not the less powerful in declamation, and by its withering sarcasm inspired terror even in the

highest depositaries of authority. The extreme Radical and Republican journals assailed the government of M. Thiers, as they did every other which promised vigor, with the utmost violence; while the Legitimists, without compromising themselves by openly attacking him, in secret indulged the hope that the distrust, insecurity, and anarchy which would be consequent on a semi-Liberal administration, would dispel the existing illusions, and pave the way for the restoration of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon.¹

The extension of manufactures, especially that of cotton, in France, led to a very long and interesting discussion on the limitation of the labor of children in various branches of manufactures. Experience had already proved in France, what had so long been known in England, that in this matter the feelings of nature were reversed in the progress of society, and that parents, so far from being the protectors, were too often the worst enemies of their children. The indulgence of habits of intoxication, quarrels in families, profligacy on the part of both parents, or the inevitable misfortunes of life, had induced the practice of sending the little innocents, in order to swell the gains of the family, at so early an age to factories, that their health was ruined, and they became sickly or deformed, to the utter destruction of their prospects in life. Numerous petitions were presented to both Chambers, setting forth the enormity of these evils, and the absolute necessity of legislative interference for the protection of infant labor; but so great was the influence of the capitalists in both branches of the Legislature, that it was with trembling steps that the Government approached the subject. After long and anxious deliberation with the chambers of commerce from all parts of France, a bill was prepared by the Minister of Commerce, and introduced into the Chamber of Peers, where the opposition to it was expected to be less violent than in the Deputies. The measure proposed was of the mildest character, and in fact altogether disproportioned to the enormity of the evil with which it had to contend. It was limited to manufactories set in motion by a continued moving power, as water or steam, or making use of continued fires, as potteries or glassworks, and forbade absolutely the employment in such works of children below eight years; limited the hours of work between eight and twelve to 8 hours a day, and between twelve and sixteen to 12 hours. It forbade, also absolutely, labor during the entire night to children under twelve, and allowed it only for 8 hours out of the 24 between twelve and sixteen. Even these moderate safeguards were strongly opposed in the Peers, and only carried, after a long debate, by a majority of 91 to 35. It was not deemed prudent to attempt its introduction this session to the Deputies; so that, in the mean time, the evils complained of remained entirely without a remedy. The Chamber of Deputies gave token of their parsimonious disposition,² and insensibility to the strongest claims of national gratitude and honor, by limiting the pension awarded, on the recommendation of the ministerial com-
¹ Cap. x. 169, 170; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 194-198.
² Ante, c. xxxiii. § 123. Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1840; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 200, 224.

mission, to the widow of Colonel Combes, who had met a glorious death in the breach of Constantine, to 2000 francs (£80) a year, including therein the pension of 755 francs (£34) already enjoyed by her as the widow of a colonel in the army.

Essentially imbued with historical studies and associations, the mind of M. Thiers exhibited a strange mixture of democratic and imperial ideas. The historian of the Revolution, and of the Consulate and the Empire, appeared alternately at every step of his career.

78. Project for removing the bones of Napoleon to Paris. He was essentially democratic in his feelings, and his strongest impressions were in favor of the right of resistance, and the governments founded on its successful assertion; but his imagination had been warmly kindled by the study of the glories of Napoleon's reign, and his judgment told him that a strong military government was alone suitable to so fervid a people as the French, when excited by such ideas. His *beau idéal* of society and government would have been a community singing with enthusiasm the "Marseillaise," and prepared at any moment to rise in insurrection itself, or assist revolution in other states, and at the same time coerced by the iron hand of Napoleon, and kept in awe by the charges of his glittering cuirassiers, or the discharges of his redoubtable artillery. It was by this combination of strength in the moving, and weight in the restraining power, that in his opinion the interests of freedom and order could alone be reconciled. In pursuance of these views, one of his first public acts, after his accession to power, was to open a negotiation with Lord Palmerston for the transference of the bones of Napoleon, from their solitary resting-place under the willow-tree in St. Helena, to the banks of the Seine, "which he had loved so well." The British Foreign Secretary was too magnanimous not to accede to a request founded in such natural feelings, and too clear-sighted not to be sensible that the granting was a greater national triumph than the refusing it. He was too deeply engaged, also, at the time, in forming a confederacy with Russia and Austria to check France in the Levant, not to avail himself gladly of the opportunity of lessening the animosity among its inhabitants, which, he was aware, would necessarily arise from the success of that attempt. He returned, accordingly, a courteous and eloquent answer to the request of the French Minister, expressing a hope "that all feelings of animosity between the two nations, should they still exist, may be forever buried in the tomb of Napoleon." The French Government, as well they might, were much gratified by this act of dignified courtesy; and, Aug. 9, 1840, shortly after, the Bellepoule frigate 1 Cap. x. 174, was dispatched from France to bring the remains of the immortal 175; Monteur, Aug. 12, 1840. hero to their final resting-place on the banks of the Seine.^{1*}

Not less solicitous to keep alive and fan the revolutionary flame than to restore

the ashes of the great conqueror to their proper resting-place on the banks of the Seine, M. Thiers, soon after his accession to power, announced a splendid fête, on occasion of the anniversary of the three glorious days, when the bones of the heroes who had perished in the strife for freedom on that occasion, should be removed to one place of sepulture in the Place of the Bastille, and a splendid column, surmounted by the Genius of Liberty, was to be erected over their remains, as an eternal monument of the lawfulness of insurrection.

It may readily be conceived what enthusiasm this theatrical project, which was announced in the beginning of April, and the preparations for it immediately commenced, excited among the working classes of Paris, in whom democratic principles were still so prevalent. It was an official recognition of the right of insurrection—a solemn inauguration of a monument to its triumph. The bones of those who had fallen in the civil strife were immediately begun to be collected, and conveyed with great pomp in funeral cars to the interim places of deposit, preparatory to their removal to the final place of sepulture in the Place of the Bastille, where the column was to be erected. These melancholy cars, each drawn by twelve horses, excited the deepest feelings of commiseration and anguish in the people; the number whose bones were thus collected was five hundred and four. On the 28th July the translation of the whole

to the general place of sepulture in the July 28. catacombs, beneath the proposed column in the Place of the Bastille, took place with extraordinary pomp, in the midst of a splendid military cortège, and an immense crowd of spectators. The King, accompanied by M. Thiers, witnessed the procession from one of the windows in the Louvre. He was received with loud acclamations; but such was the excitement of the people, and the impulse given to the revolutionary passions by the scene, that the Government were under the most serious apprehensions, and the preparations made on both sides looked rather like the commencement of a new, than the celebration of an old insurrection. The "Marseillaise" and "Parisienne" were sung with enthusiasm; the excited and agitated look of the groups in the streets betokened a coming storm; and already the breaking of lamps and commencement of barricades indicated a serious popular movement. Every thing prognosticated a terrible strife; but the preparations of Government were too complete to permit its commencement. The streets were traversed by long trains of artillery and dense columns of infantry; huge bodies of cavalry, with horses saddled, and the bridles over the arms of the cavaliers, stood in all the squares. These prep-

France comme une preuve du désir de sa Majesté d'effacer jusqu'à la dernière trace de ces animosités qui, pendant la vie de l'Empereur, avaient poussés les deux nations à la guerre. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté aime à croire que de pareils sentiments, s'ils existaient encore, seraient ensevelis à jamais dans le tombeau destiné à recevoir les restes mortels de Napoléon. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté se concertera avec celui de la France pour les mesures nécessaires à l'effet d'opérer la translation. PALMERSTON.—*Monteur*, August 12, 1840; and *CAPRIZIUS*, x. 175, note.

* "My Lord,—Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté ayant pris en considération l'autorisation que lui demande le Gouvernement Français, de transférer les cendres de l'Empereur Napoléon de St. Hélène en France, vous pouvez déclarer à M. Thiers que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté se fera un plaisir d'accéder à cette demande. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté espère que l'empereur qu'il met à répondre à cette demande sera considéré en

79. Inauguration of a pillar to insurrection on the Place of the Bastille.

arations, however, averted the dangers which the Ministers had so imprudently invoked; and the fête passed over without any other result but a great impulse to the revolutionary passions in the minds of the people, and an increased dread of their revival in that of the King.¹

These alternate encouragements to the Republican and Imperial passions revived in the breasts of Louis Napoleon and his partisans the hope that the time had now come when their projects might, with almost a certainty of success, be carried into execution. A few days, accordingly, after the termination of the fêtes in Paris, the young Prince embarked in London on board the steamer *Edinburgh*, accompanied by forty of his comrades and attendants. He had prepared a proclamation, in which, alluding to the removal of the bones of Napoleon to France, he declared that it was regenerated France alone that was worthy to receive them. "Frenchmen," said he, "the ashes of the Emperor should not come but into regenerated France. The manes of a great man should not be insulted by impure and hypocritical homage. Glory and liberty should stand erect beside the coffin of Napoleon. The traitors must disappear from the country. Banished from my country, I should not have complained had I been the only unfortunate; but the glory and honor of the country were exiled with me. Frenchmen! we will re-enter it together. To-day, as three years ago, I come to devote myself to the popular cause. If chance caused me to fail at Strasbourg, an Alsatian jury proved that I had not miscalculated the feelings of the country. When one enjoys the honor of being at the head of such a people as the French, *there is a certain way to do great things, and that is to will them*. At present there is nothing to be found in France but violence on one side and license on the other. I wish, in surrounding myself with the most eminent in the country without exception, and in supporting the interests and wishes of the masses, to form an imperishable edifice. I wish to give to France true alliances, a solid peace, and not to cast it into the perils of a general war. Frenchmen! I see before me a brilliant future for the country. I feel behind me the shade of the Emperor, which impels me forward. I will not stop till I have regained the sword of Austerlitz, and replaced the nations under our standards, the people in its rights. *Vive la France!*"²

Solitary in thought, taciturn in habit, Louis Napoleon had communicated with no one when he planned this audacious enterprise; he took counsel of himself and his own intrepidity, and trusted in his star alone. He was accompanied by General Monthon, Colonels Parquin and Vaudrey, and thirty-six other inferior officers. During the voyage the young Prince, like his uncle in the voyage from Elba, frequently harangued his followers; he wore a greatcoat and boots similar to the Emperor's, and held his sword in his hand. At one in the morning of the 6th August, the steamboat approached the little harbor of

Vimereux, and the whole party, numbering in all sixty persons, soon after disembarked on the sands. A proclamation was immediately placarded, which bore: "The dynasty of the Bourbons of Orleans has ceased to reign; the French people have regained their rights; the troops are absolved from their oaths of fidelity; the Chamber of Peers and Deputies is dissolved. A national congress shall be assembled on the arrival of Prince Napoleon at Paris: *M. Thiers, President of the Council, is named President of the Provisional Government*. Marshal Clausel, is appointed commander-in-chief of the troops at Paris; General Pajol retains the command of the first military division; all the chiefs of corps who shall not immediately yield obedience to these commands shall be dismissed. All the officers and sub-officers who shall energetically demonstrate their sympathy with the national cause, shall receive dazzling rewards. *Vive la France!*" In addition to this proclamation, the party were provided with an eagle which had been trained to fly to the top of a column; and when let go at the foot of the pillar on the heights of Boulogne, flew to the top, and spread its wings there.¹

The omen, however, proved fallacious, or rather it was premature; the imperial eagle was curbed in its flight on this occasion. Having effected their disembarkation without opposition, the conspirators dispersed without difficulty a company of douaniers who appeared to obstruct their passage, and having entered Boulogne, they made straight for the barracks of the 42d regiment, from whom they expected support. Every thing depended on their fidelity; had they joined the Imperialists, the whole garrison would have followed the example, and it was all over with the government of Louis Philippe. Already the guard at the gate manifested symptoms of vacillation at the announcement of Louis Napoleon, and a few seconds more would have led to a revolt, when Captain Puyzelier, having come up in haste to the spot, had influence enough with his men to retain them in their allegiance. In the scuffle Prince Louis drew his pistol and shot a grenadier. Finding, however, that the military were not to be shaken in their allegiance, the band retired, still in good order, from the barracks, and marched toward the upper part of the town in hopes of rousing the citizens to join them. They found the gates, however, closed against them, and being unable to force them open with strokes of the hatchet, they were obliged to retire, and took post around the column, on the summit of which they displayed the tricolor flag. Driven from thence, they made for their boats on the beach. They were pursued, however, and made prisoners without further bloodshed; and so terminated the second attempt of Prince Louis to regain the Imperial throne.²

Taught by experience, the French Government did not again repeat the folly of a trial of the conspirators by jury, or simply banishing Prince Louis from France, leaving him to prosecute his designs elsewhere.

¹ Ann. Hist. xliii. 238-240, Chron.; Cap. x. 183, 184; Moniteur, July 29, 1840.

² Expédition of Louis Napoleon to Boulogne. Aug. 6.

³ Cap. x. 177, 178.

⁴ Failure of the enterprise. Aug. 6.

¹ Cap. x. 179, 180; Procès de Napoleon; Ann. Hist. xliii. 271.

² Failure of the enterprise.

³ Procès de L. Napoleon; Ann. Hist. xliii. 270-274, Chron.

⁴ His trial, and sentence of imprisonment. Oct. 6.

He was brought before the House of Peers with his followers, in October, and after a short trial, sentenced to imprisonment for life in a fortress within the kingdom, while his associates were condemned, some to transportation, others to imprisonment for very long periods. As they were all convicted on the clearest evidence of an attempt to overturn the Government by open force, and this was the second occasion on which Prince Louis had made the attempt, these sentences must be regarded as extremely moderate, and such as reflected no small lustre on the humane administration of Louis Philippe. Prince Louis was soon after conducted to Ham, where he was confined in the same apartments which had formerly been occupied by Prince Polignac. He abated nothing of his intrepid bearing before the Chamber of Peers, and had the magnanimity to take upon himself the whole responsibility of the enterprise. "I had no accomplices," said he; "alone I conceived the enterprise: no one was acquainted either with my designs, my hopes, or my resources. If I am to blame toward any, it is to my own friends; yet I trust they will not accuse me of having lightly compromised courage and devotion such as theirs. They will understand the motives which have not permitted me to reveal even to them *the extent of the reasons I had to hope for success*. I represent before you, gentlemen, a principle, a cause, a defeat. The principle is that of the sovereignty of the people, the cause is that of the Empire, the defeat is Waterloo! You have recognized the principle; you have served the cause; the defeat you would avenge!"

¹ Procès de L. Napoleon; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 299; Vie de L. Napoleon, i. 30, 41.

The next six years of his life were spent by Prince Louis in strict seclusion, conversing only in books with the illustrious of former ages. Such converse is more strengthening to the mind than intercourse with the living, who are generally pigmies compared to the giants of past time; and many a man who has ultimately risen to greatness, has traced it to the fortunate calamities which for a season chained him to thought, and study, and reflection. Prince Louis was no exception to this rule; and much of the splendor of his future career may be traced to an event which, for the present, seemed to have altogether blasted his hopes. Nor was he without encouragement even at the moment from the most eminent men of his time. Béranger wrote to him in prison, "May you one day, Prince, be in a situation to consecrate to our common country the fruit of the experience you have acquired, and will yet obtain." And Chateaubriand, ever the first to show respect to courage in misfortune, wrote to him on 16th June, 1844: "Prince, in the midst of your misfortunes, you have studied with as much sagacity as force the causes of a Revolution which, in modern Europe, has opened the career of royal calamities. Your love of liberty, your courage, and your sufferings, would give you every claim to

² Chateaubriand au Prince Louis, June 16, 1840; Vie de L. Napoleon, i. 40, 41.

my support, if, to be worthy of your esteem, I did not feel that I ought to remain faithful to the misfortunes of Henry V. as I am to the glory of Napoleon."

Another of the murderous attempts which had so often disgraced France of late years occurred in this autumn, and revealed the intensity of the fanatical passions which burned under the apparently smooth surface of society. On the 17th October, as the King was coming from St. Cloud to assist at a council of his Ministers, at the angle of the Place Louis XV., just when he had lowered the sash of the window of his carriage to salute the guard, the discharge of a pistol close at hand was suddenly heard, and the carriage was filled with smoke. No one was injured by the discharge, and on looking out of the window the King saw a man crouching behind one of the lions which decorate that superb Place. He was immediately arrested, with the smoking carbine still in his hand, and conducted to the nearest police-office. His first words were, "Cursed carbine! I took a good aim, but it was too strongly charged." Being interrogated by the prefect, the following strange answers were made by him to the interrogatories: "What is your name?—Marius Edouard Darmès. What is your age?—Forty-three. Where were you born?—At Marseilles. What is your profession?—A conspirator. That is not a profession.—Well, put down I live by my labor. What induced you to commit so odious a crime—have you any accomplices?—I have no accomplices: my motive was to slay the greatest tyrant of ancient or modern times. Do you not repent of having conceived and executed so abominable a crime?—I repent only of not having succeeded in it. Have you long entertained the design of murdering the King?—Only an hour before I put it in execution." It is easy to see here the influence of the secret societies and revolutionary publications which had come to exercise so fatal an influence on the minds of the working classes, in which the killing of a king was represented as the highest of the civic virtues. Notwithstanding his being caught in the fact, and the King having narrowly escaped with his life, the humanity of the sovereign prevailed over the representations of his Council, and Darmès, after being convicted before the Chamber of Peers, was sentenced only to imprisonment for life.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xxiii. 292, 294; Montebour, Oct. 17, 1840; Cap. x. 186, 187.

The frigate Bellepoule, dispatched to receive the remains of Napoleon, made a good passage, and arrived in safety at St. Helena. The officers intrusted with the melancholy duty were received with the utmost respect by the English garrison, and every preparation was made to give due solemnity to the disinterment of the Emperor's remains. The solitary tomb under the willow-tree was opened, the winding-sheet rolled back with pious care, and the features of the immortal hero exposed to the view of the entranced spectators. So perfectly had the body been embalmed that the features were undecayed, the countenance serene, even a smile on the lips, and his dress the same, since immortalized in statuary, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. Borne first on a

² Disinterment of the bones of Napoleon. Oct. 15.

magnificent hearse, and then down to the harbor on the shoulders of British grenadiers, amidst the discharge of artillery from the vessels, batteries, and all parts of the island, the body was lowered into the French frigate, and England nobly, and in a right spirit, parted with the proudest trophy of her national glory. The Bellepoule had a favorable voyage home, and reached Havre in safety in the beginning of December. The interment was fixed for the 15th of the same month—not at St. Denis, amidst her ancient sovereigns, but in the Church of the Invalides, beside the graves of Turenne, Vauban, Lannes, and the paladins of France; and every preparation was made for giving the utmost magnificence to the absorbing spectacle.¹

¹ Précis des Evénemens, Ann. Hist. xxiii. 305–309; Cap. x. 292, 293.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and excitement which prevailed in Paris when the day fixed for the august ceremony arrived. The weather was favorable; the sun shone forth in unclouded brilliancy, but a piercing wind from the north blew with such severity that several persons perished of cold as they were waiting for the funeral procession. Early on the morning of the 15th, the coffin, which had been brought by the Seine to Courbevoie the preceding evening, was placed on a gigantic funeral-car, and at ten it began its march, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators. So dense was the throng that it was half-past one when the procession reached the Place de la Concorde, from whence it passed by the bridge of the same name to the Church of the Invalides, where it was received by the King, the whole royal family, with the Archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. “Sire!” said the Prince de Joinville, who approached at the head of the coffin, “I present to you the body of the Emperor Napoleon.” “General Bertrand,” said the King, “I command you to place the sword of the Emperor on his coffin.” When this was done, he said, “General Gourgaud, place the hat of the Emperor on his coffin.” This also was done, and the King having withdrawn, the coffin was placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, the funeral service was performed with the utmost solemnity, and the *Dies Ira* chanted with inexpressible effect by a thousand voices. Finally, the coffin, amidst entrancing melody, was lowered into the grave, when every eye in the vast assemblage was wet with tears, and the bones of Napoleon “finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well.”

Such was the excitement produced by this heart-stirring spectacle that it seriously shook the Government, and revealed the depth of the abyss, on the edge of which they stood when Prince Louis made his descent at Boulogne. Not only in the countless multitudes which issued from the faubourgs, but in some battalions of the National Guard, were heard the cries of “Vive l’Empereur!” No one exclaimed “Vive le Roi.” One only thought, the recollections of the Empire, absorbed every

mind. With these cries were mingled others of more sinister moment for the present times, as “A bas les Ministres de l’étranger!” “Vive M. Thiers!” “Mort à l’Europe!” The “*Mar-seillaise*” and the “*Parisienne*” were vociferously sung in every street, the whole multitude joining in the chorus. These demonstrations of public feeling were eagerly adopted and commented on next day in the Opposition journals, and from them acquired an importance in the eyes of other nations to which they were scarcely of themselves entitled. “The opinion of France,” said they, “has caused itself to be heard throughout all the legions: the Ministry stands reproved; nothing remains for it but to give in its resignation.” Such, in the words of its ablest supporters, was democratic government, represented as the perfection of human reason, the only secure foundation for general regeneration!—a government depending entirely on popular favor, expressed by a vociferous mob of ignorant and impassioned men chanting popular airs in the streets, with bayonets in their hands!¹

But the French Government at this period was engaged in a more arduous undertaking than even its maintenance against the fickle caprices of the Parisian multitude. It was threatened with an European war; preparations were making for defending the national independence even in its last stronghold, the streets of the capital. The progress of events in the East, coupled with the disposition, at once warlike and democratic, of M. Thiers, had brought on a crisis in the Levant, from which it seemed impossible to find an exit except by drawing the sword. M. Thiers, equally enamored of the Imperial as the Revolutionary spirit, saw in the distracted state of Turkey after the battle of Nezib, already recounted,² a fair opportunity for regaining the French influence in the Levant, and realizing, by pacific means, the dream of Napoleon for the permanent establishment of French power in Egypt. By supporting Mehemet Ali, its rebellious pasha, against the Sultan, he hoped to bind him irrevocably to the interests of France, and thus achieve by the pen what the Emperor had failed in effecting by the sword. Great would be the éclat which such an achievement would give to French diplomacy; and it was the more attractive to the French minister that it promised to avenge the cause of Napoleon on the very theatre of his former defeat, and to interrupt the communication of the English with India by that very route which steam navigation has again rendered the chief line of transit to the shores of the Ganges.³

The views of the British Government, which were shared with those of Austria, Russia, and Prussia on this subject, were justly stated by M. Guizot, the French ambassador in London, to M. Thiers, on the 15th April, 1840. “The British Government,” said this sagacious statesman, “conceives it has in the East two interests, unequal, without doubt, but which have both got possession of it. The one is terror of the Russians at Constantinople;

¹ National and Siècle, Dec. 16, 1840; Cap. x. 294, 295.

² Threatening state of affairs in the East.

³ Ante, c. xxxii. §§ 56, 64.

⁴ Cap. x. 196, 197.

⁵ M. Guizot’s account of the British policy in the East. April 15.

the other, of the French at Alexandria. It would willingly prevent at Constantinople, by the force of the Government, or by the regular intervention of Europe, the presence of Russia, and at the same time weaken the Pasha, lest he should become too important a power in the Mediterranean. It flatters itself it has attained, by its present policy, this double object; for Russia appears disposed to abandon, or at least to *adjourn*, her pretensions in the East, and even her claims to an exclusive protectorate, and as much inclined as England to weaken the Pasha. Prussia adheres to that view. England sees in these dispositions not an embarrassment, but a precious opportunity to seize. Nevertheless, a double set of apprehensions have seized upon her. On the one hand, she fears that, by a sudden attack, the new government at Constantinople may be compelled to seek for safety in the protection of Russia; on the other, that the alliance with France, to which she, with reason, attaches so much value, may be disturbed, or even broken, by the diverging views of the two powers on the Eastern question. These two considerations hold her in suspense, and may even lead her to make some concessions to France in Egypt, to avoid complications which may threaten the French alliance. To what point will this disposition to concession go? It is impossible at present to say how far it may be carried, or how it may be modified by ulterior combinations; but these dispositions appear to me sufficiently pronounced and advanced to indicate to the French Government that it should apply itself to remove existing difficulties, not to create new ones."

¹ M. Guizot
à M. Thiers,
April 15,
1840; Cap.
x. 192, 193.

On the other hand, the views of M. Thiers, who, however much inclined in secret to espouse the cause of the Pasha, was yet fearful to commit himself openly with Europe, and break with the English alliance, were unfolded in his answer to M. Guizot of 25th April.

"Limit yourself to acknowledging the reception of the note proposing a conference, but avoid saying any thing which may seem to imply a recognition of its necessity. Say that the French Cabinet regards such a step as calculated to complicate, rather than unravel, the affairs of the East. Avoid expressing any general opinion; confine yourself to limited and detached points. I do not wish to tie my hands; I have had enough of the collective note of last year. I can not bring myself to conceive measures against Mehemet Ali, which is the point to which the four powers are evidently driving. At the same time, I am not entitled to prevent other powers from following their own inclinations, and I shall oppose no obstacles to their doing so, as long as the interest and honor of France are not wounded. But the project of having recourse to violence against Mehemet Ali appears to me chimerical: in the first place, because his power is more solidly established than is generally supposed; and in the second, because England alone is in a situation to employ these coercive measures, and the risk of doing so would more than compensate the advantage." At the same time I am not

² M. Thiers
à M. Guizot,
April 25,
1840; Cap.
x. 193, 195.

irrevocably wedded to my opinions; and if you perceive that they think otherwise in London, make remonstrances, and if no attention is paid to them, you will receive from me farther orders."

Whatever may have been the anxiety of M. Thiers to preserve the *statu quo* system, the measures of the allied Treaty of July powers rendered it impossible to maintain it much longer, and drove matters to a crisis. The terms of the treaty of 15th July have been already mentioned,¹ i. e. xxxii. § 37. signed by the representatives of the four allied powers, whereby it was agreed that intimation should be made to Mehemet Ali, that if he evacuated Syria and Candia in ten days, he should have his pashalic of Egypt in hereditary right, and that of Syria, with the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, for life; but if these offers were not acceded to, and the necessary orders not given in that time, the offer of the liferent of the pashalic of Acre should be withdrawn. This treaty was concluded by the four powers *alone*, without the concurrence of France, so that the latter power found herself in a manner excluded from the European family. The communication of the treaty, however, which was made on the 18th July, was accompanied with every expression which could soften the irritation likely to be experienced at the court of the Tuileries from this circumstance.² Cap. x. 203, 204.

"The French Government," said the memorandum communicating the treaty, "has received during the whole course of the negotiations, which began in the autumn of last year, the most incontestable proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at an accord with the French Government in regard to the arrangements necessary for the pacification of the Levant. France may appreciate, from that circumstance, the importance which the courts attach to the moral effect likely to be produced by the harmony and combined action of the five powers in an affair attended with such grave consequences. The four powers have perceived with regret that their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and although, recently, they have proposed to France to unite with them for the execution of an arrangement between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, based on the views which the French ambassador proposed in the end of last year, the Government of France has not thought fit to accede to that combination. It has annexed to its corporation with the other powers conditions which they regarded as inconsistent with the independence of the Ottoman empire and the future peace of Europe. In these circumstances, nothing remained to the four powers but either to abandon to chance the future of the great affairs which they were called on to adjust, to manifest thus their impotence, and leave Europe exposed to constantly increasing hazards, or to advance in their own line, without the co-operation of France, and of themselves effect the pacification of the Levant. Placed in that alternative, and profoundly convinced of the necessity of a prompt decision to adjust the many important interests now at stake, they have considered it

^{93.} Memorandum of the negotiations, which began in the autumn of last year, the most incontestable proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at an accord with the French Government in regard to the arrangements necessary for the pacification of the Levant. France may appreciate, from that circumstance, the importance which the courts attach to the moral effect likely to be produced by the harmony and combined action of the five powers in an affair attended with such grave consequences. The four powers have perceived with regret that their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and although, recently, they have proposed to France to unite with them for the execution of an arrangement between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, based on the views which the French ambassador proposed in the end of last year, the Government of France has not thought fit to accede to that combination. It has annexed to its corporation with the other powers conditions which they regarded as inconsistent with the independence of the Ottoman empire and the future peace of Europe. In these circumstances, nothing remained to the four powers but either to abandon to chance the future of the great affairs which they were called on to adjust, to manifest thus their impotence, and leave Europe exposed to constantly increasing hazards, or to advance in their own line, without the co-operation of France, and of themselves effect the pacification of the Levant. Placed in that alternative, and profoundly convinced of the necessity of a prompt decision to adjust the many important interests now at stake, they have considered it

their duty to adopt the latter alternative. They have, in consequence, concluded a convention with the Sultan, in virtue of which the complications in the Levant will, they trust, be satisfactorily adjusted. In signing that convention, the four powers have felt the deepest regret at finding themselves momentarily separated from France in an affair so essentially European. They indulge the hope that their separation from France on that subject will be of short duration; and that it will in no degree disturb the sincere friendship which they so ardently desire to maintain with that power.¹

Notwithstanding the delicate manner in which this unwelcome intelligence was conveyed to the French Government, there was enough in it to awaken the jealousy of the Government and rouse the passions of the people. M. Thiers had expected the immediate signature of a treaty between the Sultan and the Pasha, which should have adjusted their differences according to his ideas; great, therefore, was his indignation when he found that he had been anticipated by the allied powers, and that the affairs of the Levant were to be adjusted by the coalesced powers alone without the concurrence of France, and in direct opposition to its wishes. The public unanimously shared these sentiments. The French felt themselves wounded in their national honor, and more sensitive than any people in Europe in that particular, they immediately took fire. The cry was universal for immediate and great preparations for war, in order to prevent the ratification of the treaty. "It is not yet ratified," it was said: "the cabinets will recoil from a step so injurious to French influence; to prevent the ratification of the treaty, we must arm on a gigantic scale. When Europe sees France determined on a national war, it will hesitate before adopting a repressive system, founded on the ignoring of its influence." These sentiments were loudly echoed by the public press. Not only the revolutionary journals, but the Royalist and Legitimist, called out aloud for war. The *National* indulged in the most menacing expressions; and even the *Journal des Débats*, understood to express the sentiments of the Tuileries, so far from restraining, loudly applauded the warlike enthusiasm, and in an especial manner directed it against England.²

A soldier who had fought at Jemappes, a sovereign who had acted at Antwerp, Louis Philippe was sensitively alive to the national honor, and deemed no sacrifices too great or dangers too serious to protect it from insult. He cordially acquiesced, accordingly, in the vigorous measures proposed by M. Thiers, and unanimously adopted by the Cabinet. It was immediately determined—1. To raise the army to the war establishment of 400,000 men, in anticipation of a serious continental as well as maritime contest; 2. To adopt a great system of fortifications around Paris, so as to eschew the dangers which had proved so fatal in 1814 and 1815; 3. To augment largely the fleet in the Mediterranean, so as to enable the French navy to act with effect in a Euro-

pean conflict; and, 4. To open an extraordinary credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000), authorized by a mere royal ordonnance on the responsibility of Ministers. These were very bold steps, and in another state of the public mind might have caused no small danger to the Ministers who recommended them. But in the present excited state of the public mind, and in a matter in which the honor of France was involved, no danger was to be apprehended from the adoption of any warlike measures, how decided soever.³

A great difference of opinion, however, soon arose as to the *mode* in which the fortification of Paris was to be carried into effect. The King, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, inclined to the side of *forts détachés*, erected on all the eminences around Paris within half cannon-shot of each other, and each a fortress in itself capable of standing a separate siege. By means of this cross-fire all access to the capital from without would be rendered impossible till the forts themselves were subdued; and beyond all doubt, if these detached forts had been in existence in 1814, the march of the Allies upon Paris after Napoleon's movement upon St. Dixier would have terminated in disaster. This plan of defense also presented the immense advantage of keeping the horrors of war and the real defense of the capital at a distance from its edifices, and of giving the executive at the head of the army the means, by the guns of these, the entire command of the capital without firing a shot in the streets. But on this very account the project was from the first the object of jealousy and opposition to the Republican party, who had no desire to see the Government in possession of a line of forts around the capital, from which they might readily reduce any insurrection among its inhabitants, by either threatening them with the terrors of a bombardment, or cutting off their supplies of provisions from the country. For these reasons they strongly contended for the *enceinte continue* or entire line of fortifications, which they hoped, without separating the soldiers from the citizens, would convert the capital into one huge intrenched camp, in which, from the magnitude of their numbers, they themselves would have the superiority. The Government, however, held out steadily for the *forts détachés*, and, taking advantage of the general warlike fervor, commenced their construction, which was vigorously proceeded with. Their localities revealed the true idea which had prompted their construction; for it was soon discovered that they would be more formidable to an enemy *within* than *without*, and that by means of their converging fire any insurrection in the capital might hereafter be easily subdued.⁴

Placed at Paris in the centre of the excite-

* The Author is in possession of a very curious map, showing the proposed position of all the detached forts round Paris, and the range of their guns. Those of no less than six cross each other in the Rue St. Antoine and the Place of the Bastille, the constant centre of insurrection.—A curious and instructive circumstance, that the fire of a hundred guns should be in the end concentrated upon the spot where the first triumph of popular insurrection took place.

94. Indignation in France on hearing of this treaty.

² Journal des Débats, July 21, 1840; Cap. x. 208, 309.

95. Vigorous measures of the French Cabinet.

¹ Cap. x. 209, 210; Ann. Hist. xliii. 304, 305, 306.

96. Division of opinion on the fortification of Paris.

³ Cap. x. 210, 211.

ment, and, in a manner, in the front rank of the conflict, M. Thiers was in his element, and beheld in the effervescence

around him the *beau idéal* in his conception of civilized society—popular excitement controlled by military force. His preparations were on the most formidable scale, and sufficiently proved that his administrative talents were fully equal to his oratorical abilities. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raised, the artillery put on the war establishment, and the battalions and squadrons all filled up to their war footing. He boasted that in a few months he would have 400,000 regular troops under arms, besides 300,000 movable national guards. When he came to details, however, M. Thiers encountered many unexpected difficulties, and acquired melancholy proof how much the resources of France, in all but men, had been wasted by the devastation of the Revolution. For artillery horses he was obliged to go to Switzerland, for cavalry to Germany; the guns for the artillery could only be augmented by recourse to a house in connection with Russia; large steamboats required to be purchased in England. Thus for all the *matériel* of war, both by land and sea, France was obliged to have recourse to her enemies—a melancholy reflection for a country which had once sent forth from its own resources the armies of Louis XIV. and Napoleon, and in 1812 had dispatched one hundred thousand horses into Russia; but easily accounted for, when it is recollected that France was now divided among ten millions of landed proprietors, the great majority of whom,

so far from being able to feed a horse, were barely able to feed themselves.¹

Farther removed from the centre of agitation, and not equally enamoured as M. Thiers of revolutionary excitement and military power, M. Guizot was in a situation in London to judge more correctly the true state of affairs, and at the same time appreciate the real anxiety of the British Government to adjust the affairs of the East without coming to an actual rupture with the French Cabinet. While, therefore, he officially addressed an able memorandum to Lord Palmerston on the treaty of 15th July, defending the conduct of France in regard to the affairs of the Levant,* he was careful to transmit to Paris, by circuitous chan-

nels, detailed information to the King as to the real views of the British Cabinet, and the ease with which affairs might be adjusted, and the serious dangers of a general war averted. These representations fell in too completely with the King's own pacific views not to meet with a ready attention; and he was the more inclined to attend to them, that unmistakable symptoms showed the terror which had seized upon the moneyed interest in consequence of the prospect of a general war. By an ordonnance of 10th September, M. Thiers had declared the necessity for the fortification of Paris urgent, and opened a credit of 600,000 francs (£24,000) to begin them. In the midst of these warlike preparations, and while columns of cavalry and infantry, with long trains of artillery, were constantly traversing the streets, the public funds fell seventeen per cent. in the space of three months: they sunk from 86 on 6th July to 69 on 2d October.¹ These alarming symptoms, and the general effervescence of the public mind, excited the serious alarm of the King; and in order to discover if possible a mode of escaping from the dangers with which he was surrounded, in the middle of September he commanded M. Guizot to meet him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy. The ambassador quickly obeyed the summons, and long and anxious conferences took place between them, upon which the destinies of Europe depended.¹

Louis Philippe was seriously desirous to uphold the national dignity and independence; but he had no inclination to retrograde to the revolutionary fervor of 1830, to which the policy of his prime-minister was hurrying him; and his difficulty was, that, as matters were situated, he did not see how he could extricate himself from the one without compromising the other. M. Guizot expounded his ideas to him on both points with his wonted clearness and precision. He observed that what was now passing in England was rather an accident than a settled policy; that the French alliance was suspended, not abandoned; that by a few concessions on both sides a good understanding might be restored; and that the declamations of the journals on either side were not to be taken as a true test of the general feeling. On the next point, whether it was possible to venture upon the experiment of a conservative cabinet, the opinions of M. Guizot were equally decided. He thought that the circumstance which most powerfully influenced external nations in their opinion of what was going on in France, was the over-excitement of the public mind, the distress of material interests, the want of consistency in the conduct of Government, of unity in the views of the Cabinet, and of the majority of the Chamber. It was by no means impossible, he thought, to form a government which should be in harmony with the majority of the Chamber, foreseeing in a conservative sense, and with the mission to temper the political fever, which left no moderation in opinion, and was evidently hurrying on the nation to the most dreadful catastrophe. The danger arose from having, in the composition of M. Thiers's Cabinet, removed to a

* "La France a toujours désiré, dans l'affaire de l'Orient, marcher d'accord avec la Grande Bretagne, l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie. Elle n'a jamais été mue dans sa conduite que par l'intérêt de la paix. Elle n'a jamais jugé les propositions qui lui ont été faites que d'un point de vue général, et jamais du point de vue de son intérêt particulier. Jugant de ce point de vue, elle a considéré comme mal conçus tous les projets qui avaient pour but d'arracher de Méhémet Ali par la force des armes les portions de l'Empire Turc qu'il occupe actuellement. La France ne croit pas cela bon pour le Sultan; car on tendrait ainsi à lui donner ce qu'il ne pourrait ni administrer ni conserver. La France s'est surtout prononcée contre le projet dont l'adoption devrait entraîner l'emploi de la force, parcequ'elle ne voyait pas distinctement les moyens dont les cinq Puissances pouvaient disposer. Mais au surplus, sans insister sur la question que pourrait faire naître cette manière de procéder à son égard, la France le déclare de nouveau: Elle considère comme peu réfléchi, comme peu prudent, une conduite qui consisterait à prendre des résolutions sans moyens de les exécuter, ou à les exécuter par des moyens insuffisants ou dangereux."—*Mémoire adressé au VICOMTE PALMERSTON par M. GUIZOT, July 24, 1840. CAPEFIGUE, x. 218-219, note.*

¹ Cap. x. 249, 250; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 304-306.

^{99.} M. Guizot's opinions on the Eastern question.

distance all the men of weight in parliament, and who had rendered immense service to the monarchy and the cause of order.¹

These opinions were too consonant to the pacific disposition and prudent character of the King not to meet with his entire concurrence; and he in secret resolved, when an opportunity occurred, to remove a Minister from the lead in his councils whose measures were tending so rapidly to embroil him with the whole of Europe. Whether it was that M. Thiers divined these views on the part of the King, or that he himself recoiled from the prospect of encountering the hostility of all Europe on the Rhine for the sake of maintaining the influence of France in Egypt, certain it is that, after this interview in the Chateau d'Eu, the policy of the Cabinet underwent a total revolution. Orders were given to Admiral Dulaud to leave the mouth of the Dardanelles, where the French fleet had lain close to the British all the summer; and after performing several insignificant evolutions to conceal the real object in view, it made sail for Toulon, where it arrived by the end of October. Meanwhile, the English fleet, under Admirals Stopford and Napier, entered upon the short and brilliant campaign already recorded.²

of Acre, and the entire expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria. These events were decisive. The French had retired from the theatre of conflict, the English had triumphed in it. In vain M. Thiers sought to conceal his mortification by declaring "that the French fleet was more at his disposal in the roads of Toulon than in the seas of Syria; and that, by means of the telegraph, he could send it every where to combat the allied squadrons." The flimsy device deceived no one. Every man in France, so eminently a warlike nation, saw that in leaving the Levant, at the very time when hostilities were commencing, was the most decisive shunning of the conflict. In his note of 8th October, addressed to Guizot, he contented himself with declaring that "France would in no event consent to the dethronement of Mehemet Ali."* This, however, was what none of the allied powers desired; the expulsion of his forces from Syria, and its restoration to the Porte, being the object to which their efforts were directed. The crisis, therefore, had now passed in the East; there was no longer any subject of contention between France and the allied powers. It must be confessed France was content to forego a

* "Les plus chers intérêts de l'Europe se rattachaient à la continuation de l'existence de la Turquie. Cet empire tenu dans l'abaissement, ne pouvait servir qu'à l'agrandissement des Etats voisins, au détriment de l'équilibre général; et sa ruine aurait amené, dans les positions existantes des grandes Puissances, un changement qui aurait modifié l'aspect du globe entier. La France, et les autres Puissances avec elle, ont si bien compris ce résultat éventuel, que de concert avec ses alliés elle a constamment et loyalement travaillé à la conservation de l'Empire Ottoman, quelque profondément que leurs intérêts respectifs pussent être engagés relativement à la conservation ou à la ruine de ce royaume. Mais la partie intégrale de l'Empire Ottoman s'étend des rives de la Mer Noire à celles de la Mer Rouge. Il est aussi essentiel de garantir l'indépendance de l'Egypte et de la Syrie que l'indépendance des Dardanelles et du Bosphore."—M. THIERS à M. GUIZOT, October 8, 1840. CAPEFIGURE, x. 259.

tempting prize, and England avoided a serious danger on this occasion, for which the latter power was indebted to the moderation of the French sovereign, the diplomatic ability of Lord Palmerston, and the strength of the European alliance, but by no means to the magnitude of its national resources. For such had been the prostration of the British forces by sea and land at this period, in consequence of the wretched system of economy which had been forced upon the Government by the reformed House of Commons, that France had fifteen ships-of-the-line in the Levant, while England had only nine; and while the former had three hundred thousand regular soldiers ready to be marched down to the coasts of the Channel, not twenty thousand men, after providing for the necessary garrisons, could have been assembled to meet them on the British shores.^{1*}

But although the crisis had passed for Europe, it was by no means over with the French Minister; and the vacillation of system which saved the world from a general war, proved fatal to the Minister who had so nearly induced it. M. Thiers was worse than defeated—he was humiliated; he had not met death in fair fight—he had shunned it. He had lost the confidence of all parties—of the Conservatives, because he had brought Europe to the edge of a general war; of the Revolutionists, because he had avoided it. It was no difficult matter, in these circumstances, to effect his downfall; and his own impatience and excitable temperament soon brought about the desired opportunity. In the midst of his warlike enthusiasm, M. Thiers had desired the early convocation of the Chambers to sanction his great expenditure, and the King had consented to it, in the hope that the pent-up passions of the nation might find vent in the tribune, and the war of tongues supersede that of swords. The Chambers, accordingly, stood convoked for the 5th November. But an insurmountable difficulty arose in regard to the terms in which the recent events were to be alluded to in the speech from the throne. M. Thiers insisted for menacing expressions, in which the flag of defiance was still to be flung in the face of Europe. The King thought this was a senseless and perilous bravado, which

* M. Thiers wrote, on the 3d October, 1840, to M. Guizot in London: "They (England) have gratuitously sacrificed for a secondary interest an alliance which has maintained the integrity of the Ottoman empire much more effectually than it will be by the treaty of 15th July. It will be said that France has yielded to the wishes of England, and purchased its alliance by that sacrifice. The answer to this is obvious. France, once in union with the views of the allies, will have made none of those essential sacrifices which no independent nation should make to another, but only that of a way of viewing certain questions of boundaries. But they left her no choice. They offered to admit her into an alliance already formed. From that moment she required to isolate herself, and she has done so. But, faithful to her pacific policy, she has never ceased to counsel moderation to Mehemet Ali. Though armed and at liberty to act, she will do all in her power to preserve the world from the catastrophe with which it is threatened. With the exception of sacrifices which might affect her honor, she will do every thing to preserve peace. If at present she holds this language to the British Cabinet, it is less in the spirit of complaint than to prove the honesty of her policy, not only toward Great Britain, but the entire world, of which no state, how powerful soever it may be, can venture to despise the opinion."—M. THIERS to M. GUIZOT, October 3, 1840. CAPEFIGURE, x. 257, 259, note.

might lead to the most serious dangers. He refused his consent, therefore, to the insertion of the hazardous paragraph, and the consequence was that M. Thiers resigned with his whole cabinet, and their resignations were at once accepted.¹

The resignation of the Minister having been foreseen, and, in fact, prepared for by the King, there was no difficulty in arranging the new Cabinet. There was no ministerial interregnum on this, as there had been on so many previous occasions, when real embarrassment had been experienced. To M. Guizot, who had been the chief instrument in its formation, naturally belonged the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Marshal Soult was again prevailed on to resume the onerous duties of President of the Council. The other offices were so arranged as to show that the Doctrinaires and Conservatives had at length got entire possession of the government, and that a cabinet was formed on the basis on which the King was desirous to conduct it.† So far the task was easy; but it was by no means equally so to conduct the administration so as to calm the general effervescence, without exciting distrust and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people.² So exciting had been the conduct and language of M. Thiers during the last four months, and so great the effervescence produced by the open encouragement given to revolutionary ideas, and the gauntlet thrown down to all Eu-

rope, that it was no easy matter to say how the nation was to be brought back to the sobriety of rational ideas, or taught wisdom without undergoing the ordeal of suffering.

The Chambers met, pursuant to proclamation, on the 5th November. The King was received in grave silence, interrupted only by some faint cheers from the Centre of the Assembly. "I have felt," said he, "the necessity of convoking you before the ordinary time when the Chamber assembles. The measures which the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, have adopted in concert to regulate the relations of the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, have imposed on me serious duties. I have the dignity of our country as much at heart as its security and repose. In persevering in that conciliatory and pacific policy, of which, during six years, we have been reaping the fruits, I have put France in a situation to make face against any events which might arise from the course of events in the East. The extraordinary credits which, with that view, have been opened, will be submitted to you; you will appreciate the motives which led to them. I still indulge the hope that the general peace will not be disturbed. It is necessary to the common welfare of Europe, to the prosperity of every nation, to the progress of civilization. I trust to your wisdom to enable me to preserve it, as I would reckon on your patriotism, if the honor of France, and the place it occupies among nations, should demand from it fresh sacrifices. It is with no less anxiety that, for another reason, I have appealed to your loyal assistance. Impotence has not extinguished the anarchical passions. Under whatever form they may present themselves, my Government will find in the existing laws sufficient guarantees for the public safety. As to myself, in the trials which Providence imposes upon me, I feel only that I owe thanks to Heaven for the protection which it has accorded to me, and have no duty so great as to prove, by my assiduous attention to the interests and happiness of France, my gratitude for the affection with which I am at this moment surrounded."

Great was the anxiety felt upon the debate on the address, which, as usual, was an echo of the speech; for it was felt to be the turning-point of French policy, both externally and internally. On it depended not merely whether peace was to be preserved, and the dogs of war kept in their leash, but whether the march of revolutionary ideas was to be stopped, and the nation retained in the unobtrusive paths of pacific industry. "France," said M. Thiers, "preferred a conference at Vienna, and demanded Egypt and Syria in hereditary right for the Pasha; while, on the other hand, the four coalesced powers insisted that he should be confined to Egypt. Such was the state of affairs when the ministry of 1st March succeeded to power. There was no longer a treaty, but an ultimatum, signified to France, and to France isolated from Europe. France alone was in presence of England, and England believed that she

* The passage desired by M. Thiers, and objected to by the King, was as follows: "Au moment où finissait la dernière session, un traité a été signé entre la Porte Ottomane, l'Angleterre, l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie, pour régler le différend survenu entre le Sultan et le Vice-roi d'Égypte. Cet acte important accompli sans la participation de la France, et dans les vues d'une politique à laquelle elle n'a point adhéré, pouvait dans l'exécution amener de dangereuses conséquences. La France devait les prévoir, et se disposer à faire face à tous les événements. Mon gouvernement a pris sous sa responsabilité toutes les mesures qu'autorisaient les lois et que prescrivait sa situation nouvelle. La France, qui continue à souhaiter sincèrement la paix, demeure fidèle à la politique que vous avez plus d'une fois appuyée par d'éclatants suffrages. Jalouse d'assurer l'indépendance et l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman, elle les croit conciliables avec l'existence du Vice-roi d'Égypte, devenu lui-même un des éléments nécessaires à la force de cet empire. Mais les événements qui se passaient pourraient amener des conséquences plus graves. Les mesures prises jusqu'ici par mon Gouvernement pourraient alors ne plus suffire. Il importait donc de les compléter par des mesures nouvelles, pour lesquelles les concours des deux Chambres étaient nécessaires. J'ai dû les convoquer. Elles penseront comme moi que la France, qui n'a pas été la première à livrer le repos du monde à la fortune des armes, doit se tenir prête à agir, le jour où elle croirait l'équilibre Européen sérieusement menacé. J'aime à compter plus que jamais sur votre patriotique concours. Vous voulez comme moi que la France soit forte et grande. Aucun sacrifice ne vous coûterait pour lui conserver dans le monde le rang qui lui appartient. Elle n'en veut pas déchoir. La France est fortement attachée à la paix, mais elle ne l'achèterait pas d'un prix indigne d'elle; et votre Roi, qui a mis sa gloire à la conserver au monde, veut laisser intact à son fils ce dépôt sacré d'indépendance nationale que la Révolution Française a mis dans ses mains."—*CASSEFOUX*, x. 262, 264.

† Cabinet of 29th October, 1840: Marshal Soult, President of the Council and War Minister; M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Martin (du Nord), of Public Worship and Justice; M. Duchatel, of the Interior; M. Haumann, of Finance; Admiral Duperré, of Marine; M. Cunin-Gridaire, of Commerce; M. Teste, of Public Works; M. Villemain, of Public Instruction.—*Moniteur*, October 29, 1840.

must yield. The cabinet of 1st March felt that France had immense interests in the East; on that point they were unanimous; but the great point was to gain time, for our military and naval preparations were not complete. England in reality was not to be feared, for she would willingly have coalesced with us, could she have found a decent pretext for doing so; so great was her dread of seeing the Russians established at Constantinople. It is true that France was desirous of entering into a direct and formal engagement with the Pasha; but that was only because it was the only means of extricating an affair otherwise insoluble.

"Would you know why the treaty of 15th July was precipitated, and why it was for some days concealed from France?"
 105. Continued. It was because the allies saw in the insurrection of the Druses a means of action which had not hitherto presented itself; and because they wished Admiral Stopford to stop the Turkish fleet, and take the Egyptian, before France was aware of what was going forward. Was not this act unworthy deception after ten years of alliance? France felt that affront. It is a mistake to say that I alone felt it, and that I drew my country after me. To do so would have been impossible; I only followed—I could not lead it. How many came to me and said, 'Support the dignity of France, and an entire nation will support you.' I own I shared, as every good Frenchman should, in these sentiments, and I wished to follow out the conduct which they prescribed. The more that I examined the question, the more I reflect on what passed in my breast in those terrible days, the more strongly I felt that if France receded on this occasion, she would lose her place among nations. *I knew I was about, perhaps, to make the blood of ten generations flow*; but the thought always recurred, if France retires, she does so in presence of Europe—all the world will know it: the Government, the Chambers, are engaged: if she retires, she loses her rank. If that monarchy which our hands have reared, to the formation of which, during ten years, we have directed all our efforts,—if it is to be found degrading the country instead of elevating it, I can no longer bear the reproach of having belonged to it. I prefer the obscurity of private life.

"To go to war immediately on account of the treaty, was impossible. The great thing was to gain time in order to complete our armaments, which had been sadly neglected during the long peace. Thence it was that the late cabinet proposed to the King to raise the army to 639,000 men, and to call into active service 800,000 national guards. Great as these forces are, they would have proved insufficient if Paris had not been fortified, and thence the proposition to do so, made not as a complaisant courtier, but as a sincere and devoted citizen. We were not in a condition to act before next May; and in the mean time the advice given to the Pasha was, not to pass the Taurus, to defend Syria, Acre, and Alexandria, but to invoke the mediation of France; and if the war continued, France, with all its forces, would support him in the following spring. I accept the responsibility of all I have done; it was by me that Mehemet Ali was curbed; it was M. Cochelet and M. Walewski who conveyed to him my

wishes. It was indispensable to gain time at that crisis; and that was the real object of the note of 8th October. Such was the policy, such the aim of the late cabinet; if it is not now to be carried into effect, let those answer for it who have given different counsels to the sovereign."¹

On the other hand it was answered by M. Guizot: "Would you know the real situation, the ultimatum of the cabinet of 1st March? I will tell you in one word: It was war—war certain and inevitable. Are you willing to incur its terrible chances for an accident of diplomacy, the debates of negotiators? It is not the stranger whom we would have to combat, if we engaged in such a contest; it is the factions in our own bosom, who torture the words of the treaty of 15th July, in order to render it the firebrand which is to set the world in flames. What right have they to speak to us of having dishonored France, by accepting peace on any terms? What right have they to suppose us less patriotic, or less disposed to take up arms, if necessary for the national safety or honor? The cabinet of 29th October is fitted to reassure all minds, to restore commerce, and all the interests which emanate from peace. Who is there among us, the friend of his country, who is not desirous to see it emerge from a crisis so menacing to society, and which is so evidently and fearfully rousing the revolutionary passions?"

"We are told that France is isolated, that she is put to the ban of Europe, that the great powers act independent of her. Be it so. Who isolated her? Not the allied powers who signed the treaty of 15th July, but the cabinet of 1st March, which began of its own accord an isolated negotiation with the Pasha of Egypt, without the privity of the other powers, and which, when discovered, led to the treaty of 15th July. MM. Cochelet and Walewski, our diplomatic agents in Egypt, had opened a negotiation with Mehemet Ali long before that treaty was signed, which was purely a defensive measure against an isolated act of aggression on our part. That was the real cause of the treaty of 15th July. When once it was signed, matters looked serious; it was necessary to take precautions, and therefore I approved of the armaments. But there was in reality no cause for war. There was certainly a difference of views between France and the allied powers on the affairs of the East, which I deplore, but nothing more."

"Whenever a feeling unusually warm is manifested in France, Europe believes a revolution is approaching. When ever the powers approach each other, or act in concert, France sees a coalition. That is quite natural on both sides. None can be surprised at it on either; but men of sense, who have influence on public affairs, should judge coolly in such emergencies. I say now to you as I have often said to others, You deceive yourselves; we are not in reality menaced with the revolution which you apprehend: and in like manner I say to you, You are wrong in feeling such alarm for the measures of the allied powers; they are defensive merely; they will lead to nothing if you do not provoke hostile meas-

¹ Ann. Hist. xliii. 332. 333; *Moniteur*, Nov. 25, 1840.

107. Answer of M. Guizot.

108. Continued.

109. Concluded.

ures. The treaty of 15th July has undoubtedly placed France in a serious situation; it has isolated it from Europe, and induced a coldness between it and its best and surest ally. That is the truth in its full extent; it is against that we must be on our guard—against that we must make preparation. But yet there must be a certain measure even in purely defensive measures. If you assume an attitude, and make preparations corresponding not to the actual state of the fact, but to what you erroneously suppose to be the fact, you yourselves run France into the danger which you say she has incurred; you are yourselves the authors of the danger; you compel the formation of the coalition which is the object of so much apprehension."¹

The new Cabinet obtained a decisive majority on this question; the division was 247 to 161. More than even by this large division against him, M. Thiers was damaged by the withering accusations brought against him, of having withheld for several days the publication of important intelligence, particularly of the treaty of 15th July, with a view to speculation in the Funds, in the benefit of which he largely participated. M. Thiers indignantly repelled these accusations, and there was no proof of their truth; but the honor of a minister must be like that of Calphurnia—it should not even be suspected; and men observed that no such stories were afloat when Count Molé and M. Guizot were at the head of affairs. This division put the new ministry, in the mean time, in a secure position, and enabled them to carry on with some confidence the negotiations with England and the northern powers for the adjustment of the affairs of the East. But as the majority was composed of a coalition of many parties, it shared in the weakness of all such confederacies, and Government, during the remainder of the session, cautiously abstained from bringing forward any measure which might betray the latent seeds of dissolution which were implanted in its bosom.*

In one particular, however, the policy of the late Cabinet was continued with only a partial modification. The FORTIFICATION OF PARIS continued to be the object of special attention from Government. The commission to whom, in 1836,* when M. Thiers was

President of the Council, the matter had been remitted, had reported in favor of a mixed system, consisting of an *enceinte continue*, with bastions and a ditch, protected in front by detached works upon advantageous eminences, intended to keep off the incendiary batteries of the enemy. Marshal Soult in person brought the matter before the Chamber, and insisted strongly on the necessity of the case, which admitted of no delay, and for which 18,000,000 francs had been already voted. The entire cost of the proposed works he calculated at 140,000,000 francs (£5,600,000), but he made no concealment of his opinion that the independence of France might come to depend on their completion. M. Thiers strongly advocated their necessity, but supported the *enceinte continue* in preference to the *forts détachés*, in which he was followed by the whole Liberal and Republican press, which loudly declaimed against the latter system as nothing more than a circle of bastiles, with which it was proposed to surround and overawe the capital. The case was happily summed up by M. Pagès de l'Ariège, who said that the one party demanded the *enceinte continue* in the name of nationality, the other the *forts détachés* in the name of the monarchy.¹

Marshal Soult, in a military point of view, argued that a great city can never be effectually defended but by advanced and detached works, which may be each capable of sustaining a separate siege, and prevent the enemy from approaching so near as to be able to set its buildings on fire by shells. In confirmation of this he cited the siege of Genoa in 1799, where the defense was conducted by Massena, and the utility of advanced forts was so strongly experienced that the conflict to the very last never reached the actual walls of the place. To carry the Liberals along with them, the Government adopted the mixed system recommended by the commission of 1836; but the whole strength of the fortifications was thrown by Soult's advice into the external forts, the *enceinte continue* being little more than an expensive *muraille d'octroi*. This modified project was adopted by the Chamber by a majority of 75—the numbers being 237 to 162 in the Deputies, and in the Peers by 147 to 85. The Government, to assuage the terrors of the Republicans, agreed that the detached forts were not to be armed without a vote of the Chambers, and that the artillery destined for that purpose, amounting to two thousand pieces, should in the mean time be deposited at Bourges. To us, who have seen the defense of the lines of Torres Vedras and the siege of Sebastopol, there can be no room for doubt that the opinion of the veteran Marshal was, in a military point of view, the better founded. Certainly an invading army, even of 200,000 men, could have little chance of subduing Paris, if in the principal detached forts with which it is surrounded they found a Malakhoff or a Redan, defended by a Todtleben or a Gortschakoff.²

* The report of the commission of 1836 was in these terms: "Qu'il soit élevé une muraille d'enceinte flanquée, surmontée d'un chemin de ronde crénelé, enveloppant les plus grandes masses d'habitation des faubourgs extérieurs de Paris, avec fossés là où cette disposition sera nécessaire. Que la trace de cette muraille embrasse les hauteurs qui dominent la ville, en suivant les directions les plus favorables à la défense, eu égard à la configuration du terrain; qu'elle soit assez haute pour être à l'abri de l'escalade, et assez épaisse pour ne pouvoir être ouverte qu'avec des batteries de siège; qu'il soit établi sur les parties de cette enceinte où le besoin s'en fera sentir des bastions susceptibles d'être armés d'artillerie, pour la flaqueur, couvrir de leurs feux ses approches, et éclairer autant que possible la gorge des ouvrages extérieurs, qui formeront la première ligne de défense.

"Qu'il soit construit en avant et autour de cette enceinte, notamment à la rive droite de la Seine, sur tous les points les plus favorables à la défense, des ouvrages en état de soutenir un siège, et fermés à la gorge. Leur objet sera d'éloigner les batteries incendiaires de l'ennemi, de protéger les diverses positions que pourraient occuper les

forces défensives que les circonstances auraient amenées sous Paris, et de renfermer une grande partie du matériel à la défense."—Rapport de la Commission, Nov. 8, 1836. —CARRIÈRE, t. 255, 256, note.

¹ Moniteur, Jan. 21 and Feb. 1, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 7-16.

² 112. Marshal Soult's military view of the question.

³ Moniteur, Jan. 27 and 28, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 12, 18, 20, 40.

But in the middle of these warlike undertak-
 113. ings, which the exposed situation of
 Alarming Paris, so near the northeastern fron-
 state of the tier, the most exposed of the king-
 finances. dom, without doubt rendered neces-
 sary, and the want of which the campaigns of
 1814 and 1815 had too fatally demonstrated, the
 state of the finances became every day more
 alarming, and M. Hermann, with alarming sta-
 tistical accuracy and without disguise, pointed
 it out to the Chamber. During his short min-
 istry of eight months, M. Thiers had cost the
 nation, of supplementary credits beyond the es-
 timated expenditure, no less than 185,000,000
 francs (£7,400,000);* and M. Hermann calcu-
 lated that if the same rate of expenditure were
 to go on for two years longer, as the late min-
 istry had intended, the deficit would amount to
 800,000,000 francs (£32,000,000), which could
 only be provided for by a regular loan, the re-
 sources of exchequer bills or other temporary
 expedients being entirely exhausted. Without
 doubt this burden, heavy as it was, would be
 esteemed light by the nation, if it was deemed
 indispensable to the national independence or
 security. But it was not so clear it would be
 calmly submitted to if it arose from the impetu-
 ous and warlike disposition of a single Minis-
 ter, who was content to set the world in flames
 in order to revive the worn-out fer-
 vor of the Republic, or realize the
 dreams of Napoleon for the estab-
 lishment of French influence on the
 banks of the Nile.¹

The Ministry in France having been changed
 on the Eastern question, there was
 no difficulty experienced by the other
 powers in coming to an accom-
 114. modation regarding it. By two hat-
 Treaty of Feb. ti-sheriffs addressed by the Sul-
 13, 1841, re- tan to Mehemet Ali, the latter was confirmed
 garding the in the government of Egypt in hereditary right,
 East. and provisionally in those of Nubia, Darfour,
 Sennaar, and Kordofan, and an act of amnesty
 published in favor of such subjects of the Porte
 as had revolted, and should return to their alle-
 giance. But such was the influence of Russia
 in the conferences which preceded this treaty,
 and such the blindness to the future of the other
 powers, that a clause was inserted in it bind-
 ing them to recognize as part of the interna-
 tional law of Europe the treaty of Unkiar-Ske-
 lessi, in which Russia, as the price of its assist-
 ance to the Porte, had extorted the closing of
 the Dardanelles against the ships of war of all
 foreign nations. The clause was in these words:
 "Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the
 King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain,
 the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the
 Russias, persuaded that their accord offers the
 surest guarantee for the peace of Europe, the
 object of their whole solicitude, and being anx-
 ious to give to the Sultan a public proof of their

respect for the inviolability of his rights of sov-
 ereignty, as well as of their desire to confirm
 the security of his empire, have resolved, on the
 invitation of the Sultan, to confirm by a solemn
 act their resolution to conform to the ancient
 rule of the Ottoman empire, in virtue of which
 the passage of the Straits of the Bosphorus and
 of the Dardanelles is to remain forever closed to
 the vessels of war of foreign nations, as long as the
 Porte shall remain at peace. And on his side the
 Sultan declares that he is firmly resolved to
 maintain in future the rule followed in time
 past as the immutable law of his empire, by
 which it is forbidden to the vessels of war of all
 foreign nations to enter the Straits of the Dar-
 danelles and the Bosphorus as long as the Ot-
 toman Porte shall enjoy peace, re-
 serving the right to grant firmans
 of passage to light vessels of war
 employed in the service of embas-
 sadors of friendly powers."¹

No doubt can now remain that the crisis which
 this treaty terminated was of the
 most violent kind; and that Eu-
 rope was indebted to the firmness
 of Louis Philippe, and the wisdom
 of M. Guizot, for deliverance from
 a war which not only would have been attended
 by the most fearful devastation* and effusion of
 blood, but would probably have terminated in
 destroying the independence of all the states of
 the Continent. England and France, the only
 two powers, it was well known, who were ca-
 pable of coercing the rapidly-increasing power of
 Russia, stood on the edge of a desperate con-
 flict, in which all the powers of Europe were
 again, as in 1813, to have been arrayed against
 France, and their arms, instead of being united
 to defend the liberties of Europe against Musco-
 vite aggression, would have been turned with
 fratricidal fury against each other. What would
 have resulted from such a conflict but a vast
 and most perilous addition to the power of Russia,
 the state by whose strength and ambition the
 other states of Europe are most seriously threat-
 ened? Without adopting implicitly the hyper-
 bole of M. Thiers, "that the war would steep in
 blood ten generations," it may safely be concluded
 that it would have done enough in one genera-
 tion to put in the most imminent hazard the
 liberties of all Europe. The "war of opinion,"
 which Mr. Canning foresaw, would have been
 induced by M. Thiers; and to what other end
 could that have led but the dividing Europe into
 two factions, which would have set not only na-
 tion against nation, but class against class, and
 could have terminated in no other result but a
 second subjection of the entire Continent to
 French domination, or the not less withering
 weight of Muscovite oppression? Every out-
 break of the revolutionary spirit, which M.
 Thiers so strongly evoked, has, during the last
 half-century, terminated in a vast addition to
 the power of Russia; and it was no wonder it
 was so, for she was the last refuge of the desti-
 tute when threatened with revolutionary devas-
 tation.

The treaty of 13th July, 1841, which first
 recognized as part of the public law
 of Europe the vast concession relative
 to the passage of the Dardanelles and
 the Bosphorus, extorted from the
 treaty.

* SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS.

	France.
Guerre	134,000,000
Travaux Publics	7,000,000
Marine	16,000,000
Achat de Grains	8,000,000
Imprévues	20,000,000
Total	185,000,000
	Or £7,400,000

—*Moniteur*, Jan. 23, 1841; CAPEFIGURE, x. 237.

¹ Treaty, Feb. 13, 1841; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 153, 154; *Doe. Hist.*

^{115.} Great escape which Europe made at this period.

^{116.}

Reflections on this treaty.

weakness of Turkey by the strength of Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, is one of the most curious instances on record in the annals of mankind of the insensibility of even the ablest statesmen to the consequences of their own actions, and the danger of being directed in public measures by the memory of the past, rather than the anticipation of the future. That both M. Thiers and Lord Palmerston were most able statesmen is universally known, and has been sufficiently proved by subsequent history. Both were clear-sighted enough to see that it was by Russia that the liberties of Europe were most seriously menaced; and the conduct of both afterward proved that they were fully alive to this danger. How, then, did these able men, with their eyes open to this danger, and at the head of the only two nations in the world whose union could avert it, act on this crisis? They mutually, and as it were by common consent, brought the two nations to the verge of a desperate war. They did more; they both, by separate means, adopted measures calculated, without intending it, to paralyze the strength of Turkey, where the onslaught was sure to be made. M. Thiers thought that the best thing he could do for Turkey, as the menaced power, was to cut off from it Egypt and Syria; a proceeding much the same as it would be to set about securing the independence of England by cutting off from it Scotland and Wales; and Lord Palmerston, having succeeded in bringing all Europe into his measures, thought he had secured the independence of the Ottoman empire by adopting the Russian treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, closing the Bosphorus and Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war; forgetting that Russia, with eighteen sail of the line, was already there, and that the only result of his diplomatic triumph was to leave Constantinople, with its fleet destroyed at Navarino, unsupported, *vis-à-vis* of Sebastopol, with its impregnable bastions and four thousand pieces of cannon.

The way in which this extraordinary result was brought about is sufficiently plain. M. Thiers, enamored of revolutionary excitement and imperial projects, was anxious to realize Napoleon's favorite design of establishing French influence on the banks of the Nile; and Lord Palmerston, justly dreading the effects of such an acquisition upon the English possessions in India, to which it was half-way, ably and skillfully formed an alliance of the four European powers to baffle the design. In this he was entirely successful; but meantime, in his anxiety to check the extension of French

influence in the Levant, he forgot the growth of Russia's power in the Black Sea. The Russian diplomatists skillfully and eagerly took advantage of this state of things to persuade the European powers to recognize that closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus against foreign ships of war, which she had extorted from the weakness of Turkey.¹ Thus did the Black Sea, with the concurrence of all Europe, become a Russian lake, and Constantinople was left at the mercy of its colossal neighbor! Another proof among the many which contemporary history affords, that, situated as the world now is, France and England can never be divided without its turning to the profit of Russia, and that the real pioneers to the advance of despotism are the outbreaks of democracy.

It is sometimes said that, to avert this obvious danger, and erect an effectual barrier against Russian aggression in the East, it would have been better to have let Ibrahim Pasha advance to Constantinople, and substitute the vigor of a new for the decrepitude of a worn-out dynasty. There does not appear to be any solid ground for this opinion. Egyptian tyranny could no more have averted the march of Muscovite ambition than Ottoman weakness had done. Europe at this time was entirely mistaken on this subject. It mistook the transient vigor which organized and methodized despotism had given to Mehemet Ali for the rising strength of a regenerated civilization. Such a thing is impossible in the East, and with the Mohammedan religion. There is no renovation there but that of the sword; no regeneration but the physical one arising from the inroad of northern conquerors. When you superinduce the regularity of European administration upon the oppression of Asiatic government, as was done by the Pasha of Egypt, and the English in India, you give for a time a great impulse to national strength, because you introduce a new and far more effective method of extracting their resources out of the people. But this is done only at the expense of present discontent and future ruin; the perfection of European administration, if not tempered by the establishment of European freedom, instead of a blessing, becomes the greatest possible curse to humanity. The universal insurrection of the Druses, and other hill tribes, against Ibrahim Pasha, prove how soon that was discovered by the inhabitants of Asia Minor. The sequel of this History will show whether the same political lesson is not taught by the English possessions in India.

117.
Way in
which this
was brought
about.

118.

¹ Ant. c.
xxxii. § 30.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF SIR R. PEEL IN THE END OF 1844, TO THE FALL OF HIS MINISTRY IN APRIL, 1855.

UNOBSERVED amidst the strife of parties, un-
marked by political leaders, un-
known to the dominant multitude,
one cause of paramount import-
ance and irresistible force was,
during the forty years' peace, in-
cessantly acting on the British Em-
pire. THE MUTATIONS OF THE CURRENCY, an-
ticipated before 1819, experienced since that
period, furnish the key to all the variations in
social happiness which were experienced during
that eventful period. They explain the alterna-
tions of feverish and short-lived prosperity, and
exhausting and long-continued distress, which
invariably occurred; they account for the vast
political changes which ensued, and the entire
alteration in the balance of internal power, and
in the tendency of foreign and commercial pol-
icy which occurred during their continuance.
Without a constant reference to this paramount
and irresistible cause, all attempts to explain
the political history of Great Britain during this
long period will prove nugatory, and the most
important lessons to be derived from contempo-
rary history will be lost.

It has been already explained, that as the
great objects of a currency are to be
adequate and retainable, so the great-
est possible mistakes which can be
committed in regard to the circula-
ting medium are to establish it on a basis which
is either too narrow or liable to fluctuation. As
gold has, from the earliest times, been consid-
ered as the most precious of metals, and, on
that account, been the great medium of payment
and vehicle of commerce among mankind, so it
seems, at first sight, the wisest course to estab-
lish the currency on that basis, because then it
rests on a foundation which is not, in the gen-
eral case, of a changing or evanescent character,
but durable, if any earthly thing is entitled to
that appellation in the changing concerns of
men. Gold, no doubt, in some political crisis,
does change value often to a very considerable
degree; but it does so, from its being univer-
sally current, much less so than any other com-
modity; and, therefore, a currency resting on
it as a basis seems more secure than any other
which can be figured. These are the principles
on which the monetary systems of Great Brit-
ain, since 1819, have been entirely founded,
which, beyond the limit of £14,000,000 issua-
ble by the Bank of England, and about a simi-
lar amount by the private banks in the empire,
requires the whole circulation to be based on
gold, and liable to be expanded or contracted
according as the supplies of that metal are
abundant or scanty. And these ideas are, in
themselves, so plausible, and the evils of an un-
limited issue of paper had been so forcibly illus-
trated by the French assignats, that it is not
surprising that they commanded general assent,

and for more than one generation entirely gov-
erned the monetary policy of the empire.

Reflection had, however, in the very outset,
revealed to a few sagacious observers, what experience and suffering have now taught even to the most inconsiderate of mankind, that these views are essentially erroneous, and, as applied to a domestic currency intended to sustain industry at home, of the most dangerous tendency. For the purposes of foreign transactions, indeed, whether of nations or individuals, it is indispensable to have a currency consisting either of the precious metals, or of paper convertible on demand into them, because none other will pass current in foreign nations. But with regard to the currency which is to be retained at home, and conduct the commerce of men in internal transactions, the requirement is just the reverse. The object of such a currency is to be adequate and durable, neither liable to be unduly accumulated at one time nor extensively withdrawn at another. Unless this is the case, money will be plentiful on some occasions, and encourage speculation by the rise of prices and the facility of getting it, and scarce on others, and so discourage enterprise, from the withdrawal of the circulating medium, and consequent fall of prices. The greatest social evils which can afflict an industrious and commercial community are induced by a circulating medium for internal transactions which is liable to fluctuation, and are capable of being avoided by one which is not liable to change.

The very circumstance which renders gold and silver the best possible foundation for the currency which is to conduct the foreign transactions of a country, renders it the worst for that which is to sustain its domestic industry. The reason is obvious: being always so much in request, they are the first to go away. Being the most coveted and precious of all articles, they are universally acceptable, and are more readily received than manufac- tures or other merchandise in payment of foreign importation, or in liquidation of foreign loans. Hence, whenever a great importation of foreign produce takes place into such a nation, or any adventitious cause occasions a great export of the precious metals, the currency, and with it the credit of the State, is shaken to its foundation, and undertakings the most necessary are suspended from want of the necessary funds to carry them on. If the basis could be permanently retained at home, it would all be well; but if it can not, better to rest it on something of less intrinsic worth, and less coveted in foreign lands.

The justice of these principles was, to a certain extent, recognized in the monetary system of Sir R. Peel, because the Bank of England

was permitted to issue notes to the extent of £14,000,000, and the country banks

of the whole empire of nearly as much more on securities only, not on bullion. But in this regulation, and still more in the adherence to it in subsequent times, there were involved two capital errors. In the

first place, the whole currency of the Bank of England was convertible on demand at the Bank into gold, and that of country bankers at their several places of issue into Bank of England notes, without distinguishing between those parts of the currency issued on securities and those on bullion. Thus the whole currency was made dependent on the retention of gold. In the second place, supposing the limit of £14,000,000 had been adequate for the public necessities at the time when it was adopted, it became inadequate from the growth of the nation and the increase of mercantile transactions, the first of which had increased fifty per cent., the latter more than doubled, in thirty years after the system was introduced. To suppose that because £14,000,000 was enough at one time, therefore it was always to be enough, is the same error as to suppose that the measure of a boy of eighteen will do for a man of thirty, or the food which feeds an army of forty thousand men will suffice for seventy thousand.

It is the peculiar evil of a system of currency

mainly dependent on the retention of gold, that it inevitably tends unduly to foster and inflame speculation when the precious metals are plentiful, and proportionably check and prostrate it when they are withdrawn. When, from any external cause, or the

exports becoming nearly equal to the imports by the effect of long-continued and general suffering, gold has become plentiful in the coffers of the Bank, and, consequently, its own issues, and those of all other banks, have become fearless and abundant, prices rise, speculation flourishes, great undertakings are commenced, and general prosperity for a brief season prevails. But in this very prosperity, acting on a system of currency based on the retention of the precious metals, are involved the seeds of certain and speedy disaster. The whole community, and especially the working classes, having, by the extension of the currency, been placed in a position, for a time, of comparative affluence and prosperity, the consumption of every species of merchandise of course increases in a similar proportion, and much beyond what, from the want of a similar cause, takes place at the same time in foreign states. Thence a great and growing balance of imports over exports arises; and this balance, under the combined influence of free trade and a high state of commercial credit, has of late years sometimes risen to *thirty or forty millions a year*.^{*} This immense balance of course must be chiefly paid in cash, or bills

^{*} EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE UNMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
1845	£60,111,081	£85,281,958	£25,170,877
1846	57,786,873	75,953,873	18,266,700
1847	56,949,377	90,921,586	32,072,505
1848	52,949,445	93,547,134	40,657,859
1849	63,596,025	105,874,607	42,278,682

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 356.

convertible into it, the only universally received medium of exchange among nations. Thence a rapid contraction of the currency to check the dreaded drain on the banks for gold, a serious fall of prices, a stoppage of mercantile discounts, a rise of interest and universal shake to credit, and suspension of enterprises of every sort, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial. Thus prosperity, under a system of currency mainly dependent on the retention of gold, leads to alternations of prosperity and suffering as inevitably as night succeeds day and day night, and that altogether irrespective of drains of gold from extraneous causes, such as war loans, extensive importations of grain owing to bad harvests, or the like, which necessarily, and still more immediately, lead to a ruinous contraction of the currency, and consequent stoppage of credit, and general suffering.

The way, and the only way, to avoid this perfectly simple, although such is the combined influence of the clear apprehension of the subject by a few interested parties on the one hand, and the benighted ignorance of it by the vast majority of the sufferers under it on the other, that an entire generation required to be rendered bankrupt, or go to their graves, before the subject was generally understood. This is to have two currencies in every commercial community: the one convertible on demand into the precious metals, for conducting its foreign transactions; the other not so convertible, to sustain its domestic industry. The latter currency should be open to *expansion* in proportion to the abstraction of the gold, which is the foundation of the first, for it is mainly serviceable in supplying the vacuum occasioned by the periodical abstraction of the former. Without doubt this domestic inconvertible currency must not be issued in too large quantities; care must be taken that it does not turn into assignats, and extinguish capital by lowering the value of the currency in which it may be discharged. But from the abuses of a system no argument can be drawn against its use. Because many drunkards perish by the undue use of ardent spirits, it does not follow that they are to be altogether proscribed in moderate quantities; because the Esquimaux reel about from gorging themselves with wheaten bread, it does not follow that a general abstinence from loaves is to be proclaimed.

The advocates of the present monetary system maintain that the high rate of interest, amounting sometimes to the rise of seven and eight per cent., which always ensues on a monetary crisis, is in reality owing not to any deficiency in the circulating medium, but to the supply of capital being at times, from accidental causes, within the demand. Two facts of universal notoriety and vast importance are decisive against this theory. The first is, that in the years 1818 and 1814, at the close of a war of twenty years' duration, and the borrowing of £600,000,000 during its continuance, loans of little short of £50,000,000 in each year were obtained by Government, the currency of England being Europe. £48,000,000, at £4 12s. per cent. 1789-1815, c. 84, p. 18. The second is, that in 1825 and 1848,

when the interest of money was, during the monetary crises, from eight to ten per cent., it was reduced within a few months to four or five per cent., the capital of the country having been diminished instead of being increased in the interim by the crash—in the first case by the accidental discovery and issuing of £2,000,000 of old notes by the Bank of England; in the second, by a letter from the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, amounting to a suspension of cash payments. These instances decisively prove that the extremely high rate of interest which always ensues in a monetary crisis, and is attended with effects so distressing, is in no degree owing to any deficiency of capital in proportion to the demand, but *solely* to the monetary laws, which render bankers and money-lenders reluctant to lend from dread of being immediately compelled to exchange the sums in which their loans are issued for gold, which is every day slipping out of their hands.

It is confidently maintained by the gold party, and has been argued with much ability by their acknowledged head, Lord Overstone, that no lasting relief would be experienced by the establishment of a double currency, partly convertible and partly not, because the inevitable effect of the issue of inconvertible paper would immediately be to drive the gold out of the country, and then either the same scarcity of currency which was formerly complained of would still be felt, or the specie would be wholly sent abroad, and the currency would become one issued on securities, or not convertible only. If £5,000,000 of inconvertible notes are issued, it is said £5,000,000 of sovereigns will be driven abroad, and the nation will experience no relief, but merely witness the exchange of a metallic for a paper currency. The only remedy for such a danger, it is alleged, is the establishment of a system which may compel a contraction of credit and of the currency when the exchanges become adverse, and thus bring back the gold by a diminution of transactions and fall of prices. The answer to this argument, which is so specious, and has been so ably stated that it has carried with it an entire generation, is threefold, and the whole merits of the question are involved in their consideration.

In the first place, if the gold can only be retained, when exchanges become adverse, by strangling industry, starving the country, and so lowering the prices of the produce of every species of industry, *the remedy is worse than the disease*. Gold is a very good thing, and necessary for foreign exchanges, but it is not worth purchasing by the ruin of the country. In every one of the great monetary crises which have occurred every five or six years during the last thirty, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty millions sterling have been destroyed. Is the retention of gold worth purchasing at such a price? What is the use of it, if it can only be retained by making the capitalists rich and all other classes poor? In the next place, the experience of Great Britain, during the French war, demonstrates that, by means of an adequate paper currency, not only can calamity be averted, but the highest degree of social prosperity and national glory attained *without any*

gold; witness the years 1809 and 1810, when a guinea was selling for 28s. In the third place, the apprehension so strongly felt by the bullion party of the gold leaving the country for any length of time, is entirely chimerical. What makes gold leave the country is its bearing a higher price abroad than at home, and what occasions this is very rarely a redundant paper circulation in the interior, but generally an extraordinary demand abroad, arising either from the necessities of foreign armies, the payment of foreign loans, a great importation of grain arising from deficient harvests, or a large increase of importations over exportations arising from great internal prosperity. When the extraordinary demand for gold arising from any of these causes has ceased in foreign countries, or the want of it is felt in this, gold will return to this, the centre of wealth and commerce, as certainly as the planets will revolve round the sun.

To put this domestic currency on a proper footing, it is indispensable that it should be issued by *Government, and Government only*, and on the national security, and that every banker who chooses to deal in notes should not be permitted to usurp the King's prerogative, and issue the current coin of the realm. There is very great danger, under such a system, of a currency getting into circulation which is at once redundant in point of amount, and unsafe in point of security. The currency should be all issued by Government, and Government only, and the nation responsible for its value, as it is for the Three per Cents. Nothing would be easier than to establish such a currency, and confine it within the requisite limits. One obvious way of limiting it in point of amount, and giving it adequate efficacy in averting evil, would be to limit it in the ordinary case to half the amount of taxes annually paid by the nation. Another, and a still better, to empower commissioners, for every million of bullion withdrawn from the Bank below a certain standard, say £16,000,000, to issue an additional million of the inconvertible notes, to be drawn in by being taken in payment of taxes without being reissued when the gold comes back. It belongs to practical men to devise the details of such a system; but if honestly set about by men of capacity, nothing would be more easy of accomplishment. And it may safely be affirmed, that if the requisite change is not made, the nation will continue to be visited every four or five years by periods of calamity, which will destroy all the fruits of former prosperity—like the unfortunate culprits who, under the former inhuman system of military law, when sentenced to one thousand or fifteen hundred lashes, were brought out at successive times to receive their punishment by installments as soon as their wounds had been healed in the hospital.

It has been already seen how powerfully the monetary crises of 1825 and 1831 contributed to swell the public discontent and suffering, which at length found vent in the Reform revolution. Not less important were the effects of the opposite set of causes in producing the feverish prosperity of 1835.

9. Argument of the bullionists in favor of their system.

11. Such a currency must be based on the national security.

12. Effect of the monetary laws in inducing the prosperity of 1835.

and 1836, terminating, as a natural consequence, in the long-continued depression from 1837 to 1842. Several causes concurred, in the first of these years, in retaining the gold in the nation, and inducing a high though fleeting degree of social well-being. Four fine seasons in succession had reduced to nothing the importation of wheat, and rendered the country, for the chief food of the people, self-supporting.* The effect of this, of course, was to stop altogether that drain of the precious metals, the most serious that can set in upon any country, which arises from the necessity of paying for large importations of food in gold and silver, from the disinclination of the raisers of it to take payment in any other form. At the same time, the reduced price of provisions increased the surplus available for other purchases in the hands of the middle and working classes so much as to communicate a fresh and very important impulse both to foreign commerce and domestic manufactures. And all this occurred at the very time when, from the pacification, in part at least, of South America, the supplies of the precious metals from those regions were considerably increased; and when the restored confidence of the nation in the stability of existing things, by the rolling past of the Reform tempest, had renewed, after a dreary interval, the taste for comforts and luxuries, and inspired the raisers of them with sufficient trust in the fortunes of the country to undertake their production.

The effect of these concurring causes ere long appeared, in the magnitude of the reserve treasure in the possession of the Bank of England, the consequent extension of its paper circulation, and the general rise in prices, and encouragement of speculation among the industrious classes over the whole country. The Funds in the latter part of 1834 rose to 91, and the Four per Cents in March stood at 104—a state of things which enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry through a bill reducing the interest on the latter stock to 3½ per cent., which was a very considerable saving to the nation, as the stock of that description amounted to £156,000,000. The dissentients were only 969, holding stock to the amount of £1,600,000; but Government, to pay off this sum, adopted the very questionable measure of making payment of that sum out of the “monies, stocks, and exchequer bills held by them under the *Savings Bank Act*”—a step which did not in reality diminish the security of the holders of money in those invaluable establishments, as the stock of those who dissented was placed in the names of the Commissioners in an account entitled “The Funds for the Banks of Savings;” but it had an awkward appearance, and gave rise to various sinister reports as to the security of these establishments, which time has now, happily, completely dispelled. The trade, navigation, and revenue of the United

* IMPORTATION OF WHEAT INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1830 TO 1836.

Years.	Quarters.	Years.	Quarters.
1830.....	1,701,835	1834.....	64,653
1831.....	1,491,631	1835.....	26,462
1832.....	325,435	1836.....	24,626
1833.....	62,346		

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 140.

Kingdom evinced great elasticity toward the close of 1834, and during the whole of 1835 and 1836, insomuch that that period may be reckoned with justice one of the most prosperous which the country had ever known. The revenue, as is always the case, rose in proportion, and, for the first time for many years, exhibited a flattering and growing increase, bringing out an estimated surplus of income above expenditure, in 1835, of £1,815,000.*

The effects of this extraordinary flood of prosperity, the result of the important change made upon the currency laws in 1834, by declaring Bank of

England notes a legal tender every where but at the Bank of England, already noticed,¹ were very important, and are still felt in various branches of industry and social economy—money being abundant, and the terrors of the bankers of a run upon them for gold allayed by this great change. Advances were liberally made to carry on mercantile undertakings, and both railway and banking speculations exhibited a rapid increase. In the three years ending with 1835 thirty-four joint-stock banks were established; and in 1836 no less than *forty-four* new ones were set up—making in all two hundred joint-stock banks, with six hundred and seventy branches, all founded since the joint-stock system had been established in 1826.† The issues of the country banks increased in a similar proportion. In the year 1836 they rose £1,500,000. Railway speculations underwent a similar increase. The number of bills for establishing new lines augmented from eleven in 1833 to thirty-five in 1836 and forty-two in 1837, and the capital expended in them swelled from £2,312,000 in 1834 to £22,874,000 in 1836.‡ These four seasons in succession, at the same time, lowered the price of provisions to an unprecedented degree—from 55s. 9d. in 1832, wheat fell to 35s. 9d. in 1835. In a word, the perilous tendency of a circulation based entirely on the retention of gold, was, during these years, unequivocally evinced in a way directly the reverse of what had hitherto been experienced, but not less fatal; for exchange during those years being favorable, and the export of gold small, paper was issued in abundance, and speculation went on as wildly and extravagantly as it had

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1834 TO 1836.

Years.	Exports Declared Value.	Imports Official Value.	Revenue.	Shipping.
	£	£	£	Tons.
1834.....	41,266,526	49,362,811	46,435,263	3,132,166
1835.....	47,020,658	48,911,542	45,693,369	3,309,724
1836.....	53,368,572	57,022,847	48,591,160	3,494,373

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 356, 397, 475.

† CIRCULATION OF PRIVATE BANKS.

January, 1834.....	£10,152,104
July, 1835.....	10,999,801
July, 1836.....	12,309,196

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 432.

‡ RAILWAY BILLS PASSED AND CAPITAL AUTHORIZED.

Years.	Lines.	Authorized Capital.
1834.....	14	£2,312,053
1835.....	19	4,812,833
1836.....	35	22,874,906
1837.....	42	12,531,799

—PORTER, p. 327.

done ten years before, unchecked by the memory of the terrible catastrophe in which it had then terminated. One class only, though the most important—the agricultural—was severely suffering; the unprecedentedly low price of every kind of rural produce threatened, if it lasted much longer, to involve them in total ruin.¹

Amidst this general prosperity a calamitous event occurred on the 16th October, 1835, which filled the inhabitants of London with consternation. At six o'clock in the evening of that day a fire suddenly broke out near the entrance of the two Houses, occasioned by the imprudent burning of a large quantity of old records, which had overheated the flues which penetrated the building, that frequent cause of conflagration in modern edifices. The flames burned with such fury, and spread with such rapidity, that all attempts to check them were vain; and the whole efforts of the fire-engines, which, on the first alarm, were hurried to the spot, were directed to prevent the conflagration spreading to the adjoining structures of Westminster Hall and the Speaker's house. These were, with great difficulty, preserved from destruction, but both Houses of Parliament, and a great number of the official rooms connected with them, became the prey of the flames, and were utterly destroyed. The Painted Chamber, fraught with so many interesting recollections from the earliest period of the monarchy—the chapel of St. Stephen's, which carried the imagination back to the days of our Saxon kings—the splendid tapestry representing the Spanish Armada, were all destroyed. The lovers of the fine arts can hardly regret a devastation which has made room for the splendid structure which now adorns the same spot, and is destined to witness, it is to be hoped for many generations, the meetings of the Reformed House of Commons; but those who are impressed with the reverence for antiquity will long lament the loss of a structure hallowed by the memories of eight centuries; and there were not wanting those who thought this calamitous event was ominous of the fate of the empire, and that, as the old constitution had perished, it was fitting that the structure which had witnessed its growth should perish with it.

It was in the midst of this growing prosperity that Sir R. Peel, in obedience to his sovereign's command, assumed the reins of office, and attempted the arduous task of forming an Administration, and conducting the Government in the face of a decided majority in the House of Commons and the urban constituencies. It was at first said by the Liberals that he would not succeed in even forming a Cabinet, and that the King, after his ill-judged attempt to form a new Administration, would be forced to go back to the old one. In this hope, however, they were disappointed, for, soon after Sir Robert's return, the new Ministry appeared in the Gazette, and Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The first step of Sir R. Peel was to open a negotiation with Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, as their secession from the late Administration led to the hope that they might, without a compro-

mise of principle, join the present. But though both these statesmen expressed themselves in courteous terms toward the new Minister, and declared their readiness to give him a fair trial, they were not prepared, at present, at least, to join his Cabinet, from a fear that their motives for so doing would be liable to misconstruction. The consequence was that Sir Robert was thrown back upon the old Tory party exclusively, and a Cabinet was formed, containing such an amount of talent and eminence as would in former days have insured stability, but could hardly be said to promise it in the altered state of the constitution under the Reform Bill.^{1*}

Previous to entering on the labors of office, Sir R. Peel addressed an important letter to the electors of Tamworth, which was in effect a manifesto to the whole middle classes of the empire. It was in the highest degree moderate and conciliatory; disclaimed all intention to interfere with the constitution as established by the Reform Bill, but declared his willingness to reform all real abuses, and listen to all well-founded grounds of complaint. He said: "With regard to the Reform Bill itself, I accept it as a *final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question*; a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or insidious means. I will carry out its intentions, supposing those to imply a careful review of old institutions, undertaken in a friendly spirit, and with a purpose of improvement. I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the

* SIR R. PEELE'S GOVERNMENT AS FINALLY ARRANGED.
Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury	Sir R. Peel.
Lord-Chancellor	Lord Lyndhurst.
President of the Council	Lord Roselyn.
Privy Seal	Lord Wharfedale.
Secretary, Home Department	Mr. Goulburn.
Secretary, Foreign	Duke of Wellington.
Secretary, Colonial	Lord Aberdeen.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl De Grey.
Secretary for Ireland	Sir H. Hardinge.
President of the Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint	Mr. Baring.
Paymaster of the Forces	Sir E. Knatchbull.
Secretary-at-War	Mr. Herries.
Master-General of the Ordnance	Sir G. Murray.
Not in the Cabinet.	
Postmaster-General	Lord Maryborough.
Lord-Chamberlain	Lord Jersey.
Lord-Steward	Lord Wilton.
Master of the Horse	Duke of Dorset.
Groom of the Stole	Marquess of Winchester.
Treasurer of the Navy	Lord Lowther.
First Commissioner, Land Revenue	Lord Granville Somerset.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Wynn.
Attorney-General	Sir F. Pollock.
Solicitor-General	Sir W. Follett.
In Ireland.	
Lord-Lieutenant	Earl of Haddington.
Lord-Chancellor	Sir E. Sugden.
Commander-in-Chief	Sir H. Vivian.
Attorney-General	Mr. Pennefather.
Solicitor-General	Mr. Jackson.
In Scotland.	
Lord-Advocate	Sir W. Rae.
Solicitor-General	Mr. McNeill.

responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but, at the same time, with a resolution to persevere, which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogative of the King as to give to the Ministers of his choice, not implicit confidence, but a fair trial." There can be no doubt, from his subsequent conduct, that Sir R. Peel was per-

¹ Sir R. Peel's perfectly sincere in these observations, Address, Ann. and as little that he was thorough-ly wise.¹ The constitution having, after a violent struggle well-nigh attended with fatal consequences, been settled on a new basis, nothing could have been more perilous and injudicious than to attempt to alter it, either directly or indirectly. The only wisdom was to let it get its full swing, and work out its natural and inevitable results. "The people," says Harrington, "can not see, but they can feel."

It was seriously apprehended by many persons who knew the strength of the reform passion which had got possession of the country, that the restoration to power of a Tory Government would lead to serious disturbances, and those who were aware of the length which matters had gone be-

fore the Reform Bill was passed, were not a little fearful that the displaced Ministry might attempt to regain office, as they had carried the bill, by actual force. These apprehensions, however, proved happily fallacious, and the event showed that the change which had been made, by giving the middle class in towns, where most danger was to be apprehended, the command of the country, had greatly lessened the risk of popular insurrection. The country remained perfectly quiet when the change was announced; conscious of their strength, the Liberals continued peaceable. The usual weapons of party warfare, indeed, were employed unsparingly, though without generally rousing the people to any dangerous excesses. The Liberals loudly declaimed that the reign of the boroughmongers and the Peers was about to return; that the Reform Bill, if not expressly abrogated, would be virtually repealed; and that the new-born liberties of the people would be sacrificed at the shrine of a rapacious oligarchy, to whose restoration to power this was the first step. One leading journal said, evidently on the information of a Cabinet Minister, "The Queen has done it all;" an assertion soon found to have been erroneous, as the cause of it was the resentment felt by his Majesty at the coercions put on him at the passing of the Reform Bill. The few journals who supported the Tory side answered, that these imputations were entirely unfounded; that no infringement on the Reform Bill, either express or implied, was intended, and that the manifesto of Sir Robert Peel proved that more real reformation of abuses was to be expected from his Administration than from that which the public indignation had so recently chased from power.² These apprehensions were natural on both sides, and such as might have been expected under the circumstances; but had the real views of Sir R. Peel

been known, his advent to power would have been hailed by the Liberals with more joy than that of any of their chiefs who carried the Reform Bill.

The elections took place in the middle of January, and it was from them that the Liberals first obtained decisive evidence that a great difference of opinion as to their qualifications to carry on the Government had arisen in the country. In the metropolis, indeed, in which, according to custom, the first trials of strength occurred, the Conservatives were eminently unsuccessful. Every one of the twenty members were returned in the Reform interest. But it was far otherwise in the counties, and many of the great towns of England: in them a large intermixture of Tories was returned. Halifax, York, and Leeds returned each one Conservative candidate—in the last he was at the head of the poll. Bristol returned two Conservative members, as did Newcastle, Exeter, Hull, and Warrington. Liverpool returned Lord Sandon, a moderate Tory, as one of its members, and though Sir Howard Douglas, the other candidate on that interest, was defeated by Mr. Ewart, a Liberal, he polled seven hundred more votes than he had done on the last occasion. In Lancashire and Hampshire both the Liberal candidates were defeated by the Conservative. On the other hand, Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, Sheffield, Preston, and most of the manufacturing towns, returned Liberals. In a word, contrary to general expectation, and to the no small dismay of the Whigs, who had anticipated a perpetual lease of power from the Reform Bill, a small majority of the five hundred English members was returned in the Tory interest—an astonishing fact, considering how lately the country had been shaken to its foundations by the Reform tempest, and eminently instructive as to the strength of the religious, loyal, and orderly feelings which characterized a large portion of the English people.¹

It was otherwise in Ireland and Scotland, however, where the Reform Bill had worked an entire revolution, and in class in whom political power had been formerly too exclusively vested was entirely stripped of it. The whole burghs of Scotland, twenty in number, returned Liberal members: in the counties, five were gained by the Tories where they had formerly failed, and three by the Whigs where on the last occasion they had been defeated; and Glasgow, which had formerly returned a Conservative (Mr. J. Ewing) and a Liberal, now returned two Liberals. The electors of Roxburghshire, who had given a signal proof of their fitness to exercise the electoral rights by hissing the dying Sir Walter Scott when he ventured to express an opinion adverse to them on the Reform Bill, again gave a striking proof of their incapability to bear its excitements on occasion of this election. Serious disturbances took place at Jedburgh, the county town, when Lord John Scott, the Tory candidate, made his appearance, and numbers of the electors were struck by the mob. But this was nothing compared with what occurred at Hawick, one of the polling places for the same county. From the very first, symptoms

¹ Ann. Reg. 1835, 5, 6, 7, 57; Doubleday, ii. 196, 197; Mart. ii. 206, 210.

² Ann. Reg. 1835, 14, 15.

³ Returns in Scotland.

of very serious riot manifested themselves in that town; and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the sheriff of the county and a numerous body of justices of peace, and a large body of constables, who were in attendance, the most dreadful acts of violence took place. The voters who came up to vote for Lord John were spit upon, pelted with stones, and severely struck, and in some cases thrown into the Slitridge stream which runs through the town, and subjected to the most shocking indignities, which the judges who afterward tried the case of the rioters declared "*to be worse than death itself.*" The Riot Act was twice read by the sheriff, and tranquillity was only restored, on the second night of the rioting, by the entry of a troop of dragoons whom the lord-lieutenant summoned up from Edinburgh. The ringleaders in the disturbances were afterward tried in the Justiciary Court and severely punished, by eighteen months' and two years' imprisonment.¹

The Irish elections, however, turned the scale against the new Ministry. It soon appeared that a compact, express or implied, had been made between the English Liberals and the Irish Catholics, for the purpose of subverting the Government of Sir R. Peel, and that the whole influence of the Romish priesthood, with O'Connell at their head, was to be exerted by the most unscrupulous means against them. The agitators went round as rapidly as a wheel of well-drilled troops on a review. Nothing more was heard of the "base, bloody, and brutal Whigs." On the hustings at Dublin, Mr. O'Connell said: "I am still for the repeal—sink or swim, live or die, I am for the repeal. And here I proclaim, by every thing sacred, to those who are most opposed to me, that *I am ready to concur with them*, and make with them the transition not only free from danger, but perfectly safe." Lists of the candidates to be supported by the coalition of Liberals and Catholics were published, and they were every where supported, and their opponents resisted, by the whole strength, physical and spiritual, of that formidable coalition. The voters were collected in their chapels by the priests, and led forth to the poll under threats of being refused all the rites, and visited with all the punishments, of the Church, if they failed to vote for the O'Connell candidate. Every one who voted for the opposite candidate was threatened with instant death. The Knight of Kerry, having started as candidate for the county of the same name, which he had represented for thirty years in Parliament, was immediately assailed, in the most violent manner, by O'Connell, though he had spent his life in restraining the impetuosity of the Orangemen. "Every one," said he, "who dares to vote for the Knight of Kerry, shall have a death's-head and cross-bones painted on his door." Though supported by nearly all the property, intelligence, and respectability of the county, he was defeated by the priesthood. Of a candidate for New Ross, who refused to enlist under his banner, O'Connell said, "Whoever shall support him, his shop shall be deserted—no man shall pass his threshold—let no man deal with him—let no woman speak to him—let the children laugh him to scorn." Mr.

Sheil, another Catholic leader, said, "If any Catholic should vote for him (the Protestant candidate), I will supplicate the throne of the Almighty that he may be shown mercy in the next world, but *I ask no mercy for him in this.*" O'Connell's principles were repeal of the Union, triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; yet he received the votes of the family and retainers of the late Lord-Chancellor of Ireland. The coalition was every where conspicuous, and with such success were its efforts carried out by the well-drilled and organized priesthood, that a decided preponderance of the members returned was in the Liberal interest; and no room remained for doubt that by their means the majority in Great Britain for Sir R. Peel would be overcome, and a majority, though a very slight one, obtained for the Liberals in the united Parliament.¹

Parliament met on the 19th February, and the first thing of course done was to proceed to the election of a Division on Speaker. Upon this question, by the choice of a common consent, the parties agreed to make trial of their strength. Feb. 19, 1835. Lord Francis Egerton, one of the members for Lancashire, moved that Sir C. Manners Sutton, who for eighteen years had filled the chair with the unanimous approbation of all parties in the House, should be re-elected; and the motion was seconded by Sir C. Burrell. On the other hand, Mr. Denison, one of the members for Surrey, proposed Mr. Abercromby, a gentleman of talents at the bar, and strongly supported by the Devonshire family, of which he had long been the confidential adviser; and he was seconded by Mr. Orde. The division was looked to with great anxiety by all parties, as it was well understood that it would be decisive of the fate of the Ministry by testing the comparative strength of parties in the new House. After a long debate, in which, as usual on such occasions, every topic was touched on except that really in the minds of the speakers, the division took place in the fullest House on record, there being 626 members present. It showed a majority of *ten votes* for Mr. Abercromby, the numbers being 316 to 306. This division was by far the most important of any which had taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill, and it brought out in clear colors the real and lasting effects of that measure. Of the English members, a great majority of the county representatives voted for Sir Charles Sutton, and a majority of 23 supported him, including the borough members; and of the Scotch, 31 voted for Mr. Abercromby, and 18 for the late Speaker, still leaving a majority of 10 for Sir C. Sutton. But the Irish members at once cast the balance the other way; for 61 voted for Mr. Abercromby, and only 41 for Sir C. Sutton, leaving the latter, upon the whole, in a minority of ten votes. Two things were evident from this memorable division, in which the future of England for the next half-century was clearly foreshadowed. The first was, that the Ministry was entirely, on party questions, at the mercy of the Irish Catholic members; the second, that the county members of the whole empire were *out-voted by the boroughs*, in the proportion of 35 to 20, and that a large

Ann. Reg.
1835, 15, 16;
Mart. ii. 209.

32.
Speaker
Feb. 19, 1835.

3 Part. Deb.
xxvi. 1: An.
Reg. 1835, 35.

majority of the former had declared for the Conservative side.*

It was at first thought that Sir R. Peel would resign on this defeat; but being deeply impressed with the responsibility of his situation, and the duty which he owed to the Sovereign who had appealed to him in his distress, he resolved to persevere, and not to retire till, on some vital question of ministerial policy, a majority of the House of Commons declared against him. On the 24th February, the House met for the dispatch of business, and the Speech from the Throne, after lamenting the destruction of the two Houses by fire, congratulated the country on the commercial prosperity which was universal, but "deeply laments that the agricultural interest continues in a state of deep depression. I recommend to your consideration whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for distributing the burden of them more equally over other descriptions of property." The Address, which was moved in the Commons by Lord Sandon, was as usual an echo of the Speech; but when it was brought forward, an amendment was moved by Lord Morpeth, which obviously put the very existence of the Ministry at stake. It was cautiously worded, and contained no declaration of want of confidence in the Ministry; but expressed a hope that municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control, that the undoubted grievances of Dissenters would be considered, abuses in the Church of England and Ireland removed, and lamented the dissolution of Parliament as an unnecessary measure, by which the progress of these and other reforms had been interrupted and endangered. This amendment, which foreshadowed the future policy of the Opposition, and contained a direct censure upon Ministers for dissolving Parliament, gave rise to a long and animated debate, which lasted four nights, but terminated in another triumph of the Liberals, the numbers being 309 to 302, leaving a majority of seven against the Ministers. This majority, like the former, was entirely made up of the Irish Roman Catholic votes; for of the English members who voted, a majority of 32 was in favor of Sir R. Peel; of the English and Scotch taken together, the majority was still 16; but the balance was cast the other way by the Irish, for there were 69 against him, 1835, 84-97; and only 86 in his favor.¹ Such was the gratitude which the Romish clergy and members evinced to the man

who had endangered his own political character to open to them the doors of Parliament!

When the Address, thus amended, was presented to the King, his Majesty replied: "I learn with regret that you do not concur with me in the policy of the appeal which I have recently made to the sense of my people. I never have exercised, and never will exercise any of the prerogatives which I hold, except for the single purpose of promoting the great end for which they are intrusted to me—the public good; and I confidently trust that no measure conducive to the general interests will be endangered or interrupted in its progress by the opportunity I have afforded to my faithful and loyal subjects of expressing their opinion through the choice of their representatives in Parliament."¹

Notwithstanding this second defeat, the Prime Minister still held on, alleging that no vital point involving the general policy of Government had yet come on for discussion. The Opposition leaders were much chagrined by this unexpected obstacle to their hopes, and very warm discussions took place in Parliament on reports which were eagerly circulated and credulously believed, in regard to alleged unconstitutional measures contemplated by the Government. On 2d March, Lord John Russell noticed two of these reports in Parliament; the first being, that Parliament was to be again dissolved; the second, that if this became necessary before the Mutiny Act was passed, the army would be kept up in the mean time on the sole responsibility of Ministers; and at the same time he gave notice that he intended to bring forward the Irish Appropriation question, and that of Municipal Reform. Sir R. Peel's answer was frank and explicit. He said that he had never contemplated a dissolution of Parliament, or a keeping up of the army by the prerogative alone; that he was anxious that the Irish Commission should prosecute its labors, and that Government would bring in a bill on the subject, adhering strictly to the principle that ecclesiastical property should be reserved for ecclesiastical purposes; and that they would be prepared to remedy all real abuses in corporations when the report of the commissioners appointed for their investigation was received. These were mere skirmishes, which were the precursors of the battle; but they indicated not obscurely where the weight of the attack was to be directed.²

The extreme distress of the agricultural interests in this year, when wheat fell to 39s. 6d. the quarter, induced the Marquess of Chandos to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the malt-tax lost. malt-tax; a project which has always been a favorite one with the agricultural interest, though it may well be doubted whether, even if entirely conceded, it would yield the benefit to them which they seem to suppose. Sir R. Peel resisted the proposal, upon the ground that, however desirable it might be to give relief to the agricultural interest in that way, the state of the revenue would not admit of it. Lord Althorpe had stated the probable surplus, after taking into view the reduced taxation this year,

* The following is an analysis of this important division:

	County Members.	Borough Members.	Total.
England	Abercromby 53	171	224
	Sutton 88	159	247
Scotland ...	Abercromby 11	30	41
	Sutton 18	0	18
Ireland	Abercromby 31	30	61
	Sutton 30	11	41
Total	231	301	532

—Ann. Reg. 1835, p. 3; *Parl. Deb.* xxvi.

The candidates voted for each other, and the four tellers are not included in the above enumeration.

at £250,000; the malt-tax proposed to be repealed brought in £4,812,000 last year. In other words, the reduction would leave the exchequer in a deficiency of £4,562,000. This statement was decisive, for every one saw that the inevitable result of going into the repeal would be the dire alternative of a property-tax. Sir R. Peel's words were: "My prophecy is, that if you repeal this tax you will make an income tax necessary; to that, be assured, you must come at last, if you repeal the malt-tax. You will lay your taxes on articles of general consumption, on tobacco, on spirits, on wine, and you will meet with such a storm that will make you hastily recede from your first advances toward a substitute. To a property-tax, then, you must come; and I congratulate you, gentlemen of the landed interest, on finding yourselves relieved from the pressure of the malt-tax, and falling on a good comfortable property-tax, with a proposal, probably, for a graduated scale. And you who represent the heavy land of this country—the clay soils, the soils unfit for barley—I felicitate you on the prospect which lies before you. If you think the substitute will be advantageous to your interests, be it so; but do not, when hereafter you discover your mistake, do not lay the blame upon those who offered you a timely warning, and cautioned you against exchanging the light pressure of a malt duty for the scourge of a property-tax." The Liberals and Ministerialists accordingly joined to

resist the motion, which was thrown out by a majority of 158; the numbers being 360 to 192. This was very nearly in the proportion of the borough to the county members in the whole House.¹

Sir R. Peel stated a very remarkable thing, in the course of this debate, in regard to the diminished consumption of beer in the country, compared with what it had been a century before. "In the year 1722," said he, "the population of the country (England) amounted to about 6,000,000, and the beer consumed, as stated in the returns, was nearly the same, being about 6,000,000 barrels; so that a barrel of beer was consumed by each person. In 1833 the population amounted to 14,000,000 and yet the annual consumption for the last three years preceding the repeal of the Beer Act was only 8,200,000 barrels, being little more than half a barrel to each person. This great diminution is to be ascribed chiefly to the increased consumption of other articles, especially tea, spirits, and coffee. The first has increased, since 1722, from 370,000 pounds, or an ounce to each person, to 31,829,000 pounds, or 2½ pounds to each person; the second from 3,000,000 gallons, or half a gallon to each, in 1722, to 12,320,000, or nearly a whole gallon, in 1833; the third from 262,000 pounds in 1722, or ¼ of an ounce to each person, to 20,691,000 pounds, or 1½ pounds to each person." These figures, which may be entirely relied on, coming from such a quarter, are very remarkable, and go far to account for the great diminution in the consumption of beer, by indicating a change in the national tastes. When it is recollected, however, how strong is the general predilection of the working classes for beer, and

how necessary it is to recruit the strength of those who are worn-out by incessant toil, it is evident that it does not explain it altogether; and that much was, at the same time, owing to the fall of wages, in all classes, especially the agricultural, which had followed the contraction of the currency in 1819. And that it was this contraction, joined to the fact of three fine harvests having been reaped in succession, which was the real cause of the depressed price of agricultural produce, and not the malt-tax, is proved by the fact, also mentioned by Sir R. Peel, that the price of barley, heavily taxed, was then higher in reference to that of wheat than it had ever been known before—a fact which decisively demonstrated that the fall was owing to some extraneous cause common to both.¹

A striking proof was soon afforded of the strength and blindness of the spirit of party which had now got possession of the Legislature, in the opposition made to the appointment of the Marquess of Londonderry to the situation of ambassador at St. Petersburg, which, though not as yet formally made out, had been officially announced by Government. This was strongly objected to by Mr. Sheil and Mr. Cutlar Ferguson in the House of Commons, mainly upon the ground that he had said the Poles were rebellious subjects of Russia, and that having ourselves violated the treaty of Vienna by partitioning the kingdom of the Netherlands, we had no right to complain of the Emperor of Russia having done the same by depriving the Poles of the constitution provided for them by the same treaty. Sir R. Peel made a feeble defense, resting chiefly on the well-known military and diplomatic services of the gallant Marquess, and the danger of the House of Commons interfering in one of the most important parts of the King's prerogative, the choice of ambassadors. Lord Stanley expressed opinions similar to the mover, adding a hope that Ministers would even at the eleventh hour cancel the appointment. As the appointment had not been made out, the motion was withdrawn; but as soon as the Marquess read the debate in the papers of the following day, he, with his usual disinterested manliness, relieved the Government of all embarrassment on the subject by resigning the appointment.²

The Marquess of Londonderry said, in announcing this in the House of Peers: "Having but one object, and that is to serve the King honestly, and to the best of my ability, were I to depart from this country, after what has passed in the House of Commons, I should feel myself, as a representative of his Majesty, placed in a new, false, and improper position. My efficiency would be impaired, and it would be impossible for me to fill the office to which I have been called with proper dignity or effect. Upon these grounds, I have now to announce that no consideration will induce me to accept the office which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me." The Duke of Wellington said: "I recommended that my noble friend should be appointed em-

¹ Parl. Deb. xvi. 762-766; Ann. Reg. 116, 117.

28.

Debate on Lord Londonderry's appointment as ambassador at St. Petersburg.

² Ann. Reg. 1835, 128-133; Parl. Deb. xvi. 939, 966.

29.

Lord Londonderry's characteristic declination of the office.

bassador at St. Petersburg; and I did so, founding on my knowledge of my noble friend for many years past, on the great and important military services, and on the fitness he has proved himself possessed of for diplomatic duties in the various offices he has filled for many years, particularly at the Court of Vienna, from which he returned with the strongest marks of the approbation of the Secretary of State. Being a military officer of high rank in this country, and of high reputation in the Russian army, he was peculiarly fitted for that employment." This was said with the Duke of Wellington's usual intrepidity and manliness of character, and a soldier could not have said less of an officer who had bled with the heroic Russian Guard on the field of Culm, and, by his ceaseless efforts to bring up Bernadotte and the Swedes, had mainly contributed to the victory of Leipsic.¹ Europe, c. But he might have added, that, of all men in existence, he was the one whom the friends of Poland should *least* have objected to for such an appointment; for he was the representative and inheritor of the policy of the statesman who had, by his single efforts, preserved a remnant of Polish nationality at the Congress of Vienna, when deserted by all the world; and who, while the Liberals of Europe had given them nothing but empty words tending to insurrection and wretchedness, had conferred upon them substantial deeds, the springs of social prosperity, and won for them a constitution which had conferred 1007; Ann. a period of felicity unparalleled in Reg. 1835, the long annals of Sarmatian suffering.² 133, 134.

On the 17th March, Sir R. Peel introduced a bill to relieve Dissenters from the hardship under which they alleged they labored, of being obliged to celebrate their marriages according to the form of the Church of England; and to effect this by proposing two ceremonies—one a civil and the other a religious ceremony—and to leave the last to be celebrated according to the forms of the church to which the parties belonged. The Dissenters approved of this bill, but it fell to the ground in consequence of the change of Ministry which so soon after ensued, and the matter was settled in the next session by an act passed under the succeeding Government. Sir Robert introduced a measure for the commutation of tithes, calculated to facilitate that most desirable object. All the committees of the preceding year were reappointed, which had for their object the removal of abuses of any kind. Several remedial measures were also brought forward; in particular, one was introduced for the better discipline of the Church of England, which proposed the equalization of certain great church incomes, and the creation of two new bishoprics—those of Ripon and Manchester. Ministers were defeated on a motion for an address to the King, praying him to grant a charter to the University of London, authorizing them to give degrees, by a majority of 246 to 186.³ But notwithstanding this check, which was not considered to be on a party question, the Administration, and especially the Premier, were rapidly rising in public estimation, in-

asmuch that Sir R. Peel challenged the Opposition to bring forward a distinct motion of want of confidence, which Lord John Russell declined.

The skillful leader of the Whigs knew well the reasons he had for declining this challenge: he was preparing a decisive struggle on much more favorable ground—that of the Irish Church question. That establishment presented many salient points open to attack, in consequence of the very principle on which it was rooted. That principle was that of a MISSIONARY CHURCH. It was never based on the principle of being called for by the present wants of the population; what it looked to was their *future* spiritual necessities. It was founded on the same reasons which prompt the building of churches in a densely-peopled locality, the running of roads through an uncultivated district, of drains through a desert morass. The principle was philanthropic, often in its application wise; but it proceeded on one postulate, which, unfortunately, was here awaiting, viz., that the people *will embrace the faith* intended for them. This was so far from having hitherto been the case, that the reverse was the fact. Either from the natural disinclination of the excitable Celtic population for any creed which did not appeal to the imagination, the senses, or the fears of the people, or from the Protestant faith being not adapted to a race of men in their infant state of civilization, not only had the Church of England made little progress in the making of proselytes, but the Romish Church was daily encroaching on its domain. Over the whole country the Catholics were then to the Protestants as four, in some parts of it as twenty, to one. Any measure, therefore, which went to correct this great inequality between the possessors of church property and the members of their flocks, was sure to enlist in its support not only the whole Irish members returned in the Catholic interest, who were upward of forty, but the greater part of that still more numerous body in Great Britain who looked upon the comparative number of the members of different religious persuasions as the only just and solid ground for the distribution of ecclesiastical property.

The decisive question came on on the 30th March. On the evening of that day, Lord John Russell moved "that the Lord John House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not required for the spiritual care of its members to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion." This motion was most skillfully devised by the able leader of the Opposition for the object in view. It merely assumed indirectly, without expressing it, a power in the Legislature to deal with Irish Church property—a principle which he knew Sir R. Peel could not concede, but which, nevertheless, would command the support of all the parties, and sections of parties, which might be expected to coalesce against his Administration. The Irish Catholics, ascertained by experience to hold the balance in the

30.
Sir Robert
Peel's remedial
measures.

xvii. 1804-
1807; Ann.
Reg. 1835,
133, 134.

xvii. Deb.
xvii. 215,
279, 307;
Ann. Reg.
1835, 187,
186-188.

31.
The Whigs
attack Govern-
ment on the Irish
Church ques-
tion.

32.
Lord John
Russell's
motion regard-
ing the Irish
Church.
March 30.

House of Commons in their hands, were sure to give it their unanimous and zealous support; the Dissenters would join their ranks from hostility to the common enemy, the Church of England; the Radicals, from enmity to any Government, and a desire to get in the point of the revolutionary wedge into the weakest part of our national institutions. Thus, from different motives, all classes of the Opposition might be expected to join in support of this motion, and the great problem which ambition is ever ready

to solve in representative states was solved, viz., to find a question upon Peel, ii. 218; which parties the most at variance Ann. Reg. 1835, 172. can unite without compromising their own consistency.¹

On the part of the motion, it was urged by Lord John Russell, Mr. Sheil, and Lord Howick: "Fully admitting that an establishment tends to promote religion, to maintain good order, and that it is agreeable to a majority of the people in this part of the empire, it is yet apparent that it can deserve this high character only so long as it really fulfills these objects. 'The authority of a church,' says Paley, 'is founded upon its utility; and whenever, upon this principle, we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellency of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider them, is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea, and every other end, which have been mixed up with this, as the making the Church an engine or even ally of the State, converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence, or regarding it as a support of regal in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and abuses.' This being the avowed object of ecclesiastical establishments, how far has the Church of Ireland come up to that standard? It is immensely rich; what use does it make of its riches? In the beginning of the last century its revenues were under £110,000 a year; they are now £791,721, or in round numbers £800,000. While this enormous increase has been taking place, has there been a corresponding augmentation in the number of conversions to the Protestant faith, or has the activity and zeal of the clergy been such as to warrant the continuance of this large revenue? So far from this being the case, the fact has been, in many instances, just the reverse; the established clergy have considered themselves as a great political body rather than a set of religious teachers, and, in consequence, the number of Protestants, so far from having increased with the growth of the establishment, has diminished.

"In the county of Kilkenny, in 1731, there were 1055 Protestants; now there are only 945. In Armagh, at the same period, the Protestants were 3 to 1; now they are 1 to 3. In Kerry the proportion of Catholics is still greater. The whole Protestants of Ireland do not, in all probability, exceed 750,000, of whom 400,000 are in the single province of Ulster. In nine dioceses, out of a population of 2,667,558 souls, there are only 335,106 Protestants; while there are 1,732,452

Catholics—being in the proportion of above 5 to 1. It is then clear, that, while in some parts of Ireland the members of the Established Church are sufficiently numerous to require a considerable number of beneficed clergymen, in other parts they form so small a proportion that it is neither necessary nor right to maintain so large an establishment. At present the £800,000 a year, which forms the income of the Irish Church, is expended entirely for the benefit of perhaps an equal number of the people, while the remaining seven millions, equally burdened by, derive no benefit whatever from it.

"This state of things is so monstrous that it inevitably, and as a matter of necessity, led to a general combination against the payment of tithes; and this, in its turn, induced another set of evils, hardly less formidable than those from which it originated. No one can justify that combination; all must deplore it; but it was inevitable; and what we have to consider is, how its continuance or recurrence is best to be prevented. That resistance has become so general and inveterate, that all the efforts, whether of the clergy or the government collectors, have been unable to overcome it. Thus the Establishment has not merely failed to diffuse spiritual doctrine and religious consolation among the great mass of the populace, but it has done just the reverse. It has brought the clergy into continual collision with the people, which has led to scenes of civil strife and bloodshed, and brought about a state of things utterly irreconcilable with the true ends of all church establishment, religious instruction, and spiritual consolation. It has become painfully evident that these great and paramount objects can never be aided, or even attained, by limiting the religious instruction of the people of Ireland, as it has hitherto been, and applying the revenues of the Irish Church to maintaining the doctrines of the Establishment, and to no other purpose whatever.

"This being so, it is evident there must be a reform; and that reform should consist in adapting the Establishment to the wants of those who belonged to it, not in making unnecessary additions. If this principle is adopted by the House, it can not do otherwise than make a great reduction in the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland. Whatever remains after that reduction ought to be applied to some object by which the moral and religious instruction of the people of Ireland may be advanced, and by which they may be led to believe that the funds which were nominally raised were really applied for their benefit. The use to which the surplus is proposed is general education, according to the system adopted by the National Board in Ireland, by which individuals of all persuasions can receive religious and moral instruction, and be brought up in harmony together. From the earliest times this is what it has been the earnest wish of this House, as well as of all the real friends of Ireland, to accomplish. This was the course which the Commission of General Education, appointed in 1816, consisting of the Archbishop of Armagh, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Edgeworth, recommended. The question is not whether the people of Ireland should be Catholics or not, but whether or not they should receive the

¹ Double-day's Life of Peel, ii. 218; Ann. Reg. 1835, 172.

³³ Argument in favor of the motion.

³⁴ Continued.

³⁵ Continued.

³⁶ Continued.

elements of moral and religious instruction. Since the establishment of the National Board of Education in Ireland, introduced by Lord Stanley when Secretary for Ireland, there has been the most perfect harmony of feeling; and wherever schools have been established on that principle, they have been productive of the most beneficial results.

"It is objected to the principle of this plan that church property can not be applied to any purposes not strictly ecclesiastical, any more than private property can be taken away from its owner. But is there any analogy between private property and that vested in the bishops, deans, and chapters, and clergy of Ireland? The very acts of this Parliament prove the reverse. A bill had been passed which struck off ten of the bishoprics of Ireland, and appropriated their revenues to those next in order—the deans and chapters. But supposing there was enough for them, and still a surplus, what then? It was to be applied to rectors' churches and glebe-houses. But if a surplus still remained after all these objects had been accomplished, how could it be maintained that it was not to be applied in the way most generally beneficial, in promoting that which is the foundation on which all religion and morality must be built—that is, general education? In so applying any surplus funds which may be at your disposal, you are not diverting it from its religious destination; you are, on the contrary, applying it to the most important of all religious objects—the widening the entrance by which all religious knowledge is to be let in. You are applying your resources to broadening the foundations upon which alone an extended superstructure can be reared. It is no answer to this to say, that the land which pays tithe to Protestants is to that in the hands of Catholics as fifteen to one. That would be a serious argument if the Established Church existed only for the rich; but it is nugatory when it is recollected that every establishment professes to be for the whole, and especially the poorest classes of the community."¹

On the other hand, it was maintained by Sir R. Peel, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham: "The account given of the revenue of the Irish Church is greatly exaggerated: so far from amounting to £800,000 a year, it does not exceed £620,000; and even on that sum a charge of £70,000 a year, being that of vestry cess, has been recently laid, which was formerly paid by the land. A tax, exclusively borne by the Church, of from three to fifteen per cent., has been laid on all livings; and that act enacted, that in all livings in which service had not been performed from 1830 to 1833, when a vacancy occurred there should be no reappointment, and the revenues of that living, after paying a curate, should be destined to other parishes differently situated, but for purposes strictly Protestant. Here, then, is a provision already made for the progressive diminution or extinction of the Episcopal Church in those situations where it is not called for, and can be of no utility. Whence, then, the anxiety to take away a surplus which, in all probability, will not exceed £100,000 a year, from a Church already subjected to such heavy and ex-

clusive burdens? It is not pretended that the object of this appropriation is to apply the income seized to the payment of the national debt, or that it is justified by any state necessity. In truth, the whole thing is gone, as the lawyers say, in *emulationem vicini*. It is brought forward, not because the State is poor, but because the Church is rich; not that the people may gain, but that the Church may lose its wealth.

"Such a doctrine as this completely breaks down the great principle which is at the foundation of all property, and which it has ever been the object of good government to maintain inviolate; a doctrine which, if once admitted, will bring any state from the condition of the highest civilization to that of utter barbarism. If the appropriation clause, as now shaped, once passes into law, not only will the Protestant cease to be the established religion of Ireland, but it will be fatal to the Church Establishment in this island also. It was to avoid this very danger that the Irish Legislature had stipulated in the Articles of the Union for the safety of the Protestant Church; and, without going the length of contending that those Articles are like the laws of the Medes and Persians which can not be altered, yet it is evident they should not be infringed upon without evident and pressing necessity; and if there is any one interest which more than another should be treated with tenderness, it is that of a church being that of a small minority in the country, and therefore beset with dangers and surrounded by enemies.

"Is the proposed measure likely to pacify Ireland, or heal any of the divisions of that unhappy country? Can any thing exceed the absurdity of supposing that resistance to paying tithe to a Protestant church will be removed by applying a small fraction of its income to a different purpose? Suppose the incumbents removed from one-fourth of the parishes in Ireland, and their revenues applied to the national schools—will that alleviate the discontent in the remaining three-fourths, where the incumbent still resides, where service is still performed, and tithes are still levied? Will it not rather increase the agitation by encouraging the hope that, by prolonging it, the stripping of the Church, now partial only, will be rendered universal? If peace is the object of this measure, its success is hopeless; it will only prove an additional fire-brand of war. This is the object which has hitherto been always held out as inducement to go into the measures urged upon us by the Roman Catholics: peace—peace, is the universal cry. And now it is not disguised that there is no peace, and that this is the first of a set of measures avowedly intended to annihilate the Protestant Establishment. What said Dr. M'Hale, one of the ablest of the Roman Catholic bishops, in 1833, after he was in the full enjoyment of his civil rights? 'After all the evils which have fallen on this devoted land, it is a consolation to reflect that the legislative axe is at last laid to the root of the Establishment. The pruners of our ecclesiastical establishments have not read the Roman history in vain, when the two overshadowing plants, which spread their narcotic and poisonous influence all around them, have been laid low. This is but the prelude to a

¹ Parl. Deb. xvii. 302, 390; Ann. Reg. 1835, 172-177.

² Answer of the Ministry.

further and still more enlarged process of extinction. By every reform abuses will be removed, until, it is to be hoped, *not a single vestige of that mighty nuisance will remain.*'

"Mr. O'Connell's language, to do him justice, has been equally explicit. No farther back than October 1884, he said: 'It is quite true that I demanded but a partial reduction—it was three-fifths of the tithes. Why did I not ask more? Because I had no chance, in the first instance, of getting the whole abolished, and I only got two-fifths, being less than I had demanded. I had therefore no chance of getting the entire destroyed; and because I am one of those who are always willing to accept an installment, however small, of the real national debt—the people's debt—I determined to go on, and look for the remainder when the first installment should be completely realized.' Again he said, 'My plan is to apply that fund in the various counties of Ireland to relieve the occupiers of land from grand-jury cess, and to defray the expense of hospitals, infirmaries, and institutions for the sick.' In other words, he proposed to confiscate the property of the Church, in order to relieve the land from its appropriate burdens, and keep free from it the relief or support of the poor.

"On no reasonable ground, therefore, can it be maintained that this concession to Irish agitation will have any other effect but that of feeding the ambition of the agitators, and leading them to prefer fresh demands, fatal to the very existence of an ecclesiastical establishment. It is the very essence of a church to be *universal*; there must be a clergyman in every parish. The provision for the clergy must be certain; it must be beyond the reach of fraud; it must be beyond the reach of agitation; it must be beyond the reach of influence, in order to avoid the disgrace of the pastor shaping his doctrine, not to the standard of truth, but to the taste of his hearers. It must be sufficient to maintain themselves and their families in decent competence; for the clergy are permitted to marry, and an unmarried priesthood is an unholy priesthood. The livings of Ireland are by no means above this standard; many of them are below it.* The whole would not average £200 a year. In a peculiar manner becomes the Whigs to oppose this mischievous and disastrous revolution. Whig principles consist not in death's-head-and-cross-bones denunciations against those who venture to exercise their civic franchises according to their consciences, nor in prayers for mercy limited to those in heaven, but not to be extended to those on this side the grave. Genuine Whig principles consist in a warm attachment to civil freedom, and the Protestant religion as by law established. This is a vital question, upon which no further compromise can be made. The property set apart by our ancestors to maintain and propagate the Protestant religion is sacred, and ought only to be applied to sacred uses. More than this, those who minister at the altar ought

to live by the altar. That principle is high as heaven, and you can not reach it; it is strong as the Almighty, and you can not overturn it; it is fast as the Eternal, and you can not unfix it. It is binding on a Legislature consisting of Christian men, and acting on Christian principles, and no consideration on earth should induce you to compromise or destroy it."¹

The debate, which was kept up with uncommon vigor and ability on both sides for four nights, was brought to a conclusion at four in the morning of the 7th April, when the division took place; and there appeared 323 for the motion, and 289 against it, leaving Ministers in a minority of 38. This hostile majority, much more considerable than what had occurred either on the choice of a Speaker or on the Address, was on a vital question of general policy, and therefore it left Sir R. Peel no alternative but to resign. A Cabinet Council accordingly was held on the following day, when it was unanimously resolved to have one more trial, and in the event of failure to resign; a determination which was announced in the House of Commons on the 8th April, after a second defeat of Ministers by a majority of 27—the numbers being 285 to 258—on the motion of Lord John Russell, "That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes can be satisfactory, or lead to a final adjustment, which does not embody the principle of the foregoing resolution." Sir R. Peel, in making this announcement, said: "The Government being firmly resolved to adhere to the principle of their own bill, and not to adopt the principle of the vote of last night, felt it to be their duty as public men to lay their offices at the disposal of his Majesty. I have been anxious to make this explanation as briefly as I can, and in a manner the least calculated to give offense or excite angry feelings. My whole political life has been spent in the House of Commons; the remainder of it will be spent in the House of Commons; and whatever may be the conflict of parties, I for one shall always wish, whether in a majority or a minority, to stand well with the House of Commons. (Immense cheering from all sides.) Under no circumstances whatever, under the pressure of no difficulties, under the influence of no temptation, will I ever advise the Crown to forego that great source of moral influence which consists in a strict adherence to the spirit, the practice, and even the letter, of the constitution."²

Sir R. Peel having thus resigned, in obedience to the principle of the constitution which requires the King's ministers to yield to a hostile majority of the House of Commons, when once decidedly pronounced on a vital question, nothing remained for the Sovereign himself but to accept a Ministry from the party which had in this manner got a majority in the House of Commons. Nearly ten days elapsed, however, during which the House was

* There were 1452 livings in Ireland, and returns had been obtained from 1123 of them. Of these—

Under £350 a year	570
Under £450 a year	854
Under £500 a year	948

—Ann. Reg. 1835, p. 164.

* The above is but the skeleton of Sir James Graham's able speech on this occasion.

¹ Parl. Deb. xxvii. 419, 420; Ann. Reg. 1835, 180-183.

² 43. the question, and resignation of Sir R. Peel. April 2.

⁴⁴. New Ministry, and Lord Melbourne its head. April 18.

twice adjourned, before the arrangements were completed. At length, on the 18th April, Lord John Russell announced the formation of a new Administration in the House of Commons, and Lord Melbourne did the same in the House of Lords. The new Administration was substantially the same as the former which had been dismissed by the King: Lord Melbourne resumed his place as Premier; Lord John Russell as Home, Lord Palmerston as Foreign, Mr. Charles Grant as Colonial Secretary; Mr. Spring Rice was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Auckland, First Lord of the Admiralty. The only material difference was, that Lord Brougham did not come into office again in any shape:

the Great Seal was put in commission, the three commissioners being the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Justice Bosanquet.¹

Short as it was, the Administration of Sir R.

Peel at this juncture was attended with most important effects, and it deserves a consideration much beyond what its duration would seem to warrant in the modern history of Great Britain. It marked the period when the reaction had set in against the revolutionary fervor which had forced through the Reform Bill, and when the divided opinions of the country on that great change had come to manifest themselves in the returns of the House of Commons. Already the enthusiasm in favor of the bill had subsided: there was no longer to be heard the cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." Five-sixths of the House of Commons was no longer composed of Liberals. On the contrary, a considerable majority of English members were Conservatives—a majority, though a small one, of those of England and Scotland taken together, were on the same side, and the balance was cast the other way entirely by the Irish Roman Catholic members. This great change in opinion, of course, was not owing merely to Sir R. Peel's Ministry; it was the natural result of reflection and experience upon an intelligent though over-heated

generation. But the great and lasting effect of his being called to the helm, and of the consequent dissolution of Parliament, was that this change of opinion was *let into the Legislature*, and the great risk was avoided of four-fifths of the Legislature being of one way of thinking, while a majority of the constituency in Great Britain at least were of another.

This change at once disarmed the Reform Bill of its greatest dangers; and for this, though he probably neither fore-saw nor intended it, King William deserves the lasting gratitude of his country: The great and tremendous risk was, that with the immense majority of the Liberals, which the unexampled fervor of the public mind had introduced into the House of Commons, and the proof recently afforded of the possibility of driving the House of Lords to consent to any thing by the threat of creating peers, new and interminable organic changes might be forced upon the Government, and carried through by the influence of the heated urban electors upon their representatives in Parliament before the nation had time to recover from its transports, and thus the constitution be overturned, as it had been in France, at the gallop, no one knew how or by whom. There can be no doubt that it was entirely owing to the firmness of Earl Grey and his Ministry that this danger had hitherto been averted; and though he was overthrown in the attempt, yet he deserves the lasting thanks of the country for having made it. But now, when a majority of British members was returned on the Conservative side, and only a majority of ten, including Ireland, on the Liberal, this immediate danger was at an end. On any question involving any further organic changes in the constitution, it was very doubtful whether they would have any majority in the House of Commons; and quite certain that, if carried there, the Lords would take courage to throw them out in the Upper House. Thus the popular branch of the Legislature, from being so equally divided, was rendered in a great measure powerless either for good or for evil: and this was the greatest possible advantage which could be gained; for it gave the passions time to cool, and let in the still small voice of experience to discriminate between really beneficial reforms and those which were inexpedient from the hazard with which they were attended.

For the same reason this short Administration, and the change in the House

of Commons with which it was attended, was followed by a most important effect upon the position and influence of the House of Lords. It restored the Upper House to its functions—it brought back the constitution to its mixed character of King, Lords, and Commons, instead of being, as for the three preceding years it had been, Commons alone. The effects of this restoration of the old balance have been very great, and are still sensibly felt. The few occasions on which, since that time, the balance has been again subverted, and measures forced upon the Upper House and the Crown in defiance of their deliberate convictions, are sufficient to demonstrate what would have been the consequence of this being the settled and daily prac-

* The new Cabinet stood as follows

The Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Melbourne.
President of the Council	Lord Lansdowne.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Auckland.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Holland.
Woods, Forests, and Privy Seal	Lord Duncannon.
Home Secretary	Lord John Russell.
Foreign Secretary	Lord Palmerston.
Colonial Secretary	Mr. Charles Grant.
India Board	Mr. J. C. Hobhouse.
Secretary-at-War	Lord Howick.
Board of Trade	Mr. Poulett Thomson.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Spring Rice.

Not in the Cabinet.

Attorney-General	Sir John Campbell.
Solicitor-General	Mr. Ralfs.
Judge-Advocate General	Mr. Cuthbert Fergusson.
Postmaster-General	Earl of Minto.
Paymaster and Treasurer of the Navy	Sir H. Parnell.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	Lord Mulgrave.
Lord-Chancellor of Ireland	Lord Plunkett.
Attorney-General for Ireland	Mr. Perrin.
Solicitor-General for Ireland	Mr. O'Loghlin.
Lord-Advocate for Scotland	Mr. J. A. Murray.
Solicitor-General for Scotland	Mr. J. Cunningham.

—Ann. Reg., 1835, p. 236.

tice of the constitution. From the epoch of Sir R. Peel's first Administration, accordingly, we may date the restoration of the House of Lords to its legitimate functions, and discern the action of the important fly-wheel which the constitution had provided to regulate and steady the movements of the political machine.

But, for the same reasons, this change proved in the highest degree pernicious to Ireland, and it is to be regarded as its pernicious effects upon Ireland.

48. period of anarchy and paralyzation of Government which, after leading the nation through the apprenticeship to misrule, of repeal agitation and monster meetings, was terminated at last by the awful catastrophe of 1847. Earl Grey, resting on a decisive majority in the House of Commons, had passed the Coercion Bill in defiance of O'Connell and the Catholic members; but he had thereby tranquilized the country, and reduced predial outrages, which had multiplied *sixteenfold* since the Catholic Relief Bill had passed, to a fourth of their amount when the Coercion Bill took effect.¹

¹ Ante, c. xxi. § 44. But this vigorous and efficient administration of Irish affairs, so healthful to a country in its excited and distracted state, became impossible when the divided state of the English House of Commons forced the Liberal Ministry to look to the Irish Catholic members for their political existence. When the majority which kept Ministers in power was eight or ten only, and it soon fell to five or six, and that majority, such as it was, was secured only by the Irish Roman Catholics, it was impossible to resist their wishes. But those wishes being not formed from any regard to the interests of the country, but entirely shaped by the dictates of a foreign priesthood, whose object was the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and the resumption of the Church property, whatever they demanded, right or wrong, required to be conceded. Their policy consisted in incessant agitation without breaking into open rebellion, and was to be directed, in the first instance, to the repeal of the Union, as it was well known that in a purely Irish Legislature the Romish party would have a majority. This system, how distracting soever to the minds and ruinous to the industry of the country, the Government were obliged to tolerate, for that toleration was the price they paid for their political support. Thus the dissolution of 1834 stopped revolution in England, but left Ireland a prey to anarchy; and this observation affords the key to the history of both countries for the next seven years.

But although the farther progress of organic change was prevented by the equal balance of parties in the British House of Commons after Sir R. Peel's dissolution, it is not to be supposed that a *change of policy* was not imposed upon the Government, and that even more, if in the hands of the Conservatives, than of those of their opponents. It was here that the great and lasting effects of the new constitution of the House of Commons, by the effect of the Reform Bill, became apparent. Experience had now proved that it was impossible to carry on the government upon the old principles. The effect of the entire change of

the electoral body in Scotland and Ireland, and of the introduction of the ten-pound shop-keepers and tenants into the English boroughs, had been such that no administration could command a majority but by yielding on all vital questions to their wishes. This necessity was even more strongly felt by the Conservatives than the Liberals. By uniting with the Irish Catholic members, the Whigs had obtained a small majority over the British Conservatives, and it was possible for them, by such aid, and by surrendering Ireland to their direction, to keep a precarious hold of power for some time longer without any decided change in general policy. But this would evidently be impossible for the Tories. Their dependence on the Church of England and the old country party rendered any coalition with the Irish Catholics impossible; while the whole strength of the counties, most of which were already in their hands, was unable to give them a majority over the united Liberals and Catholics. In these circumstances, retention of power by them had become impossible, without such a concession to the *whigs* Liberals as might induce a considerable proportion of them to come over and join the Conservative ranks. It was well known what *they* wished—to buy cheap and sell dear was their object; living by trade, their desires were identified with its interest. Free Trade and a repeal of the Corn Laws were inscribed on the banners. Thus the great change in the commercial policy of the country, which Sir R. Peel introduced on his next accession to power, and which occasioned his fall, arose necessarily from his present position; and if he had not been defeated on the Irish Church question, he could have retained power only by introducing it ten years sooner than was actually done.

There can be no doubt that Sir R. Peel rose much in general estimation, both 50. in the Legislature and the country, from his possession of power, brief as it was. His measures were judicious and conciliatory; his language was eminently calculated to disarm his opponents, and dispel the opinion so sedulously inculcated by them, that the return of the Tories to power would be the signal for a return to the old abuses, and the stoppage of all useful and necessary reforms. His skill in debate, his perfect parliamentary tact, and thorough knowledge of the assembly he was addressing, and on whose suffrages he depended, had secured for him the respect of all parties. Descended from a mercantile family, and identified both by birth and interest with the commercial community, he possessed a much more thorough acquaintance with the statistics and prospects of trade than any of his opponents; and his speeches bore that air of business and thorough acquaintance with the subject, which, more than all the flowers of rhetoric, win the confidence and command the assent of men engaged in the real business of life. The stride he made in the acquisition of general confidence, accordingly, was very great during his brief Administration; and he was already looked to by many, even of his political opponents, as the man of the age, who alone understood the real interests of the country, and, by turning reform into the channel of practical improvement,

would reap for the country the fruits of the seed which had been sown by his predecessors.

The proposal of Lord J. Russell, which occasioned the overthrow of Sir R. Peel, and return of the Whigs to power, was very skillfully devised to combine all the discordant elements of hostility to the Tory Administration, and appeared at first sight to be founded in rational and philanthropic principles. But, nevertheless, it is now evident that it was calculated to afford no real benefit to the country; and that supposing it carried, all the evils which desolated Ireland would not only remain, but in many respects be aggravated. Education is an unspeakable benefit to men, when they have emerged from a state of destitution and wretchedness, and are beginning to acquire ideas of comfort and well-being, but it can little avail those who are perpetually in want of the necessaries of life. It is in the soil prepared by

a certain amount of physical comfort, that the seeds of intellectual elevation can alone come to maturity. Oppressed as Ireland was at this time by two million of paupers, for whom there was no legal relief, and distracted by agrarian outrage, and ceaseless agitation raised for sacerdotal purposes, which repelled all English capital from its shores, the proposed change might be a triumph to a rival priesthood, but it could afford no real relief to a starving peasantry. What Ireland required was, not the abstraction of £200,000 a year from the Church property, but the removal of two million emigrants from its shores; what was likely to heal its wounds, was not a change which would stimulate the activity and augment the ambition of a foreign ecclesiastical power, but such a vigorous administration of justice as should stop the withering progress of agitation, and permit the entrance of domestic capital and enterprise already overflowing in the neighboring island.

51.
Merits of Lord
J. Russell's
proposal re-
garding the
Irish Church.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE RETURN OF THE WHIGS TO POWER IN APRIL, 1835, TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN JUNE, 1837.

LORD MELBOURNE, on 18th April, in informing the House of Lords that he was again at the head of the Government, dwelt much on the difficulties he had had to contend with in forming his Administration, which he described as having been "peculiarly great and arduous, and some of them of a severe and mortifying nature." He declared that he meant to proceed on the same principles on which the former Government was based, and they were "the principles of a safe, prudent, and truly efficient reformation—principles the tendency of which was not to subvert or endanger, but, on the contrary, to improve, strengthen, and establish, the institutions of the country. And in regard to ecclesiastical government, every measure contemplated in reference to that subject would have for its end the increase of true piety and religion through the whole of his Majesty's dominions. I do not know whether I shall have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not, but I can state most positively that I have taken no steps to secure it; I have entered into no terms whatever, nor said any thing from which an inference can be drawn to secure that individual's support. As to tithes, I do not hesitate to say that I consider myself as pledged to act on the resolution of the other House."¹

Nothing could be more temperate and judicious than this language; but in the divided state of the country on most subjects, it was no easy matter to carry them into execution; for what would conciliate one section of the supporters of the Ministry, would alienate another. The extremely small majority also, not exceeding ten or twelve, which alone the Ministry could command on any vital question, rendered it impossible to introduce any ulterior measures of organic change, which were loudly demanded by the extreme Liberal party. In these circumstances, much came to depend on the personal character of the Prime Minister; and without a thorough appreciation of it, the annals of his administration will be very imperfectly understood. Fortunately a portrait of him has been drawn by one who knew him well, both in public and private, and whose portrait, though characterized by the humorous style of the author, can not be suspected of undue prejudice, as it is from the hand of a zealous Whig partisan. "Viscount Melbourne," says Sydney Smith, "declared himself quite satisfied with the Church as it stood; but if the public had any desire to alter it, they might do so if they pleased. He might have said the same thing of the monarchy or of any of our other institutions, and there is in the declaration a permissiveness and good-humor which in public men has seldom been exceeded. Carelessness, how-

ever, is but a poor imitation of genius; and the formation of a wise and well-reflected plan of reform conduces more to the lasting fame of a Minister than the affected contempt of duty which every man sees to be mere vanity, and a vanity of no very high description. Every thing about him seems to betoken careless desolation; every one would suppose, from his manner, that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness, that he would giggle away the great Charter, and decide by the method of tee-totum whether my lords the bishops should retain their seats in the House of Lords. All this is the mere vanity of surprising, and making us believe he can play with kingdoms as other men can with nine-pins. I can not, however, allow to this Minister the merit of indifference to his actions; I believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or the evil he is doing, and that his caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of the Lycurgus* of the Lower House. I am sorry to be obliged to brush away the magnificent fabric of levity and gayety he has reared; but while I accuse our Minister of honesty and diligence, I deny that he is careless or rash; he is nothing more than a man of good understanding and good principles, disguised in the eternal and somewhat wearisome affectation of a political rosette."²

When the elections, consequent on the seats that had been vacated by the new appointments, came to take place, Ministers received several defeats, which demonstrated the precarious ground on which they stood. Mr. Littleton, member for Staffordshire, having been elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Hatherton in order to enable him to sit in that House as one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, a vacancy occurred in that county, and a Conservative was returned. Mr. Charles Grant having also been made a peer by the title of Lord Glenelg, a vacancy occurred in the county of Inverness, which he had represented, and it immediately returned a Conservative candidate. Lord John Russell himself was defeated in Devonshire by Mr. Parker, a Conservative, by a majority of 627. Thus the majority of seven, which carried the amendment to the Address, was reduced to one; each of the three votes changed counting two on a division. Such was the real majority with which the Whigs resumed power; but a similar majority had done great things in former days; it had introduced the Reform Bill in England, and ushered in the Revolution of France. In the present instance, however, the Administration was in much safer hands, and having tasted somewhat of revolution, the country was less likely to promote it. The only effect of this close divi-

* Lord John Russell.

1. Lord Melbourne's announcement of his principles of government.

¹ Parl. Deb. xxvii. 985; Ann. Reg. 1835, 237-239.

2. Character of Lord Melbourne by Sydney Smith.

3. Defeats of Ministers at the new elections.

sion of parties in the House of Commons, was to augment the dependence of Ministers on the Catholic members of Ireland—a state of things ruinous to that country, and ere long attended by the most disastrous consequences.¹

Although the new Ministers, while in opposition, had made it a serious ground of complaint against Sir R. Peel that he would obstruct the progress of useful reform, yet it soon appeared that they themselves had even less important changes to introduce than he had contemplated. Commutations of tithes, the conversion of church-rates, and ecclesiastical reform in England, all of which the late Minister had contemplated, were laid aside, and Lord John Russell announced that the only two remedial measures which Government were prepared to introduce this session were CORPORATION REFORM, and a bill regarding Irish tithes, to be founded on the late resolution of the Commons. Nothing was said concerning the Dissenters, in whose favor Sir R. Peel had prepared a measure. This gave rise to great dissatisfaction at the time; but the new Administration were wise in their limitation of reform at present to their two measures, for they were quite enough to be matured in one session; and Lord John Russell justly remarked, that the experience of the last three years proved that nothing was so prejudicial to the progress of real reform as introducing too great a multiplicity of measures at one time.²

The administration of the English corporations had long been complained of, and unquestionably they exhibited many abuses, and in many instances loudly called for amendment. A corporate reform had already been introduced into Scotland based on the principle of parliamentary reform, and which settled the whole matter by the simple rule that the parliamentary electors of every burgh were to be the municipal also; that the larger burghs should be divided into wards, each of which should send two representatives to the town-council, to be elected by the qualified electors within their respective bounds; and that the provost and bailies, corresponding to the English lord mayor and aldermen, should be chosen by the councilors, and be invested with the whole powers of magistrates within the bounds of the burgh. These functionaries were to be elected for three years, and one-third of the council were to go out every year to make way for successors similarly elected. Certain corporate bodies, as the Merchants' House, Trades' House, etc., were to send representatives of their own to the council, but the great majority were elected by the parliamentary electors, and they were invested with the entire right of administration of the corporate property and patronage of every description. The experience of the working of this change has as yet been too short to admit of any safe conclusion being drawn as to its ultimate effects; but hitherto, at least, it has not promised much in the shape of real amendment. The old close system has been effectually abolished, and the political influence of the town-councils, which was always considerable, often great, has been entirely thrown into the Liberal scale; but beyond this no material

change for the better has taken place in the administration of the burgh affairs. The debates at the council boards of the great towns have been too often scenes of unseemly contention; the ambition of newly acquired power has evinced all the restlessness and grasping disposition which so often accompanies it; many old abuses have stopped, but many new ones have been introduced. It was soon discovered that the vesting power in several thousand electors did not terminate the sway of cliques, but only caused them to be composed of different persons; and such were the sums often wasted in unprofitable litigation and legislation, that men came to regret the good old times when a small part of the amount was squandered on the comparatively innocuous system of eating and drinking.

The English Municipal Reform Bill was gone about with more caution, but the Government were not the less determined to carry it through. The Whigs had long been jealous of the English corporations, many of which had come, in process of time, to be little more than private property of a few individuals veiled under the name of corporate estates, and all of which they regarded, often with reason, as the strongholds of Toryism and corruption, utterly inconsistent with the popular principles introduced by the Reform Bill. A commission had, with a view to a change, been issued by Earl Grey's Administration, and they presented, in the end of May, a report which strongly condemned the existing system of corporate government.* Although this report was much complained of as having been in a great measure founded on evidence taken *ex parte*, and from witnesses exclusively summoned on one side (the usual case with commissions issued by Government for party purposes), yet there can be no doubt it was in the main founded in truth. At any rate, the old system of the close management of corporations was evidently utterly inconsistent with the new and popular régime under the Reform Bill, and the Ministry had felt too strongly the effect of the defection of a number of boroughs in the late election, not to be aware that it had become a question of life and death to them to prevent such a pernicious example from spreading any farther.

Founded on the report of the commissioners,

* "In conclusion, we report to your Majesty that there prevails among the inhabitants of the great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and, in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with those municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of general opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainted with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with a distrust of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use, and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the morals and character of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become, what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government." One of the commissioners gave in objections to this report, and another dissented from it entirely.—*Ann. Reg.* 1835, pp. 241, 242.

the Government, on the 5th June, brought forward the ministerial plan of corporate reform. It was very sweeping

7.
Heads of the
ministerial
Corporate Re-
form Bill.

—more so in some respects than the Scotch Municipal Bill had been. The number of boroughs embraced in the bill was 178, London being excepted, for what reason does not very distinctly appear, unless it was that Ministers were afraid of endangering their small majority if they interfered with the numerous vested interests wound up with its incorporations. Of the 178 boroughs 98 were parliamentary, and their boundaries remained fixed as they had been by the Reform Bill—the boundaries of the remaining 80 stood as they had been before until Parliament should direct an alteration. Each borough was divided into wards, varying in number according to its size; Liverpool was divided into sixteen, others into ten or twelve. The government of boroughs was vested in a mayor and town-council; but they were to be elected by all persons rated to the support of the poor in them for the three preceding years, and residing within the boroughs, or within a circuit of seven miles around. The mayor was to be elected annually for one year only, he being, during his mayoralty, a justice of peace for the borough and adjoining county. The councilors were to be elected for three years, one-third going out annually to make way for others similarly elected. All the old modes of acquiring the freedom of corporations, as by birth, apprenticeship, etc., were to be abolished, as also all exclusive rights of trade or carrying on handicrafts within their limits. The town-councils were to become, by the statute, trustees of all the corporate and charitable funds administered by the old corporations, with power to appoint committees for their management, and to choose persons, being burgesses, for their directors. The police was to be entirely under the direction of the town-councils, but not the licensing of public houses, which was to be intrusted to the justices. With respect to the administration of justice, to 129 of the boroughs a commission of the peace was to be granted, and the town-councils in them were to be empowered to recommend the persons to be put into the commission of the peace. The remaining fifty-four might have a commission on applying for it from the Crown. In the larger towns ap-

¹ Parl. Deb. xlviii. 472, 469; Ann. Reg. 1835, 245, 246.

8.
General features of the bill in a political point of view.

Apart from the technical details essential to give a legal view of this most important bill, the leading features of it, in a political and general point of view, were these: 1. The choice of town-councils and magistrates was intrusted to a new electoral body, created for that special purpose, of all persons rated for the relief of the poor, which was equivalent to household suffrage; 2. The qualification was uniform, and there was no representation of classes, as guilds or incorporated trades; 3. The old freemen were disfranchised, and all acquisitions of the municipal suffrage or rights of freemen by any other means than being rated for the poor-rates, were for the future abolished, though the rights of existing freemen were

saved; 4. Publicity was enjoined upon the administration of all trusts and corporate funds, which were entirely devolved with the general management of the boroughs; but—5. There was no money or other qualification for councilors; and—6. The administration of justice was still reserved to the Crown, which appointed the recorders and justices by whom it was to be carried on, the town-councils being only entitled to recommend persons for these offices.

In support of this bill, it was argued by Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, and

9.
Mr. Hobhouse: "The plan of municipal government proposed by Ministers is intended to provide for 188 corporations, to which the bill is to extend, including a population of at least two millions. Many of these corporations govern large and important towns, of which they did not properly represent the property, intelligence, and population. In Bedford the corporate body was only one seventieth of the population, and one-fortieth of the property of the town. In Oxford there were 1400 electors, many of whom did not reside in the town, and seldom more than 500 voted at an election. In Norwich there were 3225 resident freemen, of whom 1123 were not rated at all, and of these 815 were paupers. Out of £25,541 annual rental no less than £18,224 belonged to persons no way connected with the corporation. At Cambridge, out of a population of 20,000, of whom 1434 were £10 house-holders, there were only 118 freemen, and of the annual rental of £25,490 only £2110 was the property of freemen belonging to the corporation. These were only examples of the strange anomalies which every where else prevailed. Corporations so constituted are altogether unfitted for gaining the only object for which they ought to exist, viz., to represent the property of the town in which they are situated, to entertain sympathy with the general feelings of the inhabitants, to take care of their interests, and to afford them that protection which the governing ought to afford to those who were charged with its expenses. On the contrary, they engender a complete separation, a mutual jealousy and distrust, between the governing power and the body of the people. A few persons carrying on the government for their own benefit were connected with a portion of the lower classes, whose votes they purchased, and whose habits they demoralized. The abuses resulting from this were enormous. In the distribution of the charity funds of such places it will in general be found that two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole is distributed among those who belong to the governing body. Part of these funds, intended for the general benefit, are bestowed on a few individuals, part are squandered on feasts and entertainments, part in corrupting and bribing the freemen in order to give them an inducement to stand by their party when any political event should require their suffrages. In short, it has been abundantly proved by the extensive inquiries made by the commissioners, both in the larger and smaller boroughs, that the general if not universal practice had been to use the powers of municipal corporations, not for the good government and benefit of the towns over which they presided—not in order that they might be 'well and quietly governed,' in terms of the

charters, but for the sole purpose of establishing an interest which might be useful in the election of members of Parliament.

10. "To remedy these evils, which are of universal notoriety, it is proposed that there should be one uniform system of government, one uniform franchise for the purposes of elections, and the like description of officers, with the exception of some of the larger places, in which it might be desirable to have a recorder or some such officer. In regard to the qualification of electors, it has been deemed advisable not to adhere to the parliamentary qualification; for if they were to enact that no other persons but those who possessed that particular franchise should have a vote in the government of corporations, they would be raising a feeling of hatred and jealousy against those persons as the monopolizers of all the power in their respective towns, to the exclusion of other individuals. The corporate franchise, therefore, has been extended to all rate-payers, all of whom have an interest in the property of the corporation and good government of the borough, and all of whom contribute, in proportion to their means, to the general expenses of the borough. All the old methods of acquiring the freedom of a corporation, as by birth, apprenticeship, etc., are to be abolished, saving the rights of the present holders during their lives; and the same is to be done with all exclusive rights of trade, under the like saving of the rights of existing freemen during their natural lives.

"It is in vain to contend that this eventual suppression of freemen, and their present exclusion as such from the elections of members of municipal councils, is a confiscation of existing rights. To leave them in possession of power, is to entail upon the boroughs the 'curse of these poor, degraded, wretched, demoralized freemen,' whose rights, when unconnected with property or residence within borough, are nothing but an usurpation, which has been tolerated because it was found to be, for political purposes, convenient for all parties. These freemen were not necessarily resident in the borough; they need not possess any qualification as to property; they need not pay rates; and, for any thing which appears to the contrary, these freemen might pass the greater part of the year in jail, and come out of it and give their vote for a member of Parliament! The consequence is, that in this degraded state they are open to all sorts of corruption, and degrade and pollute the electoral body of which they form a part. As far as regards rights of property, whether present or contingent, connected with such freemen they should be respected; but as to the public rights, a trust for others which they conferred, they can not be too soon severed from a body which has proved itself unfit to exercise them."¹

12. Great part of the abuses which are here described as existing in the old corporations, were so well known to be real, that Sir R. Peel wisely offered no resistance to the second reading of the bill; that is, he did not contest its principle, but took his ground on some of its details. That which excited the warmest

debates, both in the Lords and Commons, was the clause preventing the acquisition of the rights of freemen by the old methods after the date of the bill. This question was very important in a political point of view, because these freemen constituted in all a considerable part, in some boroughs a majority, of the existing electors; and therefore, if their continuance after the death of the present holders was to be prevented, the composition of the electoral body in boroughs would undergo a great change, and many political influences might eventually be destroyed. It was accordingly contended by Sir R. Peel, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham: "Without going the length of asserting that the freemen are altogether immaculate, which can probably be predicated of no body of electors of any grade, it may yet be worthy of consideration whether they are to be *disfranchised*—deprived of their existing electoral rights. The question is not, shall we admit these men now for the first time to parliamentary or municipal rights, but shall we *deprive* them of those rights which they and their predecessors have enjoyed for centuries past? Though professing only to regulate the municipal rights, the bill makes a deep incision on political; for it goes, after the existing generation, to destroy many modes by which those political rights might be acquired. If this was meant to be done, it should be set about fairly and openly, in a manly and straightforward manner, and not covertly, under the cloak of providing for the better police and government of boroughs.

"The corporations have always declared, that when it was once passed they were willing to accept the Reform Bill as our constitutional charter, and abide by it as such, and prophesied that any proposal for its modification was much more likely to come from the authors of the measure than its opponents. Already the prophecy has been verified! The Reformers were the first to propose, covertly and insidiously, a great and important change on the Reform Bill! What did they mean by first bringing in a bill which was based on 'perpetuating' the rights of freemen, and recognizing them as an integral part of the constitution, and now within three years bringing in another, intended covertly to deprive them of their true rights? Was that the respect for popular privileges on which the Liberal party so much prided themselves? Was it not a precedent for breaking up the 'final settlement,' which may be made use of on future occasions, till not a shadow of it was left? The present Ministry think their political interests will be advanced by disfranchising the freemen, though their rights are guaranteed by the Reform Bill, and therefore they bring in a bill to cut off their rights. Another Ministry may deem it for their advantage to extinguish the ten-pound tenants, and they will found on this very bill as a precedent to justify their doing so. Where is this to stop? All confidence in the durability of our second charter will be destroyed, if, within three years after it was passed, so important a branch as the freemen in boroughs is lopped off under pretence of municipal reform.

"It is in vain to say the exclusion of freemen is necessary, because many cases of corruption have been proved in some boroughs. If

¹ Parl. Deb. xxvii. 489, 490; Ann. Reg. 1835, 243, 252.

Argument of the Conservatives on the other side.

so, by all means punish the guilty parties, or disfranchise the convicted borough, but do not punish the innocent for the guilty, or involve all freemen in one sweeping act of condemnation, because

14. *Concluded.* some of them have been detected in malpractices. Beware of such an argument as goes to justify the disfranchising whole bodies of men, on account of delinquencies chargeable on some of their number. Are the ten-pound tenants so very pure? Have none of them been convicted on the clearest evidence of corruption? It has been clearly proved in the case of Stafford, Liverpool, and many other instances, that the ten-pound tenants are fully as open to bribes as the old freemen. If it shall prove so in future years, on what principle can you resist a bill for their wholesale disfranchisement, based on the precedent of this bill? And in this way how soon will the second

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xxvii. 510, 531; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 256, 257. *Magna Charta* be abrogated, and the authors of the Reform Bill stand in the situation of having laid their murderous hands on their own offspring!"

On a division, the clause disfranchising the freemen was only carried by a majority of 28, the numbers being 262 to 284. The English members were in a majority of fifteen against the disfranchisement, and the balance was cast the other way entirely by the Scotch and Irish members. Several other divisions, showing majorities much the same in favor of Ministers, took place on other clauses in the bill; and at length it was passed as originally proposed on the 17th July. But its fate was very different in the House of Lords. It was first resolved in that assembly to hear counsel in support of several petitions which were presented against the bill—a resolution ominous of the fate which awaited the measure in that assembly. Counsel were heard, and evidence led against the bill, as infringing on the vested rights of freemen. It was strongly contended against the bill that by it 188 corporations, many of which had existed for centuries, would be destroyed, the law of election for the officers to govern them completely altered, and the re-appointment of others vested in a democracy which was to succeed to their vacated seats. The lower, the less educated, classes of the community would thus become invested with all the rights and powers which now belong to the entire community. All the charity funds and estates of corporations would be taken out of the hands to which they had been intrusted by the donors, and vested in new ones, of whom they never heard, and to whom they would never have intrusted them. A more complete and wholesale spoliation never was attempted in any nation. On a division, Ministers, on an amendment moved by Lord Lyndhurst, to omit the clause disfranchising the freemen, were left in a minority of 93, the numbers being 180 to 371. Lord Lyndhurst immediately followed up this victory by a motion which had been rejected by the Commons, to preserve to freemen their parliamentary franchise as secured to them by the Reform Bill, which was carried without a division, that on the preceding motion having determined its fate. Government, however, made a determined resistance to the

next amendment, moved by Lord Lyndhurst, which was to the effect, that instead of the council being chosen from the whole rate-payers, as the bill at present stood, they should be divided into six classes, and the council should only be eligible from the highest class. It was carried against them, however, by a majority of 81, the numbers being 190 to 89. Another modification, that the council in the larger boroughs should have a personal estate worth £1000, and in the smaller of £500, was introduced on the motion of Lord Devon. A further amendment was carried by a majority of eighty-seven, to the effect that a fourth of the council and the town clerks should hold their offices for life. These amendments, with the exception of that which declared the town clerks and a fourth of the council elected for life, which was changed into six years, were adopted by the Commons, on the motion of Lord John Russell, not without the strongest expressions of disapprobation by the Radical members; and the bill, as thus amended, finally passed on 7th September, and received the royal assent.¹

The Municipal Corporation Bill was the greatest organic change introduced since the passing of the Reform Act, and in some respects it was little inferior in importance to that celebrated measure. It is memorable also as exhibiting the immense effect already produced by Sir R. Peel's dissolution, and the restoration of the real working of the constitution by the House of Lords being replaced in its functions as an independent deliberative branch of the Legislature. By the amendment introduced by the Peers, which preserved the municipal and parliamentary rights of the freemen, it was stripped of its worst revolutionary features; and it undoubtedly remedied many indefensible abuses which had crept in, in the course of ages, under the old close system. The old freemen were by no means a creditable class of voters, and being the lowest class of the community, they were most accessible to open corruption; but still it would have been a dangerous precedent to have disfranchised the whole for the faults of some; for, as no class is immaculate, there is no saying how far this precedent might have been carried. But the great principle of the bill, that of declaring the councils eligible by the whole rate-payers as well as the freemen, remained unchanged, and, for good or for evil, worked out its appropriate results. What those fruits are have been now ascertained by Experience, and were even at the time anticipated by Reason, however little its still small voice had a chance of being heard amidst the din of the first great constitutional struggle which had arisen since the passing of the Reform Bill.

The great fault of the Municipal Reform Bill was not what it destroyed, but what it created; yet so strangely ignorant were the Conservative leaders of the real tendency of the changes introduced in this respect, that the subject was scarcely mooted, and never dwelt upon in either House of Parliament. The old corporations had very generally abused their trusts, and introduced for their own benefit many corruptions, and therefore it was quite right to dispossess them of their management; and Lord

15. *Fate of the bill in the Commons and Peers.*

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1835, 269, 268; *Parl. Deb.* xxvii. 530, 541.

16. *Reflections on this change.*

17. *Its great defect.*

John Russell said with truth, that the only way to introduce a better system of administration was to let in a fair proportion of the "property, intelligence, and population of the borough." This being the principle on which the bill professed to be based, how was it carried out? Why, by admitting the *whole rate-payers*, in one undistinguished mass, to choose the councilors in whom the entire government of the borough was vested. Of these rate-payers, at least three-fourths of course occupied houses rated at or below £10; that being, at the very least, the proportion of the working to all other classes of society. This, then, was the class in whom the Municipal Reform Bill placed the entire government of boroughs and corporations in England and Wales—in a huge mass of persons inhabiting houses rented at from £5 to £10 a year. It was a mockery to speak of property or intelligence being represented, when they were outvoted four to one by publicans and workmen. It is the more extraordinary that Government should have committed the enormous mistake of establishing the constituency on this basis, that they were so much alive to the abuses of the franchise by the freemen, that they themselves had proposed to disfranchise them all both of municipal and political rights. But their idea seems to have been, "seeing that a portion of the lowest class of freemen have introduced abuses, and proved unworthy of trust, therefore we will succeed in remedying them, and establishing a pure administration, by giving the *same class* the entire control of the corporations." The common argument that the multitude will govern well because it is for their interest to be well governed, is utterly fallacious. That holds good only so long as they are the governed; when they become the governors, the desire is overcome by a much stronger one, viz., to benefit themselves by governing others ill.

The only way in which it is possible to introduce good government on the representative principle, either as regards the municipalities or nations, is to have the representation based, *not on numbers, but on classes*. This may be effected either by arranging the whole citizens in classes, according to the amount which they annually contribute in the shape of taxes or personal service to the State, or in guilds or corporations; according to their different trades or avocations; and having the ruling body chosen, not by a simple majority of numbers told by head of the whole, but by the different classes or trades thus separately arranged. The working classes should by no means be excluded, but they should not be allowed to form the majority, and consequently rule the whole. The first principle was adopted in ancient Rome, where the citizens were arranged in thirty centuries, according to their contributions to the public service, and the government officers were chosen by the votes, not of the citizens, but the centuries: the last is the principle on which the representative system, both in parliaments and municipalities, has been generally established in modern Europe. Wherever the representative system has acted well and lasted long, it has been rested on one or other basis; the long duration and immense prosperity induced by the old English

constitution, was owing to the same system having, amidst many imperfections, by indirect means, and through the intervention of the close boroughs, been practically put in operation in these islands. Based on this principle of the representation of classes, the system affords the best security for good government which the wit of man has ever yet devised, because it brings the great interests of society to bear directly on the administration of affairs, and affords a constant check upon their mismanagement. Based on the opposite principle of the representation of mere numbers, it becomes the greatest curse which can afflict society, and must speedily work out its own destruction; because it subjects the community to the irresponsible government of the most numerous, but at the same time the most dangerous, most uninformed, and most corruptible portion of its members.*

While these important discussions were going on regarding municipal reform, Government introduced a bill for the regulation of the Irish Church, embodying, of course, the appropriation principle, which had been recognized by the House on the late memorable debate, and occasioned the fall of the late Administration. It consisted of two parts—one for the collection and reduction of tithes, and the other for the creation of a surplus, and its appropriation to the moral and religious instruction of the whole community, without any distinction of religious creed. The bill passed a second reading without a division, Sir R. Peel reserving to himself to move an instruction to the committee regarding the appropriation clause. This he accordingly did, by moving in committee that the bill should be divided into two parts—one containing the remedial, the other the appropriation clause. This was objected to by Ministers, on the ground that it was only a device to enable the House of Lords to pass the one bill and throw out the other, which it certainly was. On a division, Ministers had a majority of 37—the numbers being 319 to 282. This majority, like all those at this period, was secured entirely through the Irish and Scotch members; of the English members, a majority of 8 were in favor of the motion, but no less than 63 Irish were against, and only 84

* This is exactly Mr. Burke's view of the question. "There is," says he, "no argument for supposing the multitude, told by head, to be the people. Such a multitude can have no sort of title to alter the seat of power in society, in which it ever ought to be the obedient, and not the ruling power. What power may belong to the whole mass, in which mass the natural aristocracy, or what by convention is appointed to represent and strengthen it, acts in its proper place, with its proper weight, and without being subjected to violence, is a deeper question. To enable men to act with the weight and character of a people, and to answer the ends for which they are incorporated into that capacity, we must suppose them to be in that state of habitual social discipline, in which the wiser, the more expert, and the more opulent, conduct, and, by conducting, enlighten and protect the weaker, the less knowing, and the less provided with the goods of fortune. When the multitude are not under this discipline, they can scarce be said to be in civil society. Give once a certain constitution which produces a variety of conditions and circumstances in a State, and there is in natural reason a principle which, for their own benefit, postpones not the interest, but the judgment of those who are *memores priores* to those who are *virtute et honore majores*."—"Appeal from the Old to the New Whigs," Works, vi. 216, 238.

for it. This division was decisive of the fate of the bill in the Lower House; and to render it more palatable to the Upper, Ministers proposed an annual grant of £50,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund, to form the basis of a fund, to which the church property appropriated to educational purposes was to be added. This step, however, failed in disarming the opposition of the Conservative peers, who, considering this question as involving an important public principle, threw out the appropriation clause by a majority of 97—the numbers being 138 to 41. This defeat so disconcerted ministers that they abandoned the bill in the Lower House, and it was accordingly dropped for the present. At the same time, a bill was hastily brought in and passed, authorizing Government to suspend proceedings against the clergy for recovery of the £1,000,000 which had been advanced to them during the worst periods of the combination against tithes; a humane and praiseworthy

step, for if recovery of the sum had been attempted, as it must have been, under the acts authorizing the advance, the Irish clergy would have been involved in total ruin.*

While measures of party politics were thus fiercely debated, and attended by those narrow divisions in the House of Commons, those which, without benefiting either side in the House, went only to relieve the distresses or stimulate the industry of the country, were thrown out by large majorities. A motion by Mr. Cayley, the able and patriotic member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, to appoint a select committee to inquire if there be not effectual means within the reach of Parliament to afford substantial relief to the agriculture of the United Kingdom, and specially to recommend to the committee the subject of a silver stand-ard, or a conjoined silver and gold one, was thrown out, after a three nights' debate, by a majority of 216 to 126, being very nearly the proportion of the borough to the county members. A motion of Lord Chandos for an address to his Majesty, representing the general agricultural distress which prevailed, with a

view to the immediate removal of some part of those burdens to which the land is peculiarly subject through the pressure of general and local taxation, met with no better fate: it was lost by a majority of 211 to 150. May 22. The alliance of Government with the Roman Catholic members for Ireland, and their entire dependence on them for a parliamentary majority, obliged them to yield to a motion of Mr. Finn for a committee to inquire into the Orange lodges of that country; a system of mutual defense for the protection of the Protestants, often scattered in small numbers through multitudes of hostile Ribbonmen and Catholics. It led, however, to no other result than that it revealed the existence of Orange lodges in thirty-four regiments of the army, a practice which was justly denounced as dangerous to the discipline and subordination of an armed force. An attempt to implicate the Duke of Cumberland, the grand-master of the institution, in a participation with these military lodges, though very anxiously pressed, proved unsuccessful. There could be no doubt, however, that the existence of Orange societies in the army was a serious evil, and fraught with danger under any circumstances; and the House of Commons having, in the next session of Parliament, Feb. 22, passed a resolution praying the King to take such measures as would be effectual for the suppression of such societies, the Duke of Cumberland wisely dissolved all the Orange societies in Ireland. The Ribbon societies, however, were not dissolved, and devastation, murder, and outrage continued for long after to be organized by them, which afterward led to a partial revival on a smaller scale of the Orange lodges as an indispensable measure of defense.¹

Although the House of Commons, by a great majority, had refused to listen to the tale of agricultural distress, or to inquire into the currency laws as affecting the general industry of the empire, yet it was easier to stifle inquiry than to prevent the effect of the laws; and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to bring forward the budget, he had a very different account to give of the state of the finances from that which had been anticipated in the preceding year. He calculated the income of the country at £45,550,000, and the expenditure at £44,715,000. But this surplus, even if it should arise, disappeared before the interest of the loan for the negro emancipation indemnity, which amounted to £1,000,000 in all for this year, leaving not only no surplus, but a probable deficiency of £170,000. Thus, in addition to the many disastrous effects of the emancipation of the negroes in the colonies themselves, there is to be set down to the charge of that measure the termination of the surplus, and commencement of the dispute between the rural and urban interests, which thereafter went on continually increasing till it worked out a total change in the financial and commercial systems of the country.²

The manly and independent stand which the House of Peers had made against the revolutionary projects which had been forced upon the Ministry by their adherents among the En-

* Sir R. Peel, in the course of the debate on this question, gave the following account of the real clear revenues of the Irish Church, which had been so often represented as the richest in the world, and enjoying an income of £3,000,000:

Tithes composition	£507,367
Glebes	76,700
Gross income	£584,067
Deduct three-tenths	£152,700
Average	57,632
Woods and Forests	8,572
	210,204
Clear income	£364,863
Parishes	2505
Having fifty Protestants and upward	1121
Having below fifty	850
Benefices	1385
Average income of incumbents of benefices	£188

The Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction in the same year enumerated the inhabitants according to their creeds thus:

Established Church	853,064
Presbyterians	649,356
Other Dissenters	21,808
Total Protestants	1,517,228
Roman Catholics	6,427,712

—Ann. Reg., 1835, p. 290, 296.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1835, 348-350
—1836, 19;
Parl. Deb. xxxi. 810,
822, 670.

² Ann. Reg. 1835, 358.

glish boroughs and the Irish Catholics, while it greatly raised them in the estimation of all thinking men, apart from the whirl of party ambition, excited the utmost indignation among the Radicals over the whole empire, not less impatient than any Eastern sultan of any restraint upon their wishes. Mr. O'Connell took the lead in the agitation got up to inflame this feeling, and he made a progress, after the rising of Parliament, through all the great towns of the north of England and Scotland to excite the people on the subject. His language and designs may be judged of by the speech which he addressed to a very large assemblage of the working classes at Manchester. "If there were only one House of parliament, a majority of that House, perhaps a faction, would become the rulers of the entire nation. I am therefore for two Houses, but they must be two honest Houses. What title have the Lords to legislate for us? They have two, the present law and the constitution. But they have been changed, and *why should they not be changed again?* What are the Lords? Hereditary legislators! Because the father was supposed to be a good legislator, the son is supposed to be so equally. Why, if a man applied to you to make a coat, your question would be, Are you a tailor? —No, I am not, but my father was a tailor: Is there a single man among you who would employ a hereditary tailor of this kind? That principle of common sense will go abroad among the Lords. Whether hereditary legislators or tailors, we'll have none of the botchers at all. Who is sending this principle abroad? The Lords themselves, because they are showing themselves the arrantest botchers that ever spoiled a job of work. They shall never get a receipt till they have paid the last farthing. If they delay, they may have to pay a little interest upon it. The question is, whether you are to have 170 masters or not—170 irresponsible masters, the people looking for redress of their grievances, and looking for it in vain. Will you endure that any gang or banditti, I care not by what name you call them, should treat them and you contemptuously? In one word, I call them rogues. *We must put down the House of Lords.* Ye are miserable minions of power. Ye have no choice for yourselves till that House be thoroughly reformed. Let the King retain his prerogative of raising men to that rank and station in which they may be eligible. Let every 200,000 men in Great Britain and Ireland select one Lord from this list; that will give you 130 for the 24,000,000: let them be re-eligible every five years, and you will have a steady Chamber."¹

These extreme opinions were at this time by no means confined to the arch-agitator, his obsequious Irish followers, or the noisy multitudes whom he addressed in England and Scotland. They were shared also by a large proportion, certainly a great majority, of the working classes in all the great towns, upon whom the doctrine had long been sedulously inculcated that the House of Peers was a body of interested aristocrats, destitute of public spirit, incapable of improvement, whose sole function was to ob-

struct, for their own selfish purposes, every plan of social or political amelioration.* Nor was the Legislature itself by any means free from such doctrines. On the contrary, Mr. Roebuck, on 2d September, announced his intention, early in the following session, of introducing a bill taking away from the House of Lords their constitutional veto upon all measures of legislation, and substituting for it a suspensive power, so that when a bill passed the Commons, and was rejected by the Lords, if it should again pass in the same session of Parliament, and receive the royal assent, it should become the law of the land. Mr. Rippon, member for Gateshead, gave notice of a motion to remove the bishops and archbishops from the Upper House; and Mr. Hume, of a motion to inquire into the number and privileges of the House of Lords, with a view to render them responsible like the Commons. Finally, Mr. O'Connell, after his crusading progress against the House of Peers, was invited to the Lord Lieutenant's table in Dublin, and received there! These ominous manifestations excited so strong a feeling of dissatisfaction among the Conservative portion of the electoral body in Great Britain, that in two elections which took place at this time, one for Devizes and the other for the county of Northampton, the ministerial candidate in both cases was defeated, though, in the latter instance, he was Lord Milton, eldest 1835, 366, son of Earl Fitzwilliam.¹ 371, 372.

These repeated defeats, especially in the county elections, excited great apprehensions in the ministerial ranks, who with reason dreaded a destruction in a few years of their trifling majority in the House of Commons, while they knew, by dear-bought experience, that an overwhelming majority in the House of Peers was decidedly hostile. These alarms were forcibly expressed by Sir W. Molesworth, the member for East Cornwall, who was closely connected with the *Westminster Review*, and spoke the language of that section of politicians in seconding a motion of Mr. Grote in favor of the ballot, on 2d June. The opinions then expressed were the more worthy of notice, that both these gentlemen were very able men—the one destined to be a cabinet minister, the other the learned and celebrated historian of Greece. "Ministers," said Sir W. Molesworth, "ought now to

* "While we strongly deprecate the unmanly and submissive manner in which the Ministry and the Commons have, bare-headed, bowed to the refractory Lords, we are proud to observe that the King, at the prorogation of Parliament, acknowledged the advantage of responsible governments. His Majesty, in his speech, acknowledged that peace and union can alone be secured where the people and his Ministers have bound themselves to establish responsibility in every department of the State, and as the Lords have hitherto displayed a most astounding anomaly in this enlightened age by retaining the right to legislate by birth or court favor, and being thereby rendered irresponsible, it follows that it must be cut down as a rotten incumbrance, or be so cured as to be made of some service to the State as well as amenable to the people. It follows that the Commons also must be rendered still more responsible to the nation at large by the further extension of the suffrage, and by abridging the term of Parliament, ere the hands of the King and his Ministers can be so strengthened as to perform effectually the good work of necessary destruction and salutary reform."—Address of the Non-franchised Inhabitants of Glasgow to Mr. O'Connell, "the first Man of the Age, the champion of civil and religious liberty all over the world," Oct. 17, 1835; *Ann. Reg.*, 1835, 366, 370.

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1835, 366, 370.

be aware of the mortifying fact, that among the gentry of England their party was decidedly in a minority; that the great majority of the aristocracy of the landed gentry, and all the clergy to a man, were their determined and irreconcilable foes, who would spare no efforts, who would use every species of undue influence and intimidation, to compass their destruction. If they left their supporters exposed to the tender mercies of the Tory party, they would by degrees be ejected, like Lord John Russell, from the representation of all the counties in England. Did they remember that their friends had been ejected, and replaced by their enemies in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Denbighshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire South, Essex South, Gloucestershire West, Hampshire South, Lancashire South, Leicestershire South, Lincolnshire, Norfolk East, Northamptonshire South, Shropshire North, Suffolk East, Suffolk West, Surrey East, Surrey West, Warwickshire South; and that within these few weeks they had again been dismissed from Devonshire, Inverness-shire, and Staffordshire? Did they remember their fatal losses in the counties in the late election? Did they prefer to be utterly annihilated as a party in the House, rather than have the ballot? If so, their fate was nigh at hand, and they would well merit it." To the same purpose Mr. C. Buller, member for Liskeard, and a leading Whig, said, that "feeling as the Liberal party did, that the majority of those enjoying wealth, property, and influence was against them, it was essential that they should endeavor to excite a fervid feeling in the breasts of the multitude, and therefore it was that they were obliged to resort to popular agitation to counterbalance the force that was marshaled against them." To the same purpose it was asserted in the *Edinburgh Review*, that the great majority of persons having above £500 a year were against the liberal party—a curious commentary on the preamble of the Reform Bill, that it was intended to extend the franchise to a fair proportion of the property and intelligence of the country.¹

Government, however, did not share the apprehensions of their extreme Liberal followers as to the disappearance of their majority in the House of Commons. They knew too well the decided preponderance of the borough members in that house, aided by the Liberals of Scotland and the Catholics of Ireland, to have any serious fears of defeat in the Lower House. But the recent great majorities against them in the House of Lords rendered it painfully evident that they stood on the most precarious footing in that assembly; and that any casual discomfiture in the Commons would be followed in all probability by a vote, in the Lords, of no confidence, and their entire ejection from office. Their situation also was one of extreme difficulty, exposed as they were to a constant pressure from without, and demands for further organic change from their Radical and Catholic supporters, essential to their majority in Parliament, which were at least as distasteful to the old Whig families as they were to the most inveterate Tory in the kingdom. In addition to this, recent events had

brought the two Houses of parliament into open collision, and the cry for peerage reform was becoming as general among the Catholics and Radicals as ever that for parliamentary reform had been. In these circumstances the danger was imminent that Government would be brought to a dead lock, and fresh convulsions arise from the obstacles thrown in the way of further changes by a fixed majority, independent of popular control, in the Upper House. Pressed on all sides with these difficulties, Lord Melbourne judged—and judged, as matters stood, wisely—that it was indispensable to bring the House of Lords more into harmony with the majority in the House of Commons; and this he proposed to accomplish, not, as in 1832, by marching sixty or eighty new peers at once into the House of Lords, but by the successive creation of single peers or small batches, in a way not likely to excite attention, but quite as effectual in the end, and at no remote period, in changing the ruling majority in the Upper House. So steadily has this system been pursued by successive Liberal administrations, that since 1830 upward of a hundred new peers,* almost all of them of Liberal politics, have been

* PEERS CREATED SINCE 1830, AND PROMOTIONS SINCE THAT TIME.

By Whigs.		Brought forward.	
At King William's Coronation in 1831—		Lord Camoys	78
Dukes	2	Lord Montagu	1
Marquises	2	Lord Auckland	1
Earls	5	Lord Keane	1
Barons	20	Lord Talbot	1
Subsequently created in his reign	22	Lord Beaumont	1
Since then—		Lord Hastings	1
Earl of Leicester	1	Lord Stair	1
Duke of Roxburgh	1	Lord Kenmare	1
Lord de Mauley	1	Lord Campbell	1
Lord Sudley	1	Lord Vivian	1
Lord Wrottesley	1	Lord Compton	1
Lord Methuen	1	Duke of Norfolk, and eldest son	1
Lord Lismore	1	Earl of Gosford, and eldest son	1
Lord Kintore	1	Lord Barham	1
Lord Carew	1	Lord Segrave	1
Lord Lovelace	1	Lord Sydenham	1
Lord Zetland	1	Lord Dalhousie	1
Marquis of Normandy	1	Lord Stratford	1
Lord Vaux of Harroden	1	Lord Cottenham	1
Lord Beauvale	1	Lord Gough	1
Lord Farnival	1	Lord Dartrey	1
Lord Stanley of Alderley	1	Lord Milford	1
Lord Stuart de Decies	1	Lord Elgin	1
Lord Wenlock	1	Lord Clanciboy	1
Lord Lurgan	1	Lord Edderbury	1
Lord De Freyne	1	Lord Londonborough	1
Lord Leigh	1	Lord Overstone	1
Lord Colborne	1	Lord Truro	1
Lord Ponsonby	1	Lord Cranworth	1
Lord Dunfermline	1	Lord Broughton	1
Carry forward	76	Lord Aveland	1
		Lord Wensleydale	1
		Total	109
By Tories.		Brought forward.	
Earl of Lowther	1	Lord Hardinge	6
Earl of Derby	1	Lord St. Leonards	1
Lord Hill	1	Lord Raglan	1
Lord Ellesmere	1	Lord Stratford de Redcliffe	1
Lord Gough	1	Carry forward	76
Lord Ellenborough	1	Total	10

It is but justice to the Whigs to say that the Tories had set them the example, for they had avenged themselves for their long exclusion from office for seventy years before 1784, by a liberal creation of peers since that time, and down to 1830. At the accession of George III. the peers were only 180, and at the arrival of Mr. Pitt to power in 1784 they were 230; and on the return of the Whigs to power in 1830 they were about 410, exclusive of the elected peers of Scotland and Ireland.—*BURKE'S PEERAGE*.

added to the House of Lords; and by this means not only has the Tory majority, created by the long tenure of office by the Conservatives before that time, been effectually overcome, but the balance rather cast the other way. To this cause the subsequent smooth working of the constitution, and the successful passage of Free Trade and other Liberal measures through the House of Lords, are mainly to be ascribed.

The attention of the empire was anxiously turned this year to the West Indies, as the effects of the new apprentice system, which came into operation in the Indies. preceding year, were now for the first time to be brought to light. The results were any thing but favorable. The season had been uncommonly favorable, and the crop abundant; notwithstanding which, there was a falling-off of 4444 hogheads, or about a sixteenth, from the quantity shipped in the preceding year. The produce shipped was 68,000 hogheads, instead of 72,444. The Jamaica House of Assembly said, in their Address to the Governor on the meeting of their provincial parliament: "It would be a great comfort to us were we able to discover any possible hope that succeeding crops will improve, our decided conviction being that each succeeding crop will be progressively worse. That in some few cases the apprentices do work for wages is true, but we deeply regret to say that, from our personal experience of the past year, the opposite disposition so immeasurably preponderates that no confidence whatever can be placed in voluntary labor. We deeply regret our inability to join in the favorable anticipations entertained by your excellency of the success of the new system. But knowing, as we do, the prevailing reluctance evinced by the people to labor, the thefts, negligences, and outrages of every description that are becoming of such frequent occurrence; seeing large portions of our neglected cane-fields overrun with weeds, and a still larger part of our pasture-lands returning to a state of nature; seeing, in fact, desolation already overspreading the very face of the land—it is impossible for us, without abandoning the evidence of our own senses, to entertain favorable anticipations, or to divest ourselves of the painful conviction that the progressive and rapid deterioration of property will continue to keep pace with the apprenticeship, and that the termination of it must, unless strong preventive measures are applied, complete the ruin of the colony." So distasteful was this address to the governor, that he said, on receiving it, that its style precluded him from making any other reply but acknowledging its receipt.¹

This year witnessed the commencement of those unhappy troubles in Canada, which two years after rose to so formidable a height, and materially impeded, though happily only for a short time, the progress of that noble colony. The time at which they arose, the inhabitants among whom they were chiefly prevalent, and the objects to which the demands of the malcontents were directed, leave no room for doubt that they were prompted by that combination of Romish ambition with democratic encroachment, which at that period so violently

shook the mother country, and from which the leaders of the combined parties anticipated a speedy and entire change both in Church and State. The lower province had for some time been in a state of great ill-humor, chiefly in consequence of the efforts of the Catholic priests in it, where the persons of their persuasion were five-sixths of the people, to excite disaffection against their Protestant governors. Such was the irritation which prevailed, that it was only increased by the dissolution which took place in August, 1834; and the Cabinet, conceiving that the dissatisfaction was in part at least owing to personal dislike at the governor, recalled Lord Aylmer, the governor of the province, and Lord Amherst was nominated by Sir R. Peel as his successor. In the mean time, such was the discontent which prevailed at Government refusing to agree to a bill for rendering the upper House elective, according to O'Connell's demands in Great Britain, that the Lower House of Assembly refused to vote the supplies; the salaries of all the public servants ceased to be paid, and the governor, under the direction of Mr. Spring Rice, advanced £31,000 from the military chest to meet the most pressing demands. The Assembly, however, were by no means so niggardly to themselves as they were to the public servants of the State, for one of their first acts was to vote £18,000 for payment of their own salaries and current expenses. This vote the governor required time to consider, and as the opposition upon this withdrew, the Assembly was adjourned upon the ground that a quorum did not remain to carry on the public business.¹

With a view of appeasing the colony, which had now, both in the upper and lower province, become extremely discontented, Lord Melbourne, soon after his restoration to power, sent out Lord Gosford as governor, with a board of commissioners, of whom he was chairman, to inquire into the grievances which were complained of. It was soon discovered that the grounds of complaint were of an entirely different character in the lower and the upper provinces. The preference shown to the English language over the French, and to the British settlers over the French, with the accumulation of offices in the persons of the former, the interference of government in elections, and the undue delay in sanctioning or considering bills, formed the chief grounds of complaint in the former province; and they were urged almost entirely by persons speaking the French language, and of French descent. They insisted also, that the Upper Assembly, corresponding to the House of Peers, instead of being, as heretofore, appointed by the Crown, should be elective. The demands of the upper province were different, and were directed chiefly to obtaining a control of the public moneys and accounts; and the discontented in it were for the most part found among the numerous new settlers who had come out during the general fervor originating in the reform movement. Thus it was easy to see that different agencies were at work in the two provinces, and the discontent originated in the want of different things. The influence of Rome was exerted in the lower province to add to the difficulties of the En-

¹ Ann. Reg. 1835, 378-380.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1835, 380-383; Mart. ii. 277, 278.

^{28.} Demands of the discontented in both the provinces.

^{27.} Commencement of the troubles in Canada.

lish Government, and aid O'Connell's agitation and crusade against the House of Lords in the British Islands; and accordingly it was directed to rendering the Upper Assembly elective, and obtaining the admission of Catholics into offices of trust and power under the government. The influence of the reform passion was felt in the upper province, and accordingly the demands of the leaders of its agitation were chiefly directed to the old Anglo-Saxon object of getting the control of the supplies.¹

To appease these discontents by conceding such of them as appeared to be reasonable, and suited to the growing strength and intelligence of the colony, Lord Gosford stated in his speech to the Assembly, on the opening in November, 1835, that he was authorized to sanction the grants voted in the last session for their own expenses, and which Lord Aylmer had reserved for consideration; and he made at the same time the important announcement: "I have received the commands of our most gracious Sovereign to acquaint you that his Majesty is disposed to place under the control of the representatives of the people all public moneys payable to his Majesty or to his officers in this province, whether arising from taxes or from any other source. The accounts, which will be submitted to your examination, show the large arrears due as salaries to public officers, and for the other ordinary expenditure of the government, and I earnestly request of you to pass such votes as may effect the liquidation of these arrears, and provide for the maintenance of the public servants pending the inquiry by the commissioners." This great concession, however, was far from satisfying the demands of the Canadian reformers, directed as they now were by foreign and sacerdotal influence. They said, accordingly, in reply: "The great body of the people of this province, without distinction, consider the extension of the elective principle, and its application to the constitution of the Legislative Council in particular, the repeal of the acts passed in Great Britain on matters concerning the internal government of the province, as fully within the jurisdiction of the provincial parliament, as well as the privileges conferred by such acts, and the full and unrestrained enjoyment, on the part of the Legislature and of this House, of their legislative and constitutional rights, as being essential to the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's faithful subjects in Canada, as being necessary to insure their future confidence in his government, and their future welfare and contentment under it, and to remove the causes which have been obstacles to it." They received with pleasure the grant of a control over the public accounts, but avoided any promise to repay the £31,000 advanced from the military chest. This state of things did not augur much harmony in their future deliberations between the Government and the Assembly, and this soon appeared. One of their first acts was to insert in the public accounts the agent's bill for Mr. Roebuck's salary, the parliamentary agent for the Assembly in the House of Commons; and the governor's council having declined to sanction this charge, the Assembly passed it at their own hands

without the intervention of the government. Thus ill-humor and hasty proceedings prevailed on both sides, and it was easy to see that matters were fast hastening to that point when concession on the part of Government would inflame rather than allay the public discontents, and that a violent collision was unavoidable.¹

The general prosperity of the manufacturing and commercial interest, contrasted with the deep depression of the agricultural which had distinguished the two preceding years, continued through the whole of 1835 and 1836, and formed the subject of marked allusions in the Speech from the Throne, when Parliament opened on the 14th February in the following year. The King said, in his speech on that occasion, with truth and discrimination: "The state of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom is highly satisfactory. I lament that any class of my subjects should still suffer distress; and the difficulties which continue to be felt in important branches of agriculture may deserve your inquiry, with a view of ascertaining whether there are any measures which Parliament can advantageously adopt for the alleviation of their pressure."²

The precarious condition of Ministers, depending for their majority in the House of Commons entirely upon the support of the Irish Catholics and English Dissenters, stamped, as a matter of necessity, a peculiar character upon their legislative measures, which were entirely directed to relieve the grievances or gratify the wishes of these parties. The first field which presented itself, and which was recommended for consideration in the Speech from the Throne, was the state of the Irish corporations. These establishments, in addition to the numerous abuses which had been so much complained of in the English boroughs, and which had led to the Municipal Bill of the preceding year, were affected also by a great variety of evils which were peculiarly their own. Thus their reform was calculated at once to remedy more serious corruptions, and introduce more extensive changes in the balance of political parties, than that of the English boroughs had done. These corporations had been established chiefly by James I. as so many legislative outposts to secure the English command of the country. As a necessary consequence, they were all Protestant, and Catholics were excluded from them all. In a word, they had been planted in the Irish wilderness, like block-houses in the forests of the Far West, to form so many rallying-points to the Protestant settlers in the island, and they were in general surrounded by a vast majority of Catholics. In these circumstances, the extension of municipal institutions, similar to those established in Great Britain, to Ireland, was not merely a social but a political question. It was mixed up in fearful proportions with religious dissension, and tended to convert the fortresses erected for the defense of one faith into the strongholds from which it was to be assailed. Nevertheless, the thing required to be attempted, for after popular government of bor-

¹ Mart. ii. 376, 379; Ann. Reg. 1835, 293, 294.

² Opening of the Assembly, and demands of the Opposition.

Mart. ii. 377, 378; Ann. Reg. 1835, 363, 366.

Opening of Parliament, and King's speech. Feb. 14, 1836.

Ann. Reg. 1836, 2, 3; Parl. Deb. xxi. 4, 5.

The state of the Irish corporations.

oughs had been established in Great Britain, it was impossible to refuse it to the sister island; and if such a refusal had been attempted, it would only have added another to the many real and supposed grievances of the Emerald Isle.

The first step of Government on this question was to issue a commission to inquire into the condition of the Irish boroughs, as they had done in regard to those in England. This commission, as might have been anticipated, reported strongly against the Irish corporations, even more so than had been done against the English.* There could be no doubt that though such commissions in general proceed on *ex parte* evidence, and studiously avoid summoning any one who is likely to thwart their preconceived opinions or secret instructions, yet in this instance their report was in the main well founded. Proceeding on it, Mr. O'Loughlan, the Irish Attorney-General, introduced a bill for the better regulation of Irish corporations. He stated, that though a great many corporations had perished since the Union, there were still sixty in full vigor, and eleven in a state of decay. These seventy-one corporations included within their territories 900,000 persons, while the number of corporators was only 13,000. Of these 13,000, no less than 8000 were to be found in four of the larger boroughs, leaving only 5000 corporators for the remaining sixty-seven corporations, containing above 500,000 inhabitants. The paucity of these corporators was not redeemed by their character. Since 1792, the corporations had been nominally open to Roman Catholics, but not more than 200 have been admitted. In Dublin they proceed on the avowed principle of excluding not only all Roman Catholics, but the great majority of Protestants, of wealth, respectability, or intelligence. The sheriffs of that city are chosen by the corporate body, and they always put persons con-

nected with the incorporation first upon the list, and it was so managed that, the Catholics were always in a minority. In a word, the management of corporations, and the administration of justice in their hands, is nothing but a tissue of injustice, partisanship, and corruption.

"The remedy proposed for these evils is to put corporations under effective popular control, as has already been done in England and Scotland. In seven of the larger boroughs, comprising Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, Belfast, Galway, Waterford, it is proposed to make the municipal coextensive with the parliamentary occupants, and to include every £10 occupant. This rule, however, if applied to the smaller boroughs, would give much too small a constituency. In these boroughs it has already been provided, by an act passed in 1828, that all householders inhabiting £5 houses and upward shall have a vote for paving and lighting commissioners; and it is proposed to apply in them the same principle to the municipal franchise. In the larger boroughs there will be a division into wards. The aldermen are to be elected, not by the councillors, but the inhabitants, and to consist of those who at the poll have the greatest number of votes; one-half of the councillors and aldermen to go out of office every three years. A commission of the peace to be issued to the smaller boroughs, if the Lord Lieutenant saw cause; in the larger, the mayor for the time being to be the magistrate of the borough. In the seven larger boroughs, the council to elect sheriffs, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant; the management and control of the whole corporate funds and patronage to be vested in the town-council. There is only one way in which it is possible to pacify Ireland, and that is to promote a real union through an amelioration of her institutions, by treating her fairly, by giving her equal privileges and equal rights with England. Deny her that, and the Union is at an end."

* "That the incorporations provided no means, and contained no constituency by which the property, the wishes, and the interests of the whole local community might secure a fair representation in the corporate body; that in many towns there was no recognized commonality; that in others where it existed it was entirely disproportioned to the inhabitants, and consisted of a very small portion, of an exclusive character, not comprising the mercantile interests, nor representing the wealth, intelligence, or respectability of the town. The corporations, and not without reason, were looked on by the great body of the inhabitants with suspicion and distrust, as having interests distinct from and adverse to those of the general community, whom they thus studiously excluded from any participation in the municipal government. Their members frequently consisted of the relations and adherents of particular families or individuals, and the principles of their association, and those which regulated admission and exclusion, had rarely any connection with the common benefit of the district, or the wishes of the inhabitants. In by far the greater number of the close corporations, the persons composing them were merely the nominees of the patron or proprietor of the borough; while in those which apparently were more enlarged, they were admitted and associated in support of some political interest, most frequently at variance with the majority of the inhabitants. The corporations have long been unpopular, and objects of suspicion. As at present constituted, they are in many instances of no service to the community, in others injurious, in all insufficient and inadequate for the proper purposes and ends of such institutions. The public distrust in them attaches to their officers and nominees, and the result is a failure of respect for, and confidence in, the ministers of justice and police."—*Report of Irish Corporation Commissioners*, Nov. 4, 1835; *Ann. Reg.* 1836, 30, 31.

On the other hand, it was argued by Sir R. Peel, Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Stanley: "The greater part of the corporations in Ireland, between forty and fifty in number, have been erected by James I., avowedly as guardians of the Protestant interests, and to favor the spread of the Protestant religion. This bill, whatever may be said to the contrary, and under whatever colors it may be veiled, goes to annihilate the ancient corporation system of Ireland, and vest the management of the boroughs and their extra property in different hands, and persons actuated, both in civil and religious concerns, by entirely opposite interests and wishes. By this bill there will be no more connection between the former and the new corporations, than between the old and the new departmental system in France. It may be necessary to make such a change, but it is in vain to deny that it amounts to complete revolution, so far as both property and influence are concerned, in the whole boroughs of Ireland. It is not denied that the present system has become a cover for many abuses, and has, by the lapse of time, become unsuitable to the circumstances of society; and it may at

once be conceded that it would be unwise to attempt to maintain it any longer.

"What system, then, should be proposed in its place; for some system there must be, and every thing depends on the principles on which it is to be founded.

35. Continued. The plan now proposed, after destroying the whole existing corporations in Ireland, proposes to erect them of new in fifty-four towns in Ireland, in forty-seven of which the council are to be chosen by a household suffrage of £5. With regard to population, the bill descends very low; for in the town of Middleton, with 2087 inhabitants, and Belturbet, with 2067, there are to be four aldermen and twelve councillors; and the bill also gives power to the Lord Lieutenant to apply it to any town in that country, without reference to the amount of its population. This power might be exercised on a petition of two or three discontented inhabitants. The report of the commissioners bore that there were 126 towns in Ireland, with a population of 2000 each. It might be presumed that they would all be erected into boroughs, and this might even be done with a hundred villages more, with a population of 1000 souls, on the application of two or three ambitious persons desirous of obtaining situations of power or emolument in them. These little boroughs would all have the power of making rules and by-laws at variance with each other; and the station of the persons by whom these Lilliputian legislatures are to be elected may be judged of by the admission in the bill, that recourse must be had to the £5 occupants to make up the municipal constituency.

"Serious as these evils are, they are as nothing compared to those which are 36. Continued. connected with the administration of justice. In every corporate town there is to be a mayor, who is to be *ex officio* a justice of the peace, owing his power not to commission from the Lord Lieutenant, but to the simple election of the householders. This is not the case in England, where the corporate magistrates, as such, have no judicial power; and it is not a little remarkable, that while the report of the commissioners states it as one of the evils of the corporate system in Ireland that the borough magistrates are independent of all control from the Crown, this bill proposes to perpetuate that very evil. Will these evils be remedied by giving to popular bodies the election of these justices? will not, on the contrary, their election, from which such important consequences are to flow, be the occasion of fresh discord and animosity? First, there will be the registration of the voters, then the election of the town-councillors, and then the election of the mayor, aldermen, and town-clerks! What a scene, with such a state of things present! How truly has it been said, it will render these little boroughs normal schools of agitation! It is said the sheriff, under the old system, showed undue preference to the corporators, and put them first on the panel of jurors: will the new sheriff, acting under the pressure from without, be more scrupulous, or less partial to those who have elected him? What possible objection can there be to giving the appointment of these sheriffs to the Lord Lieutenant? He is to have, under a bill pending in Parliament, the appoint-

ment of the police force in every county and town in Ireland, on the preamble that such unity of government is essential to its due action. On what principle is the police of 126 towns to be taken out of his hands, and vested in those of the £5 householders?

"Then, as to the corporate property, it is very considerable, and has apparently been well managed, for its income in all 37. Concluded. the boroughs is £61,897, its expenditure £57,279, and the debt charged on it only £183,000. These revenues are derived from two sources, lands and tolls. These are to be vested absolutely in the new corporations, subject only to the restriction of not lowering the tolls when they are pledged for debt. That is impolitic; for the true way to increase these towns is not to authorize them to borrow money on the tolls and spend it on corporation purposes, but to induce them to lower or take off the tolls altogether, and thereby attract trade to their markets. In short, the proposed bill goes to eradicate one set of evils only to rear up another set of the same description, still more formidable, and the last state of matters will be worse than the first. The true way to legislate, in order to remove the admitted evils of the present system, is not to create a new system, creative, in the end, of the same or greater evils, merely because a similar system has been established, but to consider by which system equal laws and equal privileges may best be secured to all. Is this to be done by merely rendering the party hitherto servient the dominant power? What does it signify by whom undue influence is exercised—whether by landlord or priest? Mr. O'Connell has said, and said truly, that every one knows that corporate reform will render the English boroughs 'normal schools of agitation.' Will they prove less so in Ireland? We call upon you, therefore, knowing that these annual elections will engender strife, and increase the already heated state of party feelings in Ireland, as you value the integrity and security of this great empire, not to lend your sanction to the establishment in Ireland of normal schools, in which the science of agitation is to be taught; and, above all, not to make the graduates in those schools, 1 Parl. Deb. xxxi. 1050, and the professors of that science, the 1076; Ann. Reg. 1836, chosen instruments for leading the 26-31. justice."

In accordance with these views, Sir R. Peel did not divide the House upon the second reading of the bill, thereby 38. The bill is carried in the Commons. March 23. admitting the principle that the old corporations should be abolished; but in committee Lord Francis Egerton moved, with his concurrence, that "the committee should be empowered to make provision for the abolition of corporations in Ireland, and for such arrangements as should be necessary for their abolition, and for securing the efficient and impartial administration of justice, and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland." The object of this was to vest the government of boroughs, so far as the administration of justice and direction of the police force was concerned, in the Lord Lieutenant, or those acting under him, not the persons elected by the constituencies. Govern-

ment resisted this, on the ground that it tended to do away with the principle of popular appointment and control, which was the leading principle of the bill, and establish an individual distinction in this respect between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord F. Egerton's motion was lost by a majority of 307 to 64—a larger majority than Lord Melbourne's Ministry had yet got in the Commons; and the bill finally passed by a majority of 61—viz. 260 to 199—with the alteration only that the sheriffs in the larger boroughs were to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, not the town councils.¹

The success of the bill was now secured, so far as the Commons were concerned; but all parties were aware that it was in the House of Lords that the real trial of strength on it would take place. It was read a second time in the Upper House without opposition; but in going into committee Lord Fitzgerald moved, as had been done in the Commons, for an instruction to the committee similar to Lord F. Egerton's, which had been thrown out in the Lower House. This motion was carried against Ministers by a majority of 84, the numbers being 203 to 119. Several other amendments, bringing the bill into the shape for which Sir R. Peel had contended in the House of Commons, were carried by majorities nearly as large; and the bill, as thus amended, was sent down to the Commons for their consideration. Lord John Russell, after observing that the bill, as now altered, contained little or nothing of what had been sent up from the Commons, seeing that out of 140 clauses 106 had been omitted or altered, and 18 new ones introduced, moved that the amendments of the Lords should be rejected, and the bill sent back to the Upper House. This was carried by a majority of 86, the numbers being 324 to 238. Upon the bill, however, backed by this large majority, coming back to the Lords, the motion of Lord Melbourne, that the amendments of the Commons should be taken into consideration, was lost by a majority of 99, the numbers being 220 to 121; and upon the bill returning, as amended by the Lords, to the Commons, Lord John Russell moved, and carried, that it should be taken into consideration that day

three months—the usual mode of abandoning questions which were then set at rest for the present in both Houses of Parliament.²

The other great party-question of the year produced a similar collision, threatening the most serious consequences between the two Houses. The Irish Church Bill was introduced on 25th April by Lord Morpeth, being the same in substance with that which had been thrown out, by a majority of 97, in the Upper House; and on this occasion he promised a surplus of £100,000 a year, as likely to be ultimately available to the purposes of education. Lord Stanley and Sir R. Peel renewed their objections to those clauses in the bill which went to appropriate any part of the church property to temporal or general purposes. The bill on this occasion passed

the Commons by a majority of only 26, the numbers being 290 to 264, the minority containing a majority of English members. Upon going to the Upper House, however, the appropriation clauses were rejected by a majority of 91, the numbers being 188 to 47, and the bill, as thus amended, was read a third time and passed. Upon the bill returning to the Commons, Lord John Russell started a question of privilege, on the ground of the Lords having incompetently interfered in the first instance with a money bill; and on this technical ground the bill, as amended, was thrown out by a majority of 29, or 260 to 231.³

Thus were the two Houses brought into direct and fearful collision on the two vital questions of Corporate Reform and the Church Establishment in Ireland,—the natural and oft-predicted result of a majority of the Lower House being based on the boroughs and the representation of numbers, of the Upper on landed estates and the representation of property. It was obvious to all the world that this state of matters was in the highest degree perilous, and could not continue without putting the constitution, as established by the Reform Bill, in serious jeopardy. It went far to neutralize the whole advantage of the representative system, as any question taken up by the opposite sides as a party one, was sure to be carried in the one House and thrown out in the other; and this state of antagonism was not only confirming both in their preconceived opinions, but rendering the division between them, from the keenness of party conflict, every day more decided and irreparable. In the violent shock of the opposite parties which divided the empire, of which Ireland had become the battlefield, the real wants and interests of its unhappy inhabitants were well-nigh forgotten; and the fatal illusion became daily more common, that its real evils were political, not social, and were to be removed by a change of ministry or political power, not by an alteration of material circumstances. Meanwhile the open antagonism of the two Houses contributed greatly to strengthen the hands of the Radicals, who desired the abolition or entire change of the Upper, and furnished a plausible ground to O'Connell and the revolutionists for representing the House of Peers as the inveterate enemy of all reform, and its establishment on an entirely different footing as an indispensable preliminary to any real social improvement.

The event soon showed that the Radicals would not be slow in taking advantage of the door thus opened to them for renewing and inflaming the agitation against the House of Lords. "Justice to Ireland," said O'Connell, "is our cry. England has reformed corporations; Scotland has them: Ireland applied for them; the House of Commons granted them; the House of Lords refused them. It was said, that as soon as the House of Commons was reformed, it would seek a quarrel with the House of Lords; that prophecy has been completely falsified. It is not the Commons

¹ Parl. Deb. xxi. 1318, 1380, xxi. 747; Ann. Reg. 1836, 33, 43.

² 39. The bill is essentially altered in the Lords, and finally rejected in the Commons. May 9.

June 9.

June 27.

³ Ann. Reg. 1835, 53, 64; Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 218, 963.

⁴⁰. Irish Church Bill again passed in the Commons, and thrown out in the Lords. April 29.

⁴¹. Perils of this state of collision between the two Houses.

⁴². Increased agitation against the House of Lords.

who seek a quarrel with the Lords, but the Lords with the Commons. The House of Commons have been forbearing in the highest degree, in order to avoid a collision with the Lords; and the only consequence has been, that they have been defied and insulted. This is not to be endured. We have submitted for centuries to your oppression, but we will not submit to be insulted. We will do nothing violent or illegal; we will keep ourselves within the limits of the constitution, but we will agitate, agitate, agitate, until Ireland is organized, peaceably and legally, as it was before, and the result will be the same. I trust the people of England will respond to the cry, 'Justice to Ireland.' I defy the House of Lords to keep from Ireland municipal institutions. They may delay—withhold them they never will. I thank them for choosing this as the ground of collision between the two Houses; I thank them for branding the people of Ireland as aliens; I thank them for thus barbing with insult their dart of death. The people of England must now join with the majority of the Lords in proclaiming the people of Ireland unfit for municipal institutions, or they must join with the majority of the Commons in forcing them from that obstinate body. Day after day the necessity of another organic reform is becoming more evident. The House of Commons has taken its part, the House of Lords has done the same; the collision has come; the people of England will determine between them, and may God defend the right."

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 62, 63.

Upon the English people these violent declamations produced at this time very little impression; for the urban population, in whom such sentiments had formerly found a responsive voice, were so prosperous, from the low price of provisions and flourishing state of commerce, that they were entirely occupied with projects of gain; and the rural, who were suffering from those low prices, were so inherently loyal and peaceable that they could not be brought, from any external pressure, to join their voices to those of the decided enemies of the constitution. But the case was very different in Ireland. There the low price of agricultural produce, which had fallen rapidly from the influence of three fine harvests, acted with unmitigated force on a population wholly agricultural, and possessing no means of either living or paying their rents but by the Prices, iv. disposal of the crops of the year.²

² Tooke on Mr. O'Connell took advantage of the universal distress produced by this circumstance to rouse and inflame the tithe agitation; and he founded on the Whig proposal to deduct 30 per cent. from it in a tithe commutation, not as a reason for remaining quiet, but as an additional one for agitating to get quit of the whole remainder. "I will take my installment," said he, in a letter to the electors of Kilkenny, "however small at any time, and will then go on for the balance. I realize for Ireland all I can get, and having got part, I am then better able to seek the rest. I heartily supported the Ministry of Lord Melbourne in their measures of tithe relief, not as giving all I wanted for the people of Ireland, but as giving a part, and establishing an appropriation principle which

would necessarily produce much more." In pursuance of these principles, the anti-tithe agitation was every where renewed, and produced the most lamentable results. Payment of tithe, though only a fraction of a farthing, was every where resisted, by the injunctions of the priests, as a matter of conscience. The process-server was every where hunted and persecuted like a wild beast. If a sale of distrained cattle was attempted, intimidating mobs, surrounding the scene, prevented any one from purchasing. Some relief was for a time experienced by the clergy by the use of exchequer writs for the recovery of tithe instead of common process, but the respite proved evanescent. The exchequer writs, it was soon found, could be enforced only by the police or military; frequent collisions between them and the peasantry took place, attended by bloodshed on both sides. At Dunkennin in Tipperary two men were slain in October in attempting to post subpoenas in obedience to an exchequer writ; and while the country was agitated by these frightful scenes of disorder and violence, Mr. Sheil gave the sanction of his name and abilities to the continuance of the system, and an exchequer collector had to be appointed before a trifling tithe due from his estate could be collected.¹

To carry into full and renewed operation this anti-tithe agitation, the old machinery devised by O'Connell, which had proved so effective in bringing about Catholic emancipation, was again fully organized and every where established. Under his direction and that of Mr. Sheil, the old association, under the new name of the "General Association," was re-established in Dublin, and branches set on foot in every town and parish in Ireland. The "General Association" held its meetings weekly, or oftener, in Dublin, at which reports were regularly read from the affiliated associations, or "registry clubs," in the provinces, and the amount of the "rent," or weekly contributions got from them, proclaimed and published. The topics which formed the staple of the speeches at these meetings were the greatness, strength, and determination of Ireland; the seven centuries of English oppression; the necessity of thorough organization, united action, and incessant agitation; and the magnitude of the results which might be expected from their continued action. The "registry" was especially urged upon their attention, and the necessity of straining every nerve to get Catholic electors on the roll, and keep Protestants off. Corporate reform—in other words, the command of all the boroughs in the kingdom—entire liberation from tithes and church rates, were the advantages promised in the first instance from these measures; the repeal of the Union and abolition of the Protestant Establishment, the boon to be ultimately extorted from the Government. In this unparalleled and universally-organized conspiracy, the leaders were the very men who had recently so furiously denounced the defensive Orange associations in the north of Ireland;³ and the Government, which remained a passive spectator of it, was the same which had, by means of a mere wish expressed from the Crown to one of the

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 299-305; Mart. ii. 306, 309.

⁴⁴ Re-establishment of the Catholic Association.

³ Ann. Reg. 1830, 301-303.

Houses of Parliament, scattered all these Orange societies to the winds.

But there never was a truer observation than that all human evils have a limit; and that when the effects of existing institutions become excessively injurious, an under-current sets in, destined in the end to correct them.

This limit had now been reached in Ireland; this under-current was beginning to set in. The tide had turned, and though disasters unparalleled yet awaited her, that worst of all social evils, *blindness to the source from which they proceeded*, was beginning to be removed. The wretched condition of the Irish peasantry, under the combined effect of a redundant population, woeful cultivation, an absentee gentry, political agitation, low prices, and no means of emigration, had now reached such a height, that a few men of sense in the country began to see that their evils were *social*, not political, and that instead of being likely to be diminished by the vehement strife of parties, of which they had long been the victims, they were enhanced by it in the highest degree. Add to this that the inundations of Irish laborers into England and Scotland, in consequence of the miserably low wages which they alone could earn in their own country, and the total want of parochial relief there, had, at length, become so excessive, that the people of England were thoroughly aroused on the subject, and they loudly demanded that a country which enjoyed a rental of £18,000,000 a year, divided between the landlords and the bondholders, should no longer be permitted to save itself from the burden of maintaining its own poor, by sending them forth in starving multitudes to overwhelm the neighboring island.

So loud had these complaints become, that they had, at length, come to influence the Legislature, and the committee which sat on the condition of the poor in 1828 had reported that the existing distress among the laboring poor of Great Britain was entirely owing to the influx of Irish poor, and

would at once be removed if it could be stopped.¹ Such, however, was the vehemence of party strife, which

soon after ensued from the dependence of the Catholic Relief and Reform Bills, that this all-important subject was for a time forgotten, or viewed in an entirely fallacious light. The leaders of the Liberal parties insisted that Protestant ascendancy was the sole cause of the distress, and that Catholic emancipation, municipal reform, and the appropriation of Church property, were the suitable remedies. The political economists vociferated that the evils were mainly owing to a redundant population; that the dangerous tendency to increase would only be rendered more formidable by the relief of the suffering with which it was attended, and that the only wise course was to let poverty find its own level, and improvidence in marriage be checked by its attendant and inevitable consequences. Strong as the Liberals and political economists were at this period in the House of Commons, they could not have so long withstood the loud demands of the English people for a participation by Ireland in

the burden of maintaining the poor, had they not been powerfully aided by Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, and the whole Catholic leaders, who, either dreading a diminution in the revenue of the Catholic Church, from the burden of poor-rates in Ireland, or fearing that the people, if relieved, and suffering less, would become not so susceptible of agitation for the purposes of sacerdotal ambition, cordially united in resisting any legal provision for the Irish poor. Father O'Malley having brought forward a motion in the General Association for a petition to Parliament to establish a poor-law, it was thrown out by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil. "Discuss poor-law," said the latter, "at such a moment! Away with such infatuation! The registry 1836, 307—the registry! Think of nothing but the registry!"

The ruinously low prices of 1835, however, and the unbounded pauperism which

was in consequence produced, overcame all these obstacles, and though a majority both of the Cabinet and the House of Commons adhered to their old ideas on the subject, yet

they were, in a manner, constrained to yield so far as to issue a commission to inquire into the condition of the poor in Ireland. Fortunately for the cause of humanity, and the ultimate interests of property in Ireland, the gentleman at the head of it was eminently qualified by his knowledge and abilities, as well as his ample experience of the English poor-laws under the new system, to discern rapidly the real state of the facts. His commission bore date 22d August, 1836, and before Parliament rose he had collected such a body of information as was entirely decisive of the question, and threw more light on the subject than all the previous debates in Parliament put together had done. He began his report with these words, the truth of which subsequent events have too fully verified: "Ireland is now suffering under a circle of evils producing and reproducing each other: want of capital produces want of employment; want of employment, turbulence and misery; turbulence and misery, insecurity; insecurity prevents the introduction and accumulation of capital, and so on. Until the circle is broken, the evils must continue, and probably augment. The first thing to be done is to give security that will produce and invite capital, and capital will give employment. But security of person and property can not co-exist with general destitution; so that, in truth, the drainage, reclamation, and profitable cultivation of bogs and wastes, the establishment of fisheries and manufactures, improvements in agriculture, and in the general condition of the country, and lastly, the elevation of the great mass of the people in the social scale, seem to be more or less contingent upon establishing a legal relief for the destitute."*

* "Capital has increased in Ireland, but population has increased still more; and therefore the great body of the people remain wretchedly poor, notwithstanding the growth of public wealth. The extreme subdivision of land tends to the same result; the soil, fertile as it naturally is, becomes exhausted by incessant cropping. Except in the grazing districts, farms of a hundred acres are almost extinct. There being no legal provision for the destitute, and the subdivision of land into small holdings having destroyed the regular demand for labor, the occupation of a piece of ground is to the peasant the only

45.
Report recommending a Poor Law in Ireland.

46.
History of the measure, and causes of its long abeyance.

1 Lords' Report, 1836, 7, 8.

Dec. 21, 1836.

Ann. Reg. 1836, 307—
the registry! 312; Mart. ii. 312, 313.

47.
Mr. Nicholl's Report, and its awful revelations. Aug. 21, 1836.

ported, that no less than 2,385,000 persons in Ireland are in distress, and require relief, at least thirty weeks in the year; that themselves, their wives, and children, are absolutely compelled, however reluctant, to beg; and that mendicancy is the sole resource of the aged and impotent classes of the poor generally, whereby encouragement is given to idleness, imposture, and crime. All this obtained in a country where the landed rental was £13,000,000 a year, being 250 per cent. more than that of Scotland! Such was the state of a country, as brought out by their own commissioner, for which Government and its Liberal patriots had hitherto resisted all motions for a poor-rate, and for which Mr. Nichol's Report; *Parl. Deb.* xxxvi. 465; *Ann. Reg.* 1836, 308. they thought the appropriate remedies were, to divert £100,000 a year from the Church to education purposes, and to give every starving householder paying £5 a municipal vote.¹

No sooner was this report printed, than Mr. Scrope, M.P. for Stroud, brought forward a motion founded on it, for immediately coming to a decision on the point of a poor-law in Ireland, with a view to remedying the evils indicated. Government, however, having declared that they had the subject under consideration, and would be prepared to bring forward a measure next session, the matter was wisely left in their hands. In the mean time, the House of Commons passed several measures of unquestionable utility, and which, not being party questions, were agreed to by the Lords, and have been found by experience to be attended by the most beneficial results. The first of them was a bill for facilitating the commutation of tithes in England, a most important and praiseworthy object, and which goes far to remove those heartburnings inevitable, where tithe is liable to be drawn in kind in a community much divided in religious persuasion. The machinery by which this was to be effected was borrowed from Sir R. Peel's bill on the same subject in the preceding year, and it passed without opposition. The second was a bill permitting the celebration of marriages by Dissenters, also taken from Sir R. Peel's bill of the preceding year, and which had

means of subsistence. Land to them is a necessary of life. A man can not obtain a livelihood as a day-laborer; he must get a plot of ground on which to raise potatoes, or starve. Mendicancy is almost universal, and has, therefore, ceased to be disgraceful. It is not disreputable to appear wretchedly clothed, or without the decencies of life. Drunkenness is much more common among the Irish than in England. Notwithstanding the evident poverty of the people, the use of whiskey and tobacco is excessive, and is said to be increasing. Much of the disorders and violence which prevail may be traced to this source. There is a depression of feeling, morally and personally, among the peasantry; they have no pride in, or desire to better their condition. Their desultory habits are very remarkable. They postpone any business, even the most necessary to the safety of their little crop, to a fair or a market. Their own work is soon done, or they think may be soon done; hence arises a total disregard of the value of time. At present the burden of the poor falls entirely upon the poor; the higher classes generally, and the absentees entirely, escape it altogether. The poor at present are the sole providers for their own necessities, each out of his little holding. Hence the agrarian outrages to prevent their being deprived of them; and hence the kind of famine which annually occurs in Ireland, between the going out of the old crop and the coming in of the new.²—Mr. Nicoll's Report, Nov. 23, 1836; *Ann. Reg.* 1836, p. 63, 66.

met with their entire approbation. This change was highly proper; but the result has proved that, like many other grievances loudly complained of by particular sections of the community, it was practically felt by a very inconsiderable portion of them, for the marriages under the new form authorized by the act, have never exceeded a few hundreds a year. The third was a bill for the establishment of a general system for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages; a most important object, fraught, as the event has proved, with the most valuable results, and which has gone far to relieve the imputation under which Great Britain has so long labored, of being behind the Continental nations in statistical information. Still more important to individuals, and the protection of innocence in the administration of justice, was a bill which at length, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Ewart, passed both Houses, allowing prisoners, in cases of felony in England, the benefit of counsel to address the jury—though the English system of giving the prosecutor the last word, if evidence was led by the prisoner, was still adhered to. This just and humane change, like many of the other greatest improvements of English legislation during the last half century, was borrowed from the 1835, iii. 152, immemorial practice of Scotland.¹ 165, 166.

The extreme depression of the agricultural interest, owing to the unparalleled low prices of the preceding year, compelled Government to give way on the subject; and Lord John Russell, on the 8th February, moved for and obtained a committee to inquire into the subject, on the very reasonable ground that, "whenever any great branch of national industry was materially depressed, it was the duty of Parliament to give a favorable consideration to the complaints of those engaged in it, even though there was no reason to think that the distress complained of could be relieved by parliamentary interference." A motion of Mr. Attwood, however, for an instruction to the committee to inquire into the currency laws as affecting the interests of agriculture, was so unfavorably received by the House that it was withdrawn without a division. A motion brought forward by Lord Chandos, on the 27th April, that, in any reduction of taxation which might be practicable, the interests of agriculture should be specially attended to, was lost by a majority of 36, the numbers being 208 to 172. Sir R. Peel and Sir J. Graham both spoke against it, though it was admitted on all sides that the agricultural interest was alone in deep depression, while other interests in the community were in great prosperity, and that out of £8,000,000 taxes remitted during the last five years, £7,600,000 had gone to relieve the manufacturers or general consumers, and only £500,000 bore directly on the agricultural interest. Already it was evident that the balance of the landed and commercial interests had been entirely changed by the Reform Bill; and to the observant eye these finance measures were fraught with the shadow of mighty changes at no distant period.² 219-221.

The general prosperity of the commercial and manufacturing classes, notwithstanding the distress of the agricultural, however, enabled the

Chancellor of the Exchequer to exhibit a more favorable account of the finances in his budget than had been anticipated in the preceding year. He stated the total income of the nation at £46,980,000, while its expenditure was £45,205,807, leaving a surplus of £1,774,198; which, however, would be reduced to £662,000 from the circumstance of £1,111,638 being absorbed by the interest on the West India loan, now become a permanent charge on the nation. The estimates included £434,000 for 5000 seamen additional voted last year; but there was a reduction of £154,000 on the charges for the army. The taxes taken off were very trifling, being chiefly on paper; and newspaper stamps were reduced from 4d. to 1d., which, upon a division, was carried by a majority of 241 to 208 against an amendment, that the surplus of the national income should be applied to a reduction of the duty on soap. If the division last mentioned indicated the ascendancy of the commercial interest over the landed in the House of Commons, it was no less significant of the fact, that the newspaper influence was becoming superior to both. As to the National Debt, for which Parliament had pledged itself in 1821 to keep up a real sinking fund of £5,000,000, it was of common consent ignored, and scarce any thing An. Reg. 1836, was ever heard on the subject again in Parliament.¹

The grant of five thousand men for the navy, though strenuously objected to by Mr. Joseph Hume and the Radicals in Parliament, was amply vindicated by the state of the British naval force, as compared with that of the neighboring nations. It was stated on 4th March, in moving the naval estimates, by Mr. Charles Wood, on the part of Government: "From the best information Government could obtain, the French will have twelve sail of the line at sea during the ensuing summer. In 1834 the Russians had five sail of the line cruising in the Black Sea, and eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, in the Baltic. Last summer two divisions, of nine sail of the line each, appeared together at a review at Cronstadt; and after landing troops for a review at Kalisch, eleven sail of the line and seven frigates, besides smaller vessels, carrying crews amounting to more than 10,000 men, were cruising in the Baltic. During this same period there never were in our Channel ports more than two frigates and a sloop, with crews amounting, perhaps, to 1000 men, disposable for sea at any one time, and that only for a day or two. At the same time the whole line-of-battle ships this nation had afloat in every part of the world did not exceed ten." Mr. Hume contended that "the marine force was too numerous. So much was said about Russia, that gentlemen are afraid of a bugbear of their own creation." Sir R. Peel, however, supported the proposed addition of 5000 men, and it was carried without a division. The land forces voted for the year were 81,319 men, excluding India, of whom more than half were absorbed in the colonies. At this time France had 360,000 regular soldiers in arms, besides three times that number of national guards. Mr. Hume, however, moved a reduction of this force by 5000 men. "England," said he, "is a civil, not a

military country; and I wish to see an end put to that vicious system which has arisen out of our late wars, the maintenance of a preposterously large military force during peace. No real friend of the Government wished them to keep such a force. The Tories might. They were consistent men, attached by system to large establishments and great expense; but no well-wisher to the Government would support them to enlarge the present unnecessary force, or maintain it without diminution. I think that not merely 5000 men, but 15,000 men, may be saved; and as to Ireland, the putting down the Orange lodges will render the presence of the military unnecessary." The reduction was only outvoted by a majority of 126 to 43.¹

While such were the naval and military establishments of the country, when such formidable forces by sea and land were on foot in the neighboring kingdoms, it could not be said that it was in ignorance of the state of the case, or for want of being told what danger threatened, and where it was most instant. On 19th February, Lord Dudley Stuart, in a debate on Eastern affairs, said, in the House of Commons: "Russia has 50,000,000 subjects in Europe alone, exclusive of Asia, an army of 700,000 men, and a navy of eighty sail of line-of-battle ships and frigates, guided by the energy of a Government of unmitigated despotism, at whose absolute and unlimited disposal stand persons and property of every description. These formidable means are constantly applied to purposes of territorial aggrandizement, and every new acquisition becomes the means of gaining others. Who can tell that the Hellespont may not be seized by Russia at any moment? She has a large fleet in the Black Sea, full command of the mouths of the Danube, and of the commercial marine of Odessa and Trebizond; in three days she may be at Constantinople from Sebastopol, and if once there, the Dardanelles will be so fortified by Russian engineers that she never can be expelled except by a general war. She could be in entire possession of these important Straits before any expedition could be sent from this country, even if such a thing could be thought of, against the enormous military force at the command of Russia. That Russia is determined to have the Dardanelles is evident from the treaty of Unklar-Skelessi, by which she began by excluding the ships of all other nations. The effect of this treaty was to exclude any ship of war from these Straits, except with the permission of Russia. Russia might at any moment insist on the exclusion of our ships of war from the Dardanelles. Nay, she has already done so; for when Lord Durham, going on his late embassy to the Court of St. Petersburg, arrived at the Dardanelles in a frigate, he was obliged to go on board the *Photo*, an armed vessel without her guns, before he could pass the Straits; and when he arrived at Sebastopol no salute was fired, and the excuse given was that they did not know the *Photo* from a merchant vessel. But both before and since Lord Durham went, Russian ships of war, with their guns out and their streamers flying, passed through the Black Sea to the Dardanelles, and again

¹ Parl. Deb. xxxi. 1231, and xxxii. 214-219; Ann. Reg. 1836, 251.

² Lord Dudley Stuart's remarkable speech on the Russian power in the East.

through the Dardanelles to the Black Sea. Russia has now fifteen ships of the line and seven frigates in the Black Sea. Sebastopol is only three days' sail from the Hellespont. Turkey has no force capable of resisting such an armament; the forts of the Hellespont are incapable of defense against a land force, for they are open in rear. Russia might any day have 100,000 men in Constantinople, before England or France could even fit out expeditions to defend it." Lord

Palmerston did not deny these facts, but resisted the motion for production of the correspondence in regard to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which was negatived without a division.¹

The discontents of Canada, which had become serious in the preceding year, went on accumulating in this, and arrived at such a point as to threaten an immediate rupture. The demands of the opposite sides remained substantially the same, the colonists insisting for the right of electing the

members of the Upper House as well as the Lower, and the entire control of the moneys levied by Government in the colonies; the Government insisting that, as an indispensable preliminary, provision should be made for defraying the expense of the civil government of the colonies, and for repayment of the £30,000 which had been taken from the military chest to meet its most pressing necessities. The consequence of this state of division was that there was soon open discord between the Governors and the two Houses of Assembly, both in the upper and lower province. The Assembly in Upper Canada insisted, in addition to their other demands, upon having the "Executive Council," a sort of cabinet intended to assist the Governor in his deliberations, subjected to their control, and the proceedings made public—a demand which was refused, as unsupported by the constitution of 1791. Upon this the whole council resigned, and a new one was appointed. Instantly the reformers in the province were thrown into the most violent agitation; and the Assembly having become unmanageable, Sir Francis Head, the Governor, dissolved it on the 28th. The event proved that he had not miscalculated the loyal feelings of the province in taking this step, for the returns proved that the tide there, at least, had turned, and that a decided majority of the people were opposed to the unconstitutional designs of the extreme democratic party. Out of sixty-two members returned, only eighteen belonged to that party, the other forty-four being strongly opposed to any organic change. The result was that the Governor and Legislature were then soon in harmony; and that noble

colony seemed to be more firmly than ever attached to the British monarchy.²

The course of events, however, was by no means equally satisfactory in the lower province, for there the great majority of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, of French descent, and speaking the French language, and their separate nationalities and religious discord came to swell the tide of temporal discontent. In addition to an elective Upper House, and entire control over the public ac-

counts, whether voted by themselves in the shape of taxes or derived from the hereditary revenue of the Crown, they now insisted that the whole waste lands of the province belonged to themselves in fee-simple, and that a charter granting a small part of them to a company for the sake of improvement, should be annulled. Government in vain endeavored to get them to vote any sum for the civil service of the colony, or the payment of the judges and other public servants, now three years in arrear. They voted the payment of their own salaries, and that of Mr. Roebuck, their agent in Parliament, but nothing more; and at length Lord Gosford, finding them utterly intractable, was under the necessity of proroguing the House early in March, before which they voted an address, complaining of their grievances, to the Colonial Secretary in England. The Assembly met again in October, and insisted on their former demands, and were even proceeding to frame an act of their own authority, declaring the Upper House elective, when their proceedings were stopped by a prorogation on 4th October. It had now become evident that the Canadian malcontents were acting under foreign sacerdotal direction; that their petitions were entirely framed to support O'Connell's demand for an elective House of Peers in Great Britain, and their agitation got up to aid that which he was conducting in Ireland.¹

The extremely small majority of Ministers in the House of Commons, and the large majority against them in the House of Lords, suggested to the leaders on both sides the expediency of endeavoring to strengthen their hands, during the recess of Parliament, by public meetings of their respective friends and partisans throughout the country. A great number of such assemblies accordingly took place, chiefly in the great towns. The leading topics on the Liberal side were the necessity of rallying round the Government in its distress, and protecting the country from the dreaded invasion of the Tories; on the Conservative, the necessity of adhering to the landmarks of the constitution, and preventing any further invasion of it in Church or State. The most imposing meeting on the first side was held in Drury Lane Theatre, in honor of Mr. Hume and Mr. Byng, the members for Middlesex, which was attended by eleven hundred persons, and very Radical sentiments were expressed, particularly by Mr. Grote. Inferior to this meeting in numbers, one much more remarkable for statesmanlike views and eloquence, was given in Leeds to Lord Morpeth, the Irish Secretary. "I value," said he, "the constitution, and will do my utmost to maintain it, but under its broad and expansive shade I would remove every obstacle, and clear away every avenue of access, to every class, to every creed, to every race that owns its sway and courts its shelter. I would proceed in reducing and removing all the remainder of exclusive privileges and monopolies by which one class of our countrymen may be benefited to the detriment of the rest. I would give to religious as well as civil freedom the most unobstructed range; and at one act I would desire to banish from our temples and altars the clash of sordid disputes and

¹ Parl. Deb. xxxi. 626, 679; Ann. Reg. 1836, 275, 276.

² Ann. Reg. 1836, 314-316.

³ Ann. Reg. 1836, 317-321.

⁴ Public meetings on both sides. The banquets in London and Leeds.

⁵ Oct. 20.

civil bickerings. I would cling to no abuse because it is ancient; shrink from no improvement because it is change. The destiny of parties, as of nations, is beyond human ken; but I shall always, as a member of party, recollect with pride that in four short years we have reformed the representation of the people in Parliament—reformed and opened the municipal corporations of England and Scotland—swept from our blushing records the demon of slavery—opened wide the seas and shores of the globe to British trade and enterprise. And this, the legislation of four short years, has been—let the over-timid and the over-bold mark this—achieved without one form of the constitution being violated—without one breach of the law being countenanced—without one drop of human blood being spilled.⁵¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1836, 14, 15.

If those eloquent words were a glowing, and in many respects just survey of the Whig legislation since the accession of that party to power, an occasion was long afforded to Sir R. Peel of declaring his political sentiments before a still greater and more influential assembly. On the 11th January, a vast meeting was held in Glasgow, to which persons flocked from all the west of Scotland, in honor of that statesman, who had just been elected Lord Rector of the University there, in opposition to Sir John Campbell, the Attorney-General. Covers were laid for 3432 persons, in a magnificent hall, erected for the occasion, in the centre of the city. By far the greater part of the wealth, intelligence, and worth of the west of Scotland was assembled on the occasion; and this embraced many who had been keen reformers five years before. Sir Robert addressed himself in an especial manner to them. "I want not," said he, "to taunt you with reaction or conversion; but I say, if you adhere to the sentiments which you professed in 1830, it is here you should come. You consented to a reform, to which you were invited in a speech by your sovereign, expressly on the condition that it should be according to the acknowledged principles of the constitution. I see the necessity of widening the foundations on which the defense of our constitution and our religious establishments must rest. But let us come to the main point, for I do not wish to conciliate your confidence by hoisting false colors. I mean to support the national establishments which connect Protestantism with the State in the three countries. (Loud cheers, the whole company rising.) I mean to support, in its full integrity, the House of Lords (loud cheers), as an essential and indispensable condition to the maintenance of the constitution under which we live. Do you also concur in that expression of opinion? (Loud acclamations.) And if you do, it is a timely declaration of it. The hour has arrived, when, if these are our feelings, we must be prepared to act upon them. The disturbing influence of foreign example has diminished, the dazzling illusion of the glorious days has passed away; the affections of the people are visibly gravitating again to their old centre—full of a respect for property, a love of rational freedom, and an attachment to long-established institutions. From these walls, I trust, a spirit

will go forth to animate the desponding, and to encourage the timid. I look abroad from the spot on which I stand, to the moral influence of that opinion which constitutes 'the cheap defense of nations'—I look to it for the maintenance of that system of government which protects the rich from spoliation, and the poor from oppression. I look to that spirit which will range itself under no tawdry banner of revolution, but unfurl and rally round the flag that has 'braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze.' Yes! I feel not a shadow of doubt that it will continue to float in triumph, and that the constitution, tried as it has been in the storms of adversity, will come forth purified and fortified in the rooted convictions, the feelings, the affections, of a religious, a moral, and a patriotic people."⁵²

¹ Ann. Reg. 1837, 16, 17.

Parliament met on the 31st January, and so painfully evident had the weakness of Ministers become from the events of the two last sessions, that it was confidently expected by all parties that before the session closed a change of government would have taken place. This, however, was prevented by one of those events which betray the subjection of human affairs to a higher power, and the frequent disappointment of what appear at the time the most well-founded anticipations. The operation of the act permitting the establishment of joint-stock banks, and "the difficult but pressing question of establishing some legal provision for the poor in Ireland," were specially recommended to the attention of the Legislature. Warm debates took place on the Address, but no division in either House. The chief point dwelt on by the Radicals was the want of earnest purpose and vigorous conduct in the Ministry, who were described by Mr. Roebuck as "even worse than the Tories;" and their whole policy, both foreign and domestic, was made the subject of severe vituperation by the party which had so recently convulsed the nation with declamations in their favor as the authors of the Reform Bill.⁵³

² Ann. Reg. 1837, 25-28; Parl. Deb. xxxvi. 1-44.

The first party move made in this session was the reintroduction of the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill, which was again brought forward in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. The only difference between this bill and the preceding one was in the nomination of sheriffs for the municipalities, in regard to which it was provided that a list of six names should be furnished by the town-council to the Lord Lieutenant, and if he rejected the whole, the nomination was to rest with him. The bill, after three nights' debate, passed the Commons by a majority of 302 to 247, or 55.* When it went up

* Mr. Shell, in the course of this debate, gave vent to a striking burst of eloquence in reference to the epithet of "Aliens," which, during the debate on the same subject in the Upper House, had been applied to the Roman Catholics of Ireland by Lord Lyndhurst. "The Duke of Wellington," said he, "is not a man of sudden emotions; but he should not, when he heard that word used, have forgotten Vimiera, and Badajoz, and Salamanca, and Toulouse, and the last glorious conflict which crowned all his former victories. On that day, when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries spread slaughter over the field, and the legions of France rushed again and again to the onset, did the 'aliens' then flinch? On that day the blood of the man of En-

to the House of Lords, symptoms of a compromise appeared. The Duke of Wellington, after observing that this was one of three bills recommended to their consideration in the Speech from the Throne, the other two relating to the Irish poor and the Irish tithes, moved that the consideration of the question should be *postponed* till the other measures came before them. This was carried by a majority of 77, the numbers being 192 to 115. So indignant were the Radicals at this renewed instance of independence on the part of the House of Lords, that Mr. Hume said the same night, in a committee of supply in the House of Commons, that as the Lords were resolved to stop all reform, the Commons had better *put a bar to all supplies*; and he therefore moved that the chairman should leave the chair, and sit again on the 9th of June. This extreme proposal was received with loud cheers from his own side, and only withdrawn upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer assuring the House that the money was absorbed. ¹ Ann. Reg. 1837, 51, 55, lately required to discharge the obligations of the State.¹

The next subject introduced was that of the poor-laws in Ireland; and so urgent was the case, and so startling the facts which Mr. Nicholl's valuable report brought out on the subject, that, strong as was the disposition on both sides to make Irish questions a party struggle, the bill brought in by Ministers received the concurrence of the House of Commons. Lord John Russell introduced the subject on the 18th February; and his proposal, as is generally the case when the dreaded topic of an assessment is broached in a popular assembly, fell very far short indeed of the real necessities of the case. He proposed to establish 100 workhouses, each to contain 800 inmates, which would provide for 80,000 persons, and as their cost was only estimated at 1s. 6d. a week each, the entire expense would be only £812,000 a year! Mr. O'Connell, while he expressed, contrary to his former assertions, a qualified assent to the measure, justly exposed the utter fallacy of supposing that a measure which proposed only to afford the wretched pittance of 1s. 6d. a week to 80,000 persons, could afford any real relief in a country where, according to Mr. Nicholl's report, there were, for more than half of every year, 585,000 heads of families and 2,800,000 persons dependent on them, in a state of utter destitution. Inadequate as the measure was, however, it was a mighty step in advance in Ireland, because it laid the foundations, at least, of a more extended system, and established a set of functionaries throughout the country in connection with Government, to whom the wants of its inhabitants would become known, and their necessities communicated to the proper quarter. Great alarm was expressed at the proposed assessment of £812,000

land, of Ireland, and of Scotland, was poured forth together: they fought on the same field; they died the same death; they were stretched in the same pit; their dust was commingled; the same dew of heaven fell on the grass that covered them; the same grass sprung from the soil in which they reposed together; and is it to be endured that we are to be called aliens and strangers to that empire for whose salvation our best blood has been shed?" — *Parl. Deb.* xxxvi. 936. In bursts of fervid eloquence of this description the Irish genius is often superior to either the English or Scotch.

a year, which only showed the happy ignorance of Ireland of direct taxation at that period; for the rental on which it was to be levied was £13,000,000, so that the rate on an average was only 2½ per cent.¹ It was a striking proof how little the real state of Ireland was understood at this period, and how ignorant the statesmen of Great Britain were of the real extent of the social evils under which Ireland labored, that in the course of this debate Lord Howick stated it as an extraordinary and alarming circumstance, that in the last year the emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland of Irish birth were 39,000; fifteen years afterward they reached 368,000 in one year.²

The immense importance of the introduction of a poor-law into Ireland, on however inadequate a scale at first, was soon apparent. Commissioners were appointed to work the act, and they made a report the following year. In a debate which took place in the next session of Parliament on an amended bill, introduced on the same subject, Mr. O'Connell, appealing to the report of the Poor-Law Commissioners for the facts he stated, made the following striking observations: "There are in Ireland 585,000 heads of families in a state of actual destitution during the greater part of the year. This will imply between them and their families nearly 3,000,000 persons, for a large portion of whom relief must be provided; and it can not be estimated that less than £1,000,000 a year will be required. It is a singular circumstance that in Ireland there are more agricultural laborers than in Great Britain, there being in the former country 1,181,715, and in the latter only 1,055,982. But in Great Britain there are 82,250,000 acres under cultivation—in Ireland only 14,600,000. In the former country the money value of the agricultural produce is £150,000,000 a year—in the latter, raised by a greater number of laborers, only £86,000,000. Thus, though the quantity of cultivated land in Ireland is within a fraction equal to half that of Great Britain, the value of its produce is less than a fourth. The cause of this disparity is the want of capital; and yet, in order to attract capital to the cultivation of land, it is proposed to put a heavy additional tax upon it."³

"Another test of the poverty of Ireland is to be found in the finance returns. From these state papers up to January 5, 1837, it appeared that the total gross revenue of Great Britain for the preceding year was £55,085,000, while that of Ireland was only £4,807,000. So that Great Britain, with a population of 16,000,000, paid *eleven times* as much taxes as Ireland with a population of 8,000,000! Can any thing so strongly demonstrate the inferiority of Ireland in point of property? and yet they were going to add another million to the amount of its taxation in the shape of a poor-law." There can be no doubt that the facts here referred to by Mr. O'Connell were sufficiently remarkable; but it is extraordinary that so acute an observer did not see that they established an-

59.
Poor-law Bill,
which passes
without a di-
vision.
Feb. 13.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1837, 69, 70;
Parl. Deb.
xxxvi. 454,
518.

² *Parl. Deb.*
xxxvi. 496.

60.
Statistics of
Irish Desti-
tution.

³ *Ann. Reg.*
1838, 109;
Parl. Deb.
xl. 572.

61.
Great difference
in the
statistics of the
two
countries of
Great Brit-
ain and Ire-
land.

other fact, utterly fatal to his constant complaint of the oppressive nature of the English government of Ireland. It followed from these figures that Great Britain, in proportion to its population, was *5½ times as heavily taxed as Ireland*; and it is in vain to pretend that this was owing to the taxes on property of the latter country being so small, for the Irish rental at this period exceeded £18,000,000, while that of Scotland was under £5,000,000!!!¹²

Mr. O'Connell and his whole Catholic supporters did their utmost to defeat the measure; a striking proof of the foreign influence under which they were acting, for in the former year he had given a qualified adherence to the proposal, and the evidence in support of it had since been greatly strengthened. It passed, however, by large majorities in both Houses—that in the Commons being 190 to 68; and although temporarily interrupted in its progress through the Upper House by the demise of the Sovereign, to be immediately related, it finally became law in July, 1838. In the March following, twenty-two unions had been declared, and in eighteen of these guardians had been appointed. In the course of 1840, no less than a hundred and twenty-seven unions were appointed, and fourteen large work-houses had been erected for the reception of paupers; and the Commissioners, with just pride, reported that the measure was in full operation, and would work well for the redemption of Ireland. There was no law of *parochial* settlement introduced, and every thing depended on residence in the unions. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this great healing measure for Ireland; for dreadful as was the distress induced by the famine of 1846, it was not one half of what it would have been, had there been, when that calamity arrived, no public establishments for the relief of the destitute, and no assessment to provide for their support. Ministers deserve the greatest credit for having carried through this most important measure, which was the more meritorious on their part that it was entirely new in Ireland, and the reluctance is always so great to admit any change, however necessary, which involves any assessment on property. It must be added, to the honor of the reformed House of Commons, that a most creditable, patriotic, and disinterested zeal was evinced on all sides in the discussion of this

measure, inasmuch that, it was truly said by Mr. O'Connell, it could not be discovered from the speeches to what side the members delivering them belonged. This was particularly honorable to the Protestant members of Ireland, as they represented nineteen-twentieths of the landed property of that country, upon whom the burden was to be imposed. If an exception to this remark is to be made in the case of Mr. O'Connell and most of the Irish Catholic members, who ultimately resisted the measure with all their strength, after its necessity had been clearly demonstrated, and its beneficial effects had already begun to be experienced, it is not so much to be ascribed as a fault to them, as lamented as a result of that foreign sacerdotal influence under which they acted, and which has so often forced them into a course directly at variance with the best interests of their country.¹

The argument mainly relied on by the opponents of the measure, and especially insisted on by Mr. O'Connell and his followers in their last opposition to it, was the well-known one so often urged by the political economists of the Malthus school, that every system of general relief to the poor, whether voluntary or compulsory, is calculated to produce more evil than it can possibly remove, because it gives an undue extension to the principle of population—the main source, according to them, of the chief disorder and suffering of society. It never occurred to them that Ireland itself afforded a decisive proof of the erroneous nature of that opinion; for in that country, when the population was so redundant that wages were 2s. 6d. a week, it was doubling in thirty years; while in England, where comfort was so general, and the demand for labor so considerable that wages were 10s. a week, it did not double once in a century. Nor is it difficult to see wherein the error consisted. Population was excessive in Ireland from the excess of poverty; the principle of increase had become unlimited in its operation, from the absence of all the checks provided by nature to its action. These checks are mainly the prudential considerations which occasion an abstinence from marriage till there is some prospect of providing for a family. Nothing destroys the operation of this check so effectually as the constant sight of unrelieved distress, and the experienced inability to better the condition. The typhus fever itself is not more contagious than habits of improvidence and extensive poverty, for they appeal to the strongest desire of uncivilized man, the sexual impulse and the love of ease. The poor-laws, which seized the worst cases of the *poverty patients*, and put them in public hospitals, did the same benefit to the habits of the remaining laboring classes which the abstraction of the typhus patients did to their health. It stopped the spread of the moral disorder, by secluding the worst of those afflicted with the highly contagious pestilence.

To conciliate the Dissenters in England, a bill was brought forward by Ministers to abolish church-rates in that country; and as the sum levied in this way was about £250,000 a year, it was necessary to provide for it

¹ An. Reg. 1838, 109.

ex.
Final estab-
lishment of
poor-laws
there.

* The Report of the Commissioners established several facts of the most important description, and speaking volumes as to the absolute necessity of a poor-law in Ireland. "The number of agricultural laborers in Ireland actually exceeded those of England by 75,000, while, with a less fertile soil, the amount of agricultural produce raised in England is four times greater. In England, the wages of agricultural laborers are from 6s. to 10s. a week; in Ireland, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. There are 385,000 heads of families who for seven months in the year are without employment, and the persons dependent on them are 1,500,000 more. Not less than 557,000 persons have no land, and live in summer by occasionally getting 6d. a day wages, and in winter begging. The poverty endured by the destitute exceeds belief. Men are often found lying in bed because they have nothing to eat, and the pangs of hunger are less severe there than when up. They often become thieves in order to get the protection of a jail. They lie on rotten beds, in mud cabins, with scarce any covering, feeding on unripe potatoes and yellow weeds, feigning sickness in order to get into the cholera hospital, and when there often subject to vomitings, which were mistaken for the first symptoms of that disease, the effect of mere hunger."—*An. Reg.* 1837, 71, 72.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1837, 76; 1839, 306; Parl. Deb. xliii. 715. xlv. 28; Hall's Ireland, i. 7, iii. 332.

^{63.} Reflections on this subject.

^{64.} Ministerial plan for abolishing church-rates.

from some other source. With this view, it was proposed to take the whole property of bishops, deans, and chapters out of the hands of those functionaries, and to vest it in the hands of eleven commissioners, by whom the salaries of these functionaries were to be paid. By this means it was calculated a surplus revenue of £250,000 a year might be realized, by depriving the Church of the profit at present derived from the renewal of leases, and this sum was to be applied to the repair of churches in lieu of church-rates. The obvious objection to this plan was, that it was based on the principle of *church spoliation*, because it proceeded on the idea that the property of the Church was to be exclusively burdened with the expense of upholding churches, instead of the whole community, and that, to realize the requisite fund, the whole property of the higher dignitaries of the Church was to be taken out of their hands. It excited, accordingly, from the very first, a warm opposition: the bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, took the lead in resisting it; and so repugnant was it to the general feelings of the community, that the majority in the House of Commons on the second reading was only *five*—the numbers being 287 to 282. This was the narrowest division which had taken place since Sir Robert Peel's dissolution, and it was fatal to the bill, which was no farther proceeded with, even in the Lower House, though it had been introduced as the leading measure of the session. Indeed, in former times, so small a majority would have at once led to the resignation of the ministry who brought it forward; but it was evident to all, that new maxims of state in this respect must follow the Reform Bill; for parties were now so equally divided that no government on either side could, on a leading party question, expect a large majority; and therefore, to hold that such a majority was indispensable to ministerial existence, was equivalent to holding that there could never be a ministry at all.¹

The extremely small majority on this occasion deterred Ministers from again bringing forward the Irish Church Bill, involving the approbation principle, this session; and the death of the King, which occurred in the middle of it, almost as a matter of necessity threw the question over to the next session. In the mean time, every exertion was made by the local government in Ireland to keep the Catholics in good-humor, and reconcile them to the postponement of their hopes of gratification from the expected humiliation of the Church. For this purpose, Lord Normanby, who was the Lord Lieutenant, resorted to several measures, some of a judicious, others of a very questionable tendency. Of the first kind was a remodeling of the police in 1836, which was put on a much more efficient footing. Great exertions were made to conciliate the Catholics, by placing at their disposal the greater part of the patronage of the kingdom; from the attorney-general's gown to the epaulet of the police, a favorable ear was lent to persons recommended by Romish influence. In a country abounding as Ireland did in starving ambition, this was without doubt a very powerful engine of government.

But in addition to that, he had recourse to much more questionable measures. Availing himself of the prerogative of mercy, which is the brightest jewel in the viceroy's as the royal crown, he rendered it so common, and prostituted it to such interests, as rendered it a curse rather than a blessing to the country. Setting out from the Castle of Dublin, he proceeded on a regular progress through the provinces, liberating such prisoners as had had their cases favorably represented to him by the local authorities. It appeared from his own statement in the House of Peers on 21st March, 1839, when this matter was brought under discussion, that between November, 1837, and January 31, 1839, he had 1631 memorials presented to him, praying for the liberation of prisoners, of whom he had liberated 822.* It must be added, that the prerogative of mercy had been as largely exercised by previous Lord Lieutenants, particularly by Lord Wellesley in 1834, and that during Lord Normanby's administration there had been a sensible diminution in committals, and increase of convictions; the latter having become 71 per cent. of the former. But all such wholesale use of the prerogative of mercy is dangerous, and of bad example, especially in a country such as Ireland, where party spirit ran so high, and every measure of the Government, even the most humane and generous, is invariably set down by the Opposition to the undue influence of their political opponents. When the matter, accordingly, was brought before the two Houses of Parliament, Ministers had only a majority of 26 in the Commons; while in the Lords, resolutions, condemnatory of Lord Normanby's policy, especially in the administration of justice and the distribution of mercy, brought forward by Lord Brougham, were carried, in August, 1839, by a majority of 34 in a ¹ *Parl. Deb.* House of 138.† The result was, ^{xviii. 4-7, xlix.} that Lord Normanby retired from 1831; ^{Ann. Reg. 1839, 55, 60.} the viceroyalty, and was succeeded by Lord Ebrington.¹

The compromise between the two Houses, evidently pointed at in the postponement of the municipal bill by the House of Lords in 1837, was prevented from being carried into effect at the time in consequence of the King's death, and dissolution consequent upon it, in the summer of that year. As the new elections, however, left the comparative strength of parties very much the same as before, the leaders on both sides saw the necessity of coming to a compromise. On the one hand, Lord Melbourne, whose easy temper and insouciant disposition was always inclined to avoid a difficulty rather than face it, had long been anxious to have the matter adjusted, which could only be done by mutual concessions, and he had only been restrained by the ardent feelings of his followers from going into an arrangement long

^{66.} ^{Compromise between the two Houses on the appropriation clause and Municipal Bill.}

* <i>Viz.</i> —Memorials.....	1631
Refused without advice.....	371
Refused with advice.....	431
Liberated without advice.....	388
Liberated with advice.....	634
Undisposed of.....	145

—*Parl. Deb.*, xlix. 138.

† “The majority, when the case was first brought forward, was 5—63 to 58.”—*Ann. Reg.*, 1839, p. 60.

before. He had now, however, become so strongly impressed with the imprudence, to give it no harsher name, of annually carrying a measure by considerable majorities in the Lower House, which was as regularly thrown out by still larger majorities in the Upper, that at length he made a compromise of the difficulty a Cabinet question. On the other hand, the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel were no less impressed with the stoppage to useful legislation which resulted from this state of antagonism of the two Houses, and the danger that, if it continued much longer, the nation might become convulsed on the subject, and the cry for peerage reform be as formidable as even that for parliamentary had been. Impressed with these ideas, an approximation took place between the leaders on both sides, and the conditions of it were, that the appropriation clause was to be abandoned in the Irish Church Bill, on the one hand, and the Peers were to give way in their resistance to corporate reform in that country, on the other.

It was easier, however, for the leaders, who felt the responsibility of command on both sides, to come to an understanding, than to persuade their followers on either, who were animated only with the eagerness of conflict, to go into it. At length, however, though not without great difficulty, and no small ebullition of spleen on both sides, the desired adjustment was effected, though more than a year elapsed before it was fully carried into effect. On 27th March, 1838, Sir R. Peel inquired of Lord John Russell what course he intended to pursue in regard to the Irish Tithe Bill, and whether he meant to introduce it with the appropriation clause in terms of the resolutions of 1835? Lord John, in reply, stated that the Ministers intended to place "the tithe question on a footing altogether new," as it appeared useless and irritating to prolong, after a conflict of four years, an argument which produced nothing. It was generally felt at the time, what was the truth, that this was an announcement of the abandonment of the appropriation clause. But in order to bring

the matter to a test, Sir T. Acland, on May 14, 14th May, brought forward a distinct motion for the rescinding of the resolutions of the House, in April, 1835, in favor of it. Sir R. Peel on this occasion gave vent to natural and excusable feelings of pride at seeing the Tithe Bill now reduced to the form which he had announced for it, when in power in March, 1835, and the appropriation clause, which his opponents had declared to be essential to the measure, withdrawn by their own hands. The motion was lost by a majority of 19; and it was no wonder it was so, for the House could hardly be expected to confess defeat by rescinding their own resolutions. The bill was now brought forward, on July 2, *without* the appropriation clause, and a motion made by Mr. Ward for the restoration of that clause lost by a majority of 270 to 46, the Ministers themselves voting against it. The bill as it now stood passed the House of Lords without a division, and was a very great improvement, for it provided the means of a general commutation of tithes in Ireland, under a deduction of 25 per cent. only, which in the circumstances was not unreasonable. There can be no doubt that Lord Mel-

bourne acted the part of a true patriot on this occasion, for he gave up a mere party question to insure the passing of a great social improvement. That, however, was not the view taken of it by party men on either side; and Lord Brougham gave expression to the general feeling in Parliament on the subject, when he said: "I never looked to see the day when appropriation should be given to the winds, as if the thing had never been—as if it had not been the means of unseating one Ministry and seating another. So much for appropriation!—the chapter of appropriation, its origin, history, flourishing, decline, and fall; how in the fullness of time, having answered every good purpose, it has been gently laid aside and put to rest without a single requiem being sung over its grave."¹

The settlement of the Municipal Corporation Bill in Ireland did not take place quite so soon; but the compromise in regard to it, too, was in the end carried into effect. Lord John Russell, on 7th February, 1837, moved for leave to bring in the Irish Municipal Bill, which was carried by a majority of 55—the numbers being 302 to 247; and, as already mentioned, the consideration of the bill was adjourned in the House of Peers till it was seen what course Ministers were to adopt in regard to the Irish Tithe Bill. Early in 1838 the bill was again introduced by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, and in pursuance of the agreement, Sir R. Peel did not object to the second reading, and admitted the principle of popular election, but moved in committee that £10 rating should be the qualification, which was rejected by a majority of only 20; the numbers being 286 to 266. When the bill came into the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst moved as an amendment that the qualification be fixed at £10, which was carried by 98 to 36. Several other minor amendments were also carried in the Peers, which were so distasteful to the Commons that Lord John Russell threw up the bill altogether for that session.²

Matters looked very unpromising, in this stage, for the success of the compromise; and they were not materially improved in the next session of Parliament. Lord John Russell again brought forward the bill as it stood, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 26, Sir R. Peel and Lord Stanley voting with the majority. Sir R. Peel proposed, however, in committee, that the rating should be raised to £10 to confer a vote, which was carried against him in the Commons by a majority of 21, and in his favor in the Lords by a majority of 48; and upon this amendment being brought under the consideration of the Commons, Lord John Russell abandoned the bill a second time. Matters thus seemed to be inextricable, and the compromise as far as ever from being carried into effect; but in the following year it met with more success. The bill was then introduced by Lord Morpeth, on 14th February, with the rating fixed at £8, and on this occasion Sir R. Peel and his whole personal followers voted for the bill, on the ground

¹ Parl. Deb. xlii. 1203, 1325, 1345, 1353; Ann. Reg. 1838, 144.

² 68. Settlement of the Irish Municipal Bill.

³ Ann. Reg. 1838, 125-131; Parl. Deb. xliv. 671, 975.

⁴ 69. Fate of the bill in 1839 and 1840.

Aug. 13, 1839.

Feb. 14, 1840.

that a settlement of the question had become indispensable, and that the bill, as now amended, was the best which in the circumstances could be got. It passed the Commons, accordingly, by a majority of 148; in the Lords, the qualification was again raised to £10, being that in the Scotch Municipal Bill; and the bill, as thus amended, having been acceded to by the Commons, it passed the Lower House, and on 18th August received the royal assent.¹

An event occurred in 1837, which evinced, in striking colors, at once the ambitious designs of Russia in the East, and the weakness of Great Britain at that period to restrain her advances. Ever

since the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the cabinet of St. Petersburg had been, without intermission, pursuing that system of encroachment and aggrandizement which they had so long adopted to undermine the influence of all other powers in the Euxine. Among other designs to weaken the power of Turkey, and establish the Muscovite influence in Central Asia, they had for long waged a bloody war with the Circassian tribes inhabiting the great range of the Caucasus, which runs from the Euxine to the Caspian Sea. This war had been waged with various success; but after a quarter of a century of almost uninterrupted hostilities, the mountaineers were still unsubdued. But the Russians, according to their usual system of advancing pretensions beyond the march of their standards, took upon themselves to declare the whole coast of Circassia next the Euxine in a state of blockade.²

William IV., to whom the honor of Great Britain, and especially of the royal navy, was especially dear, had long viewed with undisguised jealousy these strides on the part of Russia; and in order to bring them to a test, he secretly encouraged Mr. Bell, a merchant in London, to send a cargo of salt to the Circassian coast, never doubting that the Russians would not venture to violate the British flag. Before doing so, however, Mr. Bell wrote to the Foreign Office, inquiring whether "the Russian blockade on the Black Sea, to the South of the river Kouban, was recognized by the British Government." To this he received an answer cautiously worded, "referring the parties to the *Gazette*, in which they would find all such notifications as those alluded to for the information of all concerned." Upon looking into the *Gazette*, no notification of the blockade in question was to be found; and therefore Mr. Bell, conceiving himself to be perfectly safe, dispatched the *Vixen* with her cargo from the port of London. Mr. James Bell, the supercargo, brother of the freighter, took out dispatches from the Foreign Office to Lord Ponsonby, the British Minister at Constantinople. To render assurance doubly sure, Mr. James Bell, on reaching that city, waited on Mr. Urquhart, the secretary to the embassy, and was by him referred to the ambassador. Lord Ponsonby informed him that the Russian Government had sent him an intimation of restrictions of a conditional nature on this trade, but that Russia had no right to impose any restrictions

whatever, and encouraged him to persevere in his voyage, assuring him, as far as his opinion went, of the support of his own Government in case of any interference on the part of the Russian officials.* In this expectation, however, the event proved he was mistaken, for the *Vixen*, having pursued her course toward the Circassian coast, was captured off Soudjouk-Kale, close under the shore, by a Russian cruiser, on account "of a breach of blockade." The crew escaped on shore, where they were kindly treated by the Circassians; but the vessel and her cargo were confiscated and declared good prize by the Russian authorities.¹

This daring outrage does not appear to have called forth any vigorous remonstrance on the part of the British Government; but it was on two different occasions made the subject of debate in the House of Commons—first on 17th March, on the motion of Mr. Roebuck; and again on 8th December, after the death of King William, on the motion of Mr. Attwood. On both occasions the answer of Lord Palmerston was the same. He did not assert that Circassia was either virtually at war with Russia, or part of the dominions of that power; he did not assert that Soudjouk-Kale was a Russian possession; he avoided saying whether the condemnation was justifiable on the ground of breach of blockade, or municipal law, or quarantine. He simply refused to grant the papers demanded, and said that, in the whole circumstances of the case, Government saw no grounds for making any further demand upon the Russian government. The case had been submitted to the consideration of the law-officers of the Crown, but he declined to produce their opinion, from which it was justly inferred that it was unfavorable to Ministers. To the surprise of all, Sir R. Peel took no part in either debate; and thus the matter, after exciting a great ferment in the country, was allowed to drop. Many sturdy patriots, who recollected the days of Pitt and Nelson, asked where was the thunder of the British Navy when such an insult was offered to its flag, and deeply lamented the sudden degradation to which the empire, without any visible external disaster, had been brought. But more calm observers, who looked beyond

* "I informed Lord Ponsonby that it was my intention to proceed in a vessel, which I expected daily, to a certain point on the coast of Circassia, which I had fixed upon as most eligible for the trade I had in view; and that as I had ascertained before leaving London that Government did not then acknowledge any right on the part of Russia to impede trade with the country in question, and as nothing had since occurred which seemed to have changed the state of affairs, I should endeavor to attain the object I had in view, and should not be diverted from it, unless force were used on the part of the Russian government, and hoped to obtain his lordship's aid in so doing.

"In reply his lordship stated that he perfectly coincided in the propriety of the plan I had adopted, to which he had no objections whatever to offer, as he considered it an indisputable fact that Russia had no right to interfere with or prescribe rules for British trade to Circassia; and that if I adhered to the straightforward course I had detailed to him, he had no doubt of my being enabled to establish a claim for support from the British Government, in which he should be glad to render me all the assistance in his power; requesting me at the same time to transmit him information as to what success attended my enterprise."—JAMES S. BELL; URQUHART'S *Progress of Russia*, 325; and DOUBLEDAY, VI. 246.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1840, 119-117; Parl. Deb. xlv. 1165-1172.

² Ann. Reg. 1837, 207; Doubleday, ii. 248.

⁷² Proceedings in Parliament on the subject, which is dropped by Government. March 17, and Dec. 8.

⁷¹ Capture of the vessel by the Russians. Nov. 29, 1836.

the surface of things, observed that the change, striking as it was, was to be ascribed to causes more remote than any timidity or weakness in

the men now at the head of affairs. ¹ *Parl. Deb.* Government was obviously intent upon March 17, upholding the Russian alliance in or- and Dec. 8, 1837; *Ann.* der to check the designs of France in the Levant; and Sir R. Peel felt too Reg. 1837, 207, 208; Doubleday, ii. 247-251; Urquhart's Progress of Russia, 320, 323, 329. deeply the monetary difficulties which its weakness, and entailed upon all classes unbounded disasters.¹

The monarch upon whom the measures had been forced, which necessarily led to this protracted contest between the two Houses of Parliament, did not survive to witness its termination. His health, which had been in general good since his accession to the throne, showed symptoms of decline in the spring of 1837, and increased so rapidly, that in the beginning of June it had become the cause of serious alarm to his family, whose attention to him was assiduous and tender. All the skill of his medical attendants proved insufficient to arrest the decay of nature, and he expired at Windsor at two o'clock on the morning of the 20th June. On the arrival of the news in London, orders were immediately issued for summoning a Privy Council at Kensington Palace, to take the oath of allegiance to the youthful Sovereign, QUEEN VICTORIA, daughter of the Duke of Kent, and the next in lineal descent to the throne. Her Majesty was ² *Ann. Reg.* only in her nineteenth year, having 1837, 227, 237. been born at Kensington Palace on 24th May, 1819.²

She was suddenly called on to assume the sceptre of the greatest empire in the world, at an age when most of her sex, even the most gifted, have just begun to mingle with general society, and introduced into an assembly of the first and noblest of the land—gray-haired statesmen, and warriors who had filled the world with their renown—to receive their willing homage. Nevertheless, the mingled majesty and grace which the youthful Sovereign exhibited on the occasion were such as to excite universal admiration, and drew tears from many eyes in the august circle which had not been wet for half a lifetime. Warriors trembled with emotion who had never felt fear in presence of their enemies. Statesmen felt abashed, albeit long inured to the storms of the forum. The scene has been described with the truth of history, through the colors of romance, by the hand of a master. "In a sweet and thrilling voice, and with a composed mien, which indicated rather the absorbing sense of august duty than an absence of emotion, the Queen announced her accession to the throne of her ancestors, and her humble hope that Divine Providence would guard over the fulfillment of her lofty trust. The prelates and chief men of her realm then advanced to the throne, and, kneeling before her, pledged their troth, and took the sacred oath of allegiance and supremacy—allegiance to one who rules over the land that the great Macedonian could not conquer; and over a continent of which even Columbus never dreamed;

to the Queen of every sea, and of nations of every zone. Fair and serene, she has the blood and beauty of the Saxon. Will it be her proud destiny at length to bear relief to suffering millions, and with that soft hand, which might inspire troubadour and guerdon knights, break the last link in the chain of Saxon thralldom?"¹

When the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance, which was first taken by "Ernest, King of Hanover," had been gone through, her Majesty with a steady voice and perfect self-possession, thus addressed her assembled councillors: "The severe and afflict-^{75.} ing loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his Majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it; and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to long experience. I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of Parliament, and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed to a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of this country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration. Educated in England under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion, as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote to the utmost of my power the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."² *Ann. Reg.* 1837, 237, 238.

By the accession of Queen Victoria the crown of Hanover, which was destined to heirs-male, became separated from that of Great Britain, with which that state had been united under one head since the accession of George I., then Elector of Hanover, to the throne of these realms in 1714. It descended to the Duke of Cumberland, the next surviving male heir of George III. This severance of the two crowns, which had so long been united, however, excited very little attention, and was in no respect the subject of regret; so strong was the impression in the nation, that Great Britain was essentially a maritime power, and that the connection with a comparatively small German state was a source rather of weakness than strength, by involving us in Continental politics, and often compelling the nation to give protection, when no return on a corresponding scale could be afforded. The two states have since remained on terms of confidential amity, though the policy of their respect-

¹ Disraeli's *Sybil*, i. 92, 93; *Ann. Reg.* 1837, 238.

² Her Majesty's Speech to the Privy Council.

² *Ann. Reg.* 1837, 237, 238.

^{76.} Separation of Hanover and Great Britain, which goes to the Duke of Cumberland.

ive governments has often been materially different, and the position of Hanover, as one of the great German Confederacy, naturally led to a different dependence and separate interests.

Shortly before the youthful heiress of England ascended the throne of her

77. Death of Mrs. Fitzherbert.
March 27.

fathers, another lady, in the fullness of years, descended to the tomb, who, under a different state of English law, might have sat on it. On the 27th March, Mrs. FITZHERBERT expired at her house at Brighton, at the advanced age of eighty years. Her history had been very remarkable, and savored rather of the changes of romance than the events of real life. Born on 26th July, 1756, the youngest daughter of Walter Smythe, Esq., of Bambridge, in Hampshire, she was married in 1775 to Edward Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, in the county of Dorset; and next to Thomas Fitzherbert, Esq., of Norbury in Surrey, who also died, without issue, in May, 1781. When a widow for the second time, in 1785, in the enjoyment of an ample jointure, she met the Prince of Wales, with whom she immediately became the object of the most violent passion. Little accustomed to experience any resistance to his desires, he soon found that her virtue was proof against any but honorable intentions, while her beauty and fascination not only captivated his senses, but enthralled his imagination. The Marriage Act, however, opposed an invincible bar to a legal union with the fair enchantress; and Mr. Fox, his intimate friend, in a long and eloquent letter, distinctly pointed out to him the extreme hazard with which any attempt to violate its provisions would be attended, both to the lady in question and himself. Such was the violence, however, of the Prince's passion, that he resolved at all hazards to persevere, and he at length obtained her consent to a private union, by the exhibition to her of a real or pretended attempt, in despair at her refusal, to commit suicide. The marriage ceremony was performed in private, and by a Protestant clergyman, though she was a Roman Catholic, but with perfect regularity, and in presence of witnesses; and the marriage certificate is in existence, in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, the great bankers, at this moment. Mr. Fox afterward, as he said, "by authority," denied in Parliament that any such marriage had taken place—a falsehood on the part of some one, which she never forgave. The union proved unfortunate, as that able man had predicted. After living together for eight years, "the happiest," as the Prince himself said, "of his whole life," he was separated from her shortly before his marriage in 1797 with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick; and though she, after his severance from that Princess, again reverted, by advice of the Pope, to her conjugal connection with the Prince, yet the vexations arising from her ambiguous situation—a wife, and not a wife—were such, that they were finally separated before he ascended the throne. Fortunately there was no issue of the marriage. Mrs. Fitzherbert possessed uncommon talents for conversation, her manner was fascinating in a remarkable degree, and her disposition kindly and affectionate. She was always treated with the highest respect by all the members of the royal family, and with their consent her servants

wore the royal livery; and when George IV. descended to the tomb in 1830, he was interred, at his own request, with a miniature round his neck, which is supposed to have been that of the only person through life who had commanded his entire affections.

Like all other sovereigns whose reign has been marked by important changes 78. in the balance of parties or the William IV.: structure of government, the char- his character. acter of William IV. has been very differently drawn by opposite parties, and even by the same party at different periods of his reign. At one time he was the idol of the populace, and the "most popular king since the days of Alfred," as long as it was supposed he headed the popular movement, and the well-devised fable of the hackney-coach had not lost its influence on the public mind. These sentiments gave way to others of the opposite description when it was discovered he hesitated in following the movement party in their last measures; that he had refused to create peers to coerce the House of Lords; and sent for the Duke of Wellington to extricate him from the thralldom to which he was subjected. In truth, both opinions were exaggerated, and consequently erroneous. The sailor-king was neither the hero which he was called in April, 1831, nor the demon which he was styled in November, 1834. He was an open-minded, kind-hearted man, with good intentions, but no great range of intellect, and few of the qualities requisite for government in the extremely difficult circumstances in which he was called to the throne. Personally brave, and with the hereditary firmness of his race, he had also a secret vein of vanity in his character, which made him sometimes court the populace when they required no courting, and led him to overlook in the present applause the effect of measures which, when they appeared, he was the first to regret. In perfect ignorance of its results, he gave a willing consent to the £10 clause in the Reform Bill; and the last years of his life were spent in vain endeavors to elude the effects, and bitter regrets for having consented to the introduction, of that great and decisive innovation.

More serious charges were brought against him at the time by the Conservatives, 79. of having first precipitated the march M-founded complaints against him by the Conservatives. of revolution by his dissolution of the House of Commons in April, 1831, and then been premature in his attempt to stop it by his change of Ministry in November, 1834. Neither charge appears to be well founded. Without disputing the decisive effect of the dissolving in 1831, which, beyond all doubt, was the turning-point in the contest, it is now evident, from subsequent events and revelations, that matters had then gone so far that they could not be arrested; and that, in truth, the Sovereign was then under such an amount of moral coercion that he was not a free agent. Possibly the revolution might have been arrested at an earlier period, but then it was impossible to do so. To have attempted it would certainly have led to a civil war, headed by a portion at least of the Liberal chiefs, in the course of which, whatever party ultimately prevailed, the constitution and liber-

Mrs. Fitzherbert's Memoirs, 5, 75, 86; An. Reg. 1837, 184, Ap. to Chron.

ties of the country would as certainly have perished as those of Rome did in the democratic convulsion headed by Cæsar.

It is equally clear that the change of Ministry, and dissolution consequent on it, in the end of 1834, though not attended with the effect expected from it at the time, either by the Sovereign or the Conservatives, was a most important step, attended with highly beneficial consequences in the future progress of the convulsion. It gained for the friends of the constitution what is of inestimable importance in arresting the march of revolution—time. The dissolution having reduced the former Liberal majority of 300 to 10, the House of Peers was emboldened to step forward and resume its functions as an independent branch of the Legislature. The attempt to coerce them by a creation of peers could not be renewed when the Sovereign was known to be hostile to such a measure, and experience had proved that another dissolution on such a question would probably lead only to the Conservatives obtaining a majority in the House of Commons. The Ministers, however little in reality inclined to it themselves, were forced to go on with revolutionary measures by their democratic allies; and as the Irish Catholic members constituted their entire majority, those measures were necessarily directed against the property of the Established Church. This is generally the second step in revolution; the first is to get the command of the Legislature, the next to realize the fruits of victory by confiscating the property of the Church. So it was in France—so it was in Spain and Portugal. But the vast majority of Liberals in the first reformed Parliament having been almost extinguished in the second, this course of measures, though attempted in this country, could not be carried through—the progress of organic change was stopped.

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The Radicals and Irish Catholics raised a prodigious outcry at this unexpected impediment to their designs, but the country did not respond to it, and no important organic change has been effected, or even seriously attempted, since the Reform Bill. The Municipal Bill was a social, not a political change.

The reason is that the Anglo-Saxon character, however liable to sudden fits of violence, bordering for the time on national insanity, is in general, and when it gets time to cool, essentially of a practical character. The fervid temperament of the Scotch and Irish is different; like the French, it is frequently disposed to run all the hazards of speculation and fundamental change. But the natural disposition of the majority of the English, and of nearly the whole rural population, is abhorrence of theoretical innovation, but passion for practical improvement. The reform fervor in England now took this direction; the national mind, having cooled down, flowed back into its old and time-worn channel. Thence an entire change in the measures forced upon the parliamentary leaders; and this is what Sir Robert Peel, with his wonted sagacity as to present objects, distinctly perceived, and which affords the key to his whole subsequent conduct. The majority of the nation supported him during the long duel between the two Houses, the prize at issue in which was further organic change; but they did so only because they were averse to such changes, and longed for the real fruits of that already made. They saw that he was the real man for these practical reforms, and not the elegant inexperienced nobleman who had headed them during the reform struggle. The great political victory which changed the Government in 1841, and the free-trade measures which immediately followed it, were both the natural consequence of the change in the national mind which was now going forward.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN JUNE, 1837, TO THE RESIGNATION OF LORD MELBOURNE IN MAY, 1859.

RESPLENDENT with glory, teeming with inhabitants, overflowing with riches, boundless in extent, the British empire, at the accession of QUEEN VICTORIA, seemed the fairest and most powerful dominion upon earth. It had come victorious through the most terrible strife which ever divided mankind, and more than once, in the course of it, singly confronted Europe in arms. It had struck down the greatest conqueror of modern times. It still retained the largest part of the continent of North America, and a new continent in Australia had been recently added without opposition to its mighty domains. All the navies of the world had sought in vain to wrest from the hands of its Sovereign the sceptre of the ocean; all the industry of man to rival in competition the produce of its manufactures or the wealth of its merchants. In science and literature it still kept the lead of all the nations of the earth. It had given birth to steam navigation, which had bridged the Atlantic, and railways, which had more than halved distance; it had revealed the electric telegraph, destined ere long to render instantaneous the transmission of thought. It had subdued realms which the Macedonian phalanx could not reach, and attained a dominion beyond what the Roman legions had conquered. A hundred and twenty millions of men, at the period of its highest prosperity, obeyed the sceptre of Alexander; as many in after times were blessed by the rule of the Antonines; but a hundred and fifty millions peopled the realms of Queen Victoria; and the sun never set on her dominions, for before "his declining rays had ceased to illuminate the ramparts of Quebec, his ascending beams flamed on the minarets of Calcutta."

Vailed under so splendid an exterior, this vast empire contained many principles of weakness, and already exhibited the symptoms of mortality. Its extent had become too great, not for its real strength, but for that portion of its strength, unhappily extremely small, which the public temper would permit to be directed to the public service. It was brought in contact with the greatest empires upon earth, and was involved in questions likely to lead to differences with them; for in the East, both in the Euxine and Central Asia, it almost adjoined the territories which acknowledged the influence of Russia; in Europe it was frequently on the verge of war with France; while in the West it was perpetually exposed to danger from the encroaching spirit of America. Yet with all these dangers, and this vast and widely scattered dominion, the naval and military forces which its popular representatives would permit to be kept on foot were wretchedly small, and totally disproportioned either to the strength of the empire, the

security of its distant possessions, or even the maintenance of its own independence. The Anglo-Saxon disposition, strangely compounded of pacific and warlike qualities, the love of gain and the thirst for glory, satiated with the latter from the splendid successes of the war, had turned, with unexampled and alarming avidity, into the former, which had now come wholly to absorb the national mind. The idea was general, almost universal, in the commercial towns, that the era of wars had passed, that mercantile interests would henceforth rule the world, and that it was worse than useless to be at any expense at keeping up naval or military armaments which never could again be required. A thirst for gain had seized all classes; each was at once ambitious and discontented; and in their passion for advancement they had come to inflict serious wounds on each other.

Realized wealth had established a system of currency which, for its own advantage, landed the nation every four or five years in a long course of suffering, as necessarily as night succeeds day; and suffering poverty sought protection from its consequences as regard its only property—labor—in strikes, which diffused universal suffering, and permanently alienated the different classes of society from each other. Great prosperity had recently been enjoyed, but it had passed away; the tide had turned, and suffering, general and long continued, was in prospect, likely only the more severely to be felt from the contrast it would exhibit to the prosperity which had preceded it. A sore feeling had come to pervade all ranks of society: the laboring, at least in towns, regarded their employers as their natural enemies, who were unjustly enriched with the fruits of their toil; the more wealthy looked on the working classes as spoliators ready to seize upon their property, on the first opportunity, either by open violence or legislative enactment. A great political revolution, happily without bloodshed, had recently taken place, but it had effected no practical alterations in society, or amelioration in the condition of the people, except substituting the moneyed aristocracy in towns for the landed aristocracy in the country as the rulers of the State. The democratic leaders had taken advantage of the general disappointment, which the blasting of the hopes excited by this change had occasioned, to excite the feelings of the working classes in the manufacturing districts against the whole institutions of the country: Chartism was rife in Great Britain; organized agitation perpetuated misery in Ireland; Canada was on the verge of open insurrection; and the recent emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, without materially benefiting them, had implanted the seeds of ruin in the planters. So many causes of danger could not fail ere long to

produce a convulsion in some part of the empire, but, strange to say, it was first induced by external, not internal, influences. It arose from democratic ambition in the United States of America, and the severity of nature in the British Islands.

Possessed of a territory ten times the area of France, and capable of maintaining in ease and comfort three hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, with a soil generally rich and fertile, and intersected by a network of innumerable rivers, the natural canals of the country, the United States wanted only two things to become ere long the richest and most populous empire upon earth. These two things were *men and money*; but they were indispensable to the development of their resources. The forests with which the country was covered had overspread the earth with a rich soil, and mingled vegetable and animal remains of several feet in thickness, which promised a long course of fine harvests from its virgin riches; but it was still overshadowed by their massy boughs, and the axe of the backwoodsman was required for a course of years to cut down its primeval stems, and tear out its gigantic roots. Emigrants were coming in considerable numbers from Europe—those from the British Islands had already reached 60,000 annually; but they were lost in this immensity of space, and presented only a thin line of laborers, the pioneers of civilization, along a frontier 1700 miles long where it was working into the forest. Capital was required for every new undertaking, but great as was the energy, unbounded the activity of the inhabitants of the United States, it could not be found in sufficient quantities from their unaided resources; and the wages of labor, from the scarcity of hands, were so high that capital had little inducement to migrate from England to settle in a country where, although rent was nothing, the cost of production was double its own. The produce of the mines of gold and silver over the globe had been so fearfully diminished by the disastrous wars consequent on the South American revolution, that the annual supply for the use of the whole world had fallen below £9,000,000—not half its former amount—and this was nearly all absorbed by the necessities of Europe. Thus America, albeit splendidly furnished by all the blessings of nature, might have been chained to a slow progress, and at length slumbered on with a population doubling, like Europe, in five hundred years, were it not for one discovery which supplied all deficiencies, and kept it abreast of its destiny. This discovery was a **PAPER CURRENCY**.

This powerful agent for good or for evil was never more required, and has nowhere produced more important effects, than in the United States of America. It is historically known that the establishment of their independence, like the successful issue of the war of Rome with Carthage, and Great Britain with Napoleon, was mainly owing to the paper bearing a forced circulation, which was so plentifully issued by the insurgent States during the course of the contest. During the war with England in 1814, cash payments were universally and

unavoidably suspended, and an immense amount of confusion and mercantile distress ensued in consequence in all the States of the Union. Banks had been established to the number of 248, which issued their own notes without limitation, which circulated through all the States of the Union, some at par, others at various degrees of discount, sometimes as much as a half, according to the reputed solvency of the establishment from which they issued; and the mass of notes in circulation was as great as it afterward became in 1834, with a population nearly double, and transactions three times as extensive. It was impossible that such a state of things could be allowed to continue, and to get out of it, Government, in 1816, established, by an act of the Congress, the famous Bank of the United States, with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars, and a charter for twenty years. Such was the combined energy and prudence of this great establishment, that, soon after its opening, cash payments were resumed in all the banks of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and soon after in all the banks of the Union. This important transition, however, was not made without great difficulty and an immense amount of embarrassment and insolvency. Between 1811 and 1820 no less than 165 banks, in different parts of the Union, either became bankrupt or withdrew from business. During this period of return to cash payments, industry was essentially blighted, suffering was universal, and the people, glad as usual to fix the responsibility of misfortune on any one but themselves, generally ascribed it to the banking system, which, though grievously abused, had been the main-spring of their progress, and the principal cause of their prosperity.¹

Great as these evils were—the unavoidable result of an immense issue of paper without either responsibility or control—they were in a considerable measure modified by the prudent conduct, high credit, and great influence of the United States Bank. Such was the effect of its general direction in banking affairs that all the disasters of the six years preceding 1820 were forgotten in the unbounded prosperity of the fifteen years which succeeded it. Although the United States shared to a certain degree in the commercial disasters consequent on the resumption of cash payments in Great Britain in 1819, and the consequent monetary crisis of 1825 and 1832, yet this period was, upon the whole, one of extraordinary and unprecedented prosperity over their whole extent. Prices were high, but wages were still higher; ease and contentment generally prevailed; cultivated land was encroaching at the rate of seventeen miles a year over a frontier seventeen hundred miles in length, upon the gloom of the forest; and the sea-port towns on the coast, sharing in the vast commerce which such a rapid increase of production required, were rapidly advancing in wealth, population, and enterprise. During these fifteen years the population of the United States advanced 65 per cent; its exports and imports doubled, and a vast stream of emigrants from the British Isles, which had come at last to be above 50,000 a year, added to the prolific power

4.
America: what was its great want?

¹ Chevalier's Voyage en Amérique, i. 45, 46.

6.
Great prosperity of America from 1820 to 1835.

5.
Vast advantages of a paper currency in America.

of nature in providing hands to keep pace with this immense increase.* It is to the influence of the American banks in furnishing the means of cultivation and improvement to the hardy settlers in the forest, that the superior aspect of the American side of the St. Lawrence to the

British, which has attracted the not-
 1 Chevalier, tice of every traveler, is mainly to
 1. 302-394. be ascribed.¹

As the paper currency of the United States has done such great things in sustaining and vivifying the industry of the country, it was not to be expected that it could have been conducted without many instances of reckless, some of

culpable, mismanagement. So great had the demand for money become in consequence of the immense undertakings Prudence, which were every where going forward, that the discounts of the banks upon the whole of the United States in the year 1831 had reached the enormous amount of 250,000,000 dollars, great part of which was discounted at the extravagant rate of 15, 18, and 20 per cent. On the 1st January, 1835, there were in the United States 557 banks, besides 121 branches;† their capital was 231,250,000 dollars (£57,500,000), the notes they had in circulation amounted to 103,692,000 dollars (£25,500,000), their annual discounts were \$365,143,000 (£90,600,000), and the entire treasure in their vaults was 43,937,000 dollars, or £10,990,000. These figures demonstrate that, however reckless and extravagant the issue of some of these banks had been, yet their conduct upon the whole had been safe and judicious; for the proportion of notes issued to the gold and silver possessed, was, on the whole, as 11 to 26, or as 1 to 2½—a proportion greater than what has for a century been deemed necessary by the Scotch banks, whose prudence and good management have become proverbial; and more than triple the proportion of specie to notes out-held during the same period by the Bank of England.

One main use to which these large issues of the banks had been applied was in the purchase of waste lands on the frontier, which were in great part bought with advances made by banks

* POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

1820	9,638,226
1830	12,833,638
1840	17,066,660

—American Census, 1840.

REPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1824 TO 1837.

Year.	Imports. Dollars.	Exports. Dollars.
1824	80,549,007	75,966,657
1825	96,340,075	99,535,368
1826	84,974,477	77,505,323
1827	79,484,068	82,324,837
1828	88,509,824	73,264,686
1829	74,492,527	72,358,671
1830	70,876,920	73,849,508
1831	103,191,124	81,310,583
1832	101,029,266	87,176,943
1833	108,118,311	90,140,433
1834	126,521,332	104,346,973
1835	149,895,749	131,693,577
1836	189,980,085	138,663,040

—TOOLE'S *History of Prices*, IV. 469.

† NUMBER OF BANKS, CAPITAL, CASH HELD BY EACH, BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT, AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION, ON JANUARY 1, 1835, IN ALL THE STATES OF THE UNION.

STATES.	Number of Banks.	Capital.	Bills under Discount.	Notes in Circulation.	Specie.
		Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Maine	36	3,499,850	5,249,509	1,709,320	171,928
New Hampshire	26	2,655,006	3,929,235	1,387,970	.....
Vermont	18	921,813	1,870,812	1,443,713	50,958
Massachusetts	105	30,409,450	48,901,142	7,868,472	1,180,564
Rhode Island	60	8,097,482	9,694,331	1,290,785	473,641
Connecticut	31	7,350,766	8,899,656	2,685,400	129,106
New York	87	31,581,460	68,775,900	16,427,963	7,221,235
New Jersey	24	50,000	43,189	30,247	.....
Pennsylvania	44	17,958,444	26,739,130	7,818,011	2,476,462
Delaware	4	730,000	1,233,860	622,397	173,183
Maryland	15	7,542,639	9,520,663	1,923,065	972,090
District Federal	7	2,613,986	3,115,524	692,536	474,199
Virginia	5	5,840,000	11,377,304	5,595,196	1,160,401
North Carolina	4	2,464,925	3,360,977	2,241,064	275,660
South Carolina	8	2,156,318	3,886,441	2,288,030	754,219
Georgia	13	6,783,308	7,714,851	3,604,339	1,781,630
Florida	3	114,320	233,209	133,531	14,312
Alabama	2	5,007,623	9,219,586	3,472,413	916,135
Louisiana	11	26,422,145	37,288,850	5,114,062	2,824,904
Mississippi	5	5,890,166	10,379,650	2,418,475	350,302
Tennessee	3	2,890,381	6,040,087	3,189,320	290,472
Kentucky	6	4,898,686	7,674,066	2,771,154	872,368
Missouri	1	.....	85,707	.....	155,341
Illinois	1	378,739	312,902	178,810	243,225
Indiana	1	800,000	531,843	456,065	751,083
Ohio	31	6,390,741	10,071,250	5,654,048	1,906,715
Michigan	7	638,980	1,336,325	636,676	112,419
United States Bank	1	25,000,000	51,941,036	17,329,797	15,768,290
Unofficially reported, included in number of banks		11,643,111	19,737,019	4,588,844	1,487,414
Total	557	231,250,337	365,163,834	103,692,495	43,937,625
In pounds sterling		£57,812,334	£91,240,201	£25,923,124	£10,964,406

—CHEVALIER, I. 378.

The proportion of cash held by and notes in circulation of the Bank of England, Scotch and Irish banks, on an average of the month preceding April 12, 1856, was as follows:

	Notes issued.	Cash held.
Bank of England	£20,225,564	£9,806,880
Irish banks	6,474,712	2,122,893
Scotch banks	2,785,883	1,660,438
Total	£29,486,159	£13,610,211

Of the cash held by the Bank of England, £8,000,000 must be retained in the issue department; so that the real stock of bullion against £20,225,564 in notes was £1,906,000 in April, 1856.—*London Gazette*, April 12 and May 2, 1856.

established in the States to which the lands sold belonged. So rapid had been the progress of population and increase of cultivation on the frontiers of the forest, or in its recesses, that advances made on the security of lots purchased rarely proved unfortunate, the rise in the value of the lot bought increasing so rapidly as in a few years to much more than pay off the loan contracted. The territories at the disposal of the States were immense; they amounted to 990,000 square miles, or about 680,000,000 acres. Of these the Government, since 1784, had sold above 60,000,000, and the sales had of late years gone on increasing in an extraordinary progression: in seven years succeeding 1828, their annual amount, and the price received for them, had risen to ten times its former amount.* But this was only the commencement of the great inroad of civilized man upon the forest; a progress twofold greater awaited him; and so rapid had been the rise in the value of land on the frontier, that nearly all who had engaged in it of late years had made money by their purchases—some great fortunes; and the banks which had advanced the money were in a state of unprecedented affluence. From this very prosperity arose the storm which ere long involved the United States in woe, and by its influence across the Atlantic produced effects of the i. 143, 400, last importance on the British empire. 415.

In the states of Europe—and the case had been the same in the Roman empire—the great landed estates in the country were originally acquired by the right of conquest. They were the grants made by a victorious chieftain to his followers; and though in many, perhaps most instances, they afterward changed hands, and were acquired by commercial wealth, yet the purchasers rapidly acquired the feelings, and became actuated by the interests of the more elevated and dignified circle into which they had been admitted. Hence the majority of the landed aristocracy, both of new and old descent, is always conservative and monarchical in its ideas, and the elements of freedom and popular government first appear in the great hives of industry produced by manufacturing and commercial activity. The passing of the Reform Bill was the first and greatest triumph of the latter over the former. In America the case is just the reverse. The aristocracy is there found in the towns, the democracy in the country. The reason is, that it is in the former alone that the means of making considerable fortunes existed. The forests being there pierced, and the wilds cultivated by the arms of laborious

industry, not won by the sword of victorious conquest, it was soon found that the retention of land without its occupation was impossible. The feudal baron might do this, living in his strong castle, surrounded by his armed retainers; to the pacific colonist, living in his log-house, and aided only by a few backwoodsmen, the thing was impossible. In all the colonies, accordingly, whether of America or Australia, the limits of retainable property have been found to be little beyond those of actual occupation; and all attempts to found great estates by the purchase or grants of large tracts of country, have been in the end defeated by the experienced impossibility of keeping off the squatters from tracts of good land not actually cleared, or about to be so, by the axe of the backwoodsman.

Society being thus constituted by the strongest of all laws—that of necessity—the only places in which the growth of fortunes was practicable were the towns, especially the commercial ones on the sea-coast. To them the vast progress of the back settlements, from the labor of the equal Anglo-Saxon freemen, afforded the greatest possible advantages; for the produce of their fields teeming with the riches of a virgin soil, afforded an immense amount of rude produce, which the wealth and redundant population of Europe were ever ready to take off; while their wants, even in a simple and primeval state of society, presented a vast and growing market for the manufacturing industry of the Old World. This was the secret of the great export of British manufactures to the United States, which had now come to amount to £12,000,000 declared value yearly—a quantity equal to what £24,000,000 would have been at the war prices. This prodigious traffic, the most important in which England was engaged, all passed through New York, Pennsylvania, Baltimore, New Orleans, Boston, and the other great towns on the sea-coast, and was, of course, in a great degree monopolized by the chief mercantile houses who possessed the capital or could command the credit necessary for carrying it on. To them credit and an extensive paper currency were the condition of existence; they were as indispensable as the axe and the plow to the settlers in the Far West. As wealth flowed in rapidly to those who could command the assistance of this potent auxiliary, fortunes grew up rapidly, and with them the habits, interests, and desires of a mercantile aristocracy.

But meanwhile the very reverse of all this obtained in the backwoods, where the market for this immense commerce was in process of formation. There the forest settlers, detached from each other, each cultivating his little freehold alone, were in habits of independence by the necessities of their situation. No aid from Government could be obtained on any emergency; no regular troops were at hand to aid in repelling an assault; no fortified place existed to serve as a place of refuge, or an asylum for their wives and children in case of disaster. In such circumstances, self-government became a habit, because self-defense was a necessity. The backwoodsmen, and the cultivators who succeeded

* QUANTITIES OF LAND SOLD AND PRICE RECEIVED IN AMERICA.

Year.	Acres.	Price received.
1828.....	750,000	£231,000
1829.....	1,260,000	324,000
1830.....	1,740,000	354,000
1831.....	2,500,000	694,000
1832.....	1,940,000	560,000
1833.....	4,500,000	845,000
1834.....	4,720,000	1,040,000
1835.....	7,500,000	2,480,000

—Report of Secretary to the Treasury of the United States, Dec. 8, 1835; and CHEVALIER, l. 413.

to their cleared domains, accustomed to rely on their own resources, and to act for themselves in every emergency, required no aid from any superior power, and were not disposed to submit to any control. A feeling of independence, and a resolution to assert it alike against foreign invasion and domestic authority, arises inevitably and universally in the human mind in such circumstances. Accordingly, it had long been found that the representatives sent by the frontier States to the Congress were the most democratic, and the final ascendancy of their party has been owing to the unparalleled growth of the population in the basin of the Mississippi, and beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

A contest for the majority in the Legislature, and the consequent command of the government, is a matter of far greater importance, and rouses the passions much more strongly in America than a similar conflict in the constitutional monarchies of Europe. The reason is, that, owing to the republican form of government, a much greater number of persons are interested in, and hope to profit by it. The majority in Congress being determined by the votes of between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 of voters in the state, and *no other influence*, parties have long felt the necessity of rousing the multitude to their support by offering to them not merely the empty honors, but the substantial fruits of victory. This is effected by an immense multiplication of offices more highly paid as they descend in the scale, and come within the reach of the democracy, and a rigorous change of their occupants when a change in government takes place. It is calculated that there were, in 1857, 60,000 offices in America at the disposal of the executive, all of which are changed on a change of ministry. Thus the voters have an immense number of offices to look for in the event of their party gaining the ascendancy in Congress. This vast multiplication of offices is not complained of, because each party hopes to profit by it—just as in England we hear nothing of the evils of patronage, at least from the popular press, when their party are in power, and it is showered down upon themselves. These offices are the allotment of

¹ De Tocqueville de l'Amérique. II. 284-287; Chevalier, I. 187, 153.

the conquered lands, the prospect of which so vehemently excited the Roman soldiery, and the contest for which, under the name of an agrarian law, at length occasioned the ruin of the republic.¹

As there were no great landed proprietors in America, and commercial wealth alone could form the basis of an aristocracy, the banks in the great towns, especially on the sea-coast, early excited the jealousy of the ambitious democrats in the interior. Being composed of hard-headed practical men, and led by chiefs of acknowledged ability, they were not long in perceiving that it was the system of credit built upon the advances made by these banks, that was the foundation on which the commercial aristocracy, which had often ruled the Union, and got the command of the numerous offices at the disposal of the executive, rested. If they could only destroy the banks, the axe would be laid to the root of the commer-

cial aristocracy, as completely as it would to an army if you cut off its supplies. When this desirable consummation was effected, no obstacle would remain to their undisputed and permanent government of the republic, and enjoyment of its fruits. With the usual selfishness and blindness of faction, they resolved to prosecute their object with all their forces, regardless of its inevitable consequences, and careless although the branch they were in such haste to cut away should be that on which they themselves sat. They were not long in effecting their object, and bringing that ruin upon their country, and elevation to themselves, which might reasonably have been expected from their proceedings.

GENERAL JACKSON was at this period the President of the Republic, an eminence which he had attained in consequence of his successful defense of the lines before New Orleans against the English in 1814.

¹⁴ General Jackson: his measures against the banks.

He was the head of the democratic party by whom he had been placed in power, and being a violent party-man, without commercial interests or connections, he determined to follow out the wishes of his constituents without any regard to the effects of the measures they advocated upon the general prosperity of the Union, or even their own ultimate interests. To effect this object, a crusade was set on foot against the banks, and especially that of the United States, in which the press took the lead. Three-fourths of the 1265 journals which at that period were published in the United States, were enlisted in the war against the banks. This is nothing extraordinary: the press invariably fans the passions of the moment, and follows the wishes of the numerical majority of its readers. By this means, and the unceasing activity of the whole political agents of the majority over the Union, the people beyond the sphere of the commercial towns were worked up to a state of perfect frenzy against the banks; and General Jackson's war against the United States banks was regarded with as much enthusiasm as ever his defense of New Orleans had been. Since the fervor of France in 1789, and of England in 1832, nothing in the world had been seen like it. The cry "Bank or no Bank!" convulsed the Union as violently as that of "Liberté et Egalité!" had done France, or "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" had shaken England.¹

¹ Chevalier, I. 66, 67, 339.

The ostensible grounds of complaint preferred by the President against the banks were—1st, That they had intrigued to obtain the renewal of their charter during the session 1831-2, in order either to force him to consent to it, or throw all their adherents into opposition to him at the next election. 2d, That they had exerted their influence against him in the election of 1832, and increased their discounts by 28,500,000 dollars to augment their own. 3d, That they had corrupted the press, especially in the commercial towns, to support their cause. The banks answered—1st, That the President had, in his opening address to the Congress in 1831, recommended the bank question to their consideration, with a view to its early decision. 2d, That the increase of their

¹⁵ Ostensible and real grounds of complaint against the banks.

discounts had been no more than was required by the extension and necessities of commerce. 3d, That being menaced with destruction from a powerful party in the State, with the President at its head, they were perfectly entitled to defend themselves at the bar of public opinion, and that no way of doing that could be so safe and legitimate as reprinting the speeches of enlightened men in their favor, which was all they had done. These were the ostensible grounds of debate between the parties; the real causes of discord were very different, and were as carefully concealed as the pretended ones were ostentatiously put forward. They were the inherent jealousy, on the one hand, of democracy at eminence foreign to itself, whether in rank, fortune, genius, learning, or accomplishment; and the vanity of new-born wealth on the other, which sought to overbear all other interests in the State by the sway of capital, and had imprudently let fall hints, that the time was not far distant when, by means of the influence of mercantile advances, they would gain the entire command of the State.¹

The democratic party were the more alarmed at the growing influence of the bank interest in the Union, from the vast extension of paper advances which had recently taken place for the purchase of lots of waste lands in the back settlements. These rude agricultural districts, the cradles of a sturdy and robust democracy, had hitherto been their stronghold, and enabled them, by their rapid extension to outvote the commercial towns on the coast, which were for the most part in the opposite interest. But when banks were established in all the back settlements, and made liberal advances to settlers to enable them to purchase lots of the public lands, upon the security of the deposit of their title-deeds, this source of power was likely not only to be lost to them, but gained to their enemies. It is well known that there is no influence so difficult to resist as that of a creditor; and when nearly all the settlers on the frontier in the valley of the Mississippi had purchased their freeholds with money advanced by banks with whom their title-deeds were deposited, it was easy to see that a great, and to the Democrats most alarming, source of influence was opened up in what had hitherto been the centre of their power. Had the Government been animated by a real patriotic spirit, what they should have done, obviously, was to have retained the credit system, under which the nation had made such unparalleled progress, but put it under such regulations as should have checked the overissue of paper, and secured the stability of such as was in circulation. But being actuated, not by the enlightened spirit of patriotism, but the blind passions of faction, they did just the reverse, and adopted a course of measures which brought ruin upon the banks, bankruptcy and desolation upon the country, and the effects of which, extending beyond the Atlantic, produced a crisis of the most terrible kind in Great Britain, a crisis which was the main cause of the long-continued suffering which terminated in the entire change of her commercial policy.

The charter of the United States Bank being

only for twenty years from 1816, the directors of that establishment under the direction of their able chairman, Mr. Biddle, brought forward a bill in 1832 to authorize the renewal of the charter for the like term of years. This was the signal for the deadly strife which ensued. War to the knife was immediately proclaimed by the whole democratic party over the Union, not only against the United States Bank, but against *all the banks* in the country, no matter how long their establishment, how high their credit, how wide-spread their beneficence. The creatures of their bounty, the citizens who owed their all to their courageous enterprise, the holders of fields won from the forest by their advances, were the first, like the serpent in the fable, when warmed into life, to sting their benefactors. The Legislature, however, took a more enlightened view of the subject, and after the publication of very able reports, which went fully into the subject, both houses of Congress March 7, 1832, passed the bill renewing the charter of the United States Bank by considerable majorities. But the democratic party were not discouraged. Secure of the concurrence of General Jackson, the President, they raised such a clamor against the Bank in the newspapers, that he was induced to oppose the Veto which the constitution intrusted to him to the bill. It was the old story of Rome over again; democratic ambition, led on by a dictator, was crushing the aristocracy of property and intelligence.¹

Not content with putting a negative on the act passed by the Congress renewing the bank charter, General Jackson, in the succeeding year, went a step farther, and took the very hazardous step of withdrawing the whole public deposits from the United States Bank and its branches, and handing them over to the local banks.* No step could be imagined more hazardous in a mercantile point of view, as it implied such a serious distrust of the solvency of the first banking establishment in the country, as could hardly fail to shake its stability and that of all similar establishments; but as a mere party-move it was well conceived, as it tended to divide the banking interest, and

* The principal charge brought against the Bank, in a paper justifying this step, published on 18th September, 1833, was this: "Although the charter of the Bank was approaching its termination, and the Bank was aware it was the intention of Government to use the public deposits as fast as they accrued in the payment of the public debt, yet it did extend its loans, from January, 1831, to May, 1832, from \$2,402,304 dollars to 70,428,070 dollars, being an increase of 28,025,766 dollars in sixteen months. It is confidently believed that the leading object of this immense extension of its loans was to bring as large a portion of the people under its power and influence as possible, and it has been disclosed that some of the largest loans were granted on very unusual terms to conductors of the public press. In some of these cases, the motives were made manifest by the nominal or insufficient security taken for the loans, by the large amounts discounted, by the extraordinary time allowed for payment, and especially by the subsequent conduct of those receiving the accommodation." It was to compel the President to take his stand that the bill was brought forward for the renewal of the Bank Charter at the time it was. He met the challenge, willingly took the position into which his adversaries sought to force him, and frankly declared his unalterable opposition to the Bank, as being both unconstitutional and inexpedient. — GENERAL JACKSON'S *Memoir*, Sept. 18, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, p. 300, note.

give the local banks, which got the deposits on interest, to remain at least neuter in the effort to destroy the United States Bank, from which they had been taken. Once taken, however, the decisive step was attended by the effects which might have been anticipated. The United States Bank, thus violently assailed, and openly charged with insolvency by the Government, was compelled, in its own defense, suddenly, and to a great extent, to contract its operations. This, like all similar changes brought about in the midst of a period of high prosperity and great undertakings, gave a violent shock to credit, produced a similar contraction of issues on the part of all other banks, and speedily spread embarrassment and insolvency throughout the community. These disasters were immediately taken advantage of by the democratic party, who represented them as the fatal result of the banking system, when, in fact, it was the consequence of the impediment thrown in the way of its operations—as the 1833, 299, 300; effect of the extension of credit, Chevalier, I. when, in truth, it was so of its contraction.¹

These violent stretches on the part of the Democratic President caused, as soon as Congress met, stormy debates in both Houses, which were contemporaneous with meetings on the subject, when the most violent language was used on both sides in every part of the Union. The House of Representatives, by a majority of 15 in a House of 240, approved of the measures of the President, and passed resolutions, that the charter of the Bank should not be renewed, and that the public deposits should not be restored to it. On the other hand, the Senate, by a majority of 26, voted "that the President, in the late executive proceedings, had assumed to himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."² Thus the two Houses as in England on the Reform Bill, were brought into direct collision; and this was the more serious, that the Senate shared with the President the executive authority, and formed the court before which he was appointed by the constitution to be tried, if charged with malversation in office. So determined were the senators in their condemnation of the measures of the President, that they refused to receive, or put upon their journals a protest and explanatory memoir which he drew up and published in defense of his proceedings. A similar division was observed in all the States, among whose inhabitants meetings took place every where, to consider the all-engrossing topic. Generally speaking, the States on the coast coincided with the Senate, those beyond the Alleghany Mountains and in the Far West, with the House of Representatives. The weight of intellect was decidedly with the former: Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Calhoun, made powerful speeches in favor of the Bank. But what the Democratic orators wanted in argument

¹ The Senate in the United States consists of fifty-eight members, two for each state of the Union, elected by their Legislatures. The House of Representatives is elected by the direct suffrage of the inhabitants. From the former being the result of a double election, it is in general more identified with the interests of property than the latter, chosen directly by universal suffrage.

they made up in violence, which was more powerful with the unthinking multitude. To find a parallel to the vehemence of their harangues, we must go back to the ardent declamations of the French Republicans in 1791 and 1792. The topics, the ideas, were the same; the objects of the animosity only were different. It was not the landed "aristocrats," but the "commercial aristocracy," which was the object of ceaseless obloquy. The corruption, selfishness, seduction, and despotic views of the moneyed class, were the subject of incessant declamation, and not a few declared that Mr. Bid-¹ Chev. I. 79, 80; Ann. Reg. 1834, 467, 468. king.¹

In the mean time the general shake given to commercial credit by the open war, declared by a numerical majority in the Union, with the President at its head, against the United States Bank, produced the most disastrous effects, far exceeding in intensity any thing which the promoters of the war contemplated. Mr. Cobbett addressed a long letter to General Jackson, congratulating him on the success of his efforts to destroy the United States Bank; the first step, it was to be hoped, to the destruction of all other banks. The whole banks throughout the Union, seeing the violence of the storm which was brewing against them, adopted the most stringent measures in their own defense; they rapidly contracted their issues, and made the most strenuous efforts to augment their metallic reserves. The consequence was, that gold rose so much in value in the Union that it flowed into the country to an unprecedented extent; and the excess imported over that exported, from 1st January, 1833, to 1st July, 1834, amounted to £5,501,000. In the chief States of the Union the result was, that a metallic was in a great degree substituted for a paper currency; but as its amount was not a third of what the bank-notes had been, the utmost distress and anxiety pervaded the Union, and in the State of New York it rose to such a pitch that the local Legislature authorized a State loan, to the banks in the province, of £1,500,000, to enable them to continue the most necessary advances.²

Struck with consternation at this succession of commercial disasters, the merchants and bankers of New York had a meeting, at which a petition to the President was agreed to, which soon received ten thousand signatures, embracing the whole wealth and intelligence of the place, in favor of the Bank. General Jackson received it, and coolly answered, that he believed "the petition expressed the sentiments of Wall Street and Pearl Street, but that Wall Street and Pearl Street were not the people of America."³ He was right; for although New York was the chief commercial city of the Union, and had increased ten-fold in population and a hundred-fold in riches within the last fifty years, and converted the wilderness, a hundred leagues around, into fruitful fields, yet there can be no doubt that a majority of the Union, told by head, was on the opposite side,

² The Regent Street and Lombard Street of New York, where the chief banking houses and most splendid shops are to be found.

and cordially supported the President in his crusade—not only in his crusade against the United States Bank, but almost *all* the banks in the country. It was generally believed, and it was generally told, that the banks were a set of infamous usurers, determined to starve the noble soldiers of independence; and the cry was general with the populace in all parts of the Union, “Hurrah for Jackson! down with the Bank!”

Such was the effect of this cry, with which the United States were so convulsed, that the people entirely lost their senses, and ran headlong, despite all the warnings of Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay, on their own destruction. By the elections in the autumn of 1834, the majority of General Jackson was increased in the House of Representatives by twenty votes. Strengthened by this accession of numbers, the President continued with increased vehemence his hostility to the Bank, and early in the session of 1835 recommended, in his Message to the Congress, that its notes should not be received in payment of taxes, and that all laws connecting the Bank, directly or indirectly, with the Government should be repealed. How strongly soever the Bank party was intrenched in the Upper House, they felt it in vain to continue the contest any longer, for their charter would expire next year, and it could only be renewed by an act of both Houses, which could not now be looked for, as the last election had made the majority of the President in the Lower beyond the reach of resistance. They therefore bent to the storm which they could not resist, and took steps to wind up their affairs with as little detriment to the community as possible. This was immediately set about, and the Bank disposed of its debts at and closed twenty-one out of its twenty-seven branches. The winding up of its affairs which then took place proved its credit beyond a doubt; for its assets were 49,818,000 dollars, and its liabilities only 27,656,000; and ² Ann. Reg. to meet 22,118,000 in notes, it had 1835, 504, 505. 8,749,000 in specie in its coffers!³

Cut off from their connection with the State, and deprived of all hope of a renewal of their charter from the Legislature, the directors of the United States Bank obtained a charter from the local Legislature of Pennsylvania, to which they paid a bonus of 2,000,000 dollars; and though they experienced great opposition from the banks in the Western States, which at first refused to take their notes, they succeeded, in spite of all the opposition of the President, in establishing an extensive business. But now appeared the fatal effects of the measures adopted by Government to destroy the United States Bank. The States in the valley of the Mississippi, encouraged by the support of Government, and strong in the possession, through their banks, of the public deposits, rushed, as it were, with inconsiderate fury into the void created by the contraction of the business of the United States Bank, which had been conducted with comparative prudence. It was soon seen what free trade in banking will speedily become. The President had sought to destroy one bank, of which he was jealous, on the coast: he did so; but in so doing he reared up a hundred far

more perilous in the Far West. Indiana, Ohio, Massachusetts, Alabama, Maine, created new banks with surprising rapidity, which instantly began issuing notes, on the security of the title-deeds of lots of purchased lands. New York, in three days, erected banks with six millions of dollars as capital. Money was freely advanced, but such was the demand for it that 2 per cent. a month was usually asked and given. The law against issuing notes below £1 was generally evaded in the frontier States. Land in the back settlements was sold and resold in lots to such an extent that it became a mere stock-jobbing concern, without any intention, on the part of most of the purchasers, of any settlement. The effect of his own measures can not be better described than by the President himself, in his Message to the Congress at the end of 1835.¹

“The effect,” said he, “of the over-extension of bank credits and over-issue of paper have been strikingly exemplified in the sales of the public lands. From the returns made by the receivers in the early part of last summer, it appeared that the receipts arising from the sale of the public lands were increasing to an unprecedented amount. In effect, however, these receipts amounted to nothing more than credits in bank. The banks lent out their notes to speculators; they were paid to the receivers, and immediately returned to the banks to be lent out again and again, being mere instruments to transfer to speculators the most valuable public land, and pay the Government by a credit on the books of a bank. These credits on the books of some of the Western banks were already beyond their immediate means of payment, and were rapidly increasing. Indeed, each speculation furnished means for another; for no sooner had one individual or company paid in the notes than they were immediately lent to another for a like purpose; and the banks were extending their business and their issues so largely as to alarm considerate men, and render it doubtful whether these bank credits, if allowed to accumulate, would be of the least value to the Government. The spirit of expansion and speculation was not confined to the deposit banks, but pervaded the whole multitude of banks throughout the Union, and was giving rise to new institutions to aggravate the evil.” Such is General Jackson’s own account of the first effect of his crusade against the United States Bank.²

Independently of the obvious dangers of such a system of rash speculation, fed by imprudent advances by irresponsible banks, as is here described, there were other and still more pressing reasons which rendered it peculiarly alarming to the democratic party in the United States. The Far West had hitherto been their main support, but by means of these banks a moneyed interest was arising in these, which would speedily by its influence win over to the commercial aristocracy the sturdy cultivators who were clearing its wilds, and by their increasing numbers determine the majority of the Congress. There was not a moment to lose—the next election might turn the

¹ Chev. 1. of the Union, “Hurrah for Jackson! down with the Bank!”

²² Increased hostility of General Jackson to the Bank.

²³ Increased banking mania in the West.

²⁴ The President’s account of the operations of the Western banks.

²⁵ General Jackson’s Message, Dec. 20, 1835; Ann. Reg. 1836, 444.

²⁶ Treasury order regarding cash payment or public lands.

majority in the House of Representatives the other way, and give the commercial aristocracy the command of the Union. In this crisis the measures of the President were characterized by his usual decision and recklessness of consequences. Of his own authority as

July 11, 1836. President he issued a treasury circular, prohibiting the receivers of the price

of public lands sold from *taking any thing but specie* in payment of lots sold, with the exception, to 15th December, of sales to actual settlers and occupants of the land. It is worthy of remark, that in the same official message which announced this determination, the revenue of the Union was stated at 47,691,000 dollars, of which 22,523,000 were drawn from customs, and 24,000,000 *from sales of land*, while its expenditure was only 22,000,000. Thus *more than half* of the public revenue was derived from the much decried sales of lands supported by

¹ General Jackson's Message, Dec. 6, 1836; Ann. Reg. 1836.

the banks; and it was from them, and them alone, that the funds were derived which paid off the whole public debt of the Union, at the same time the subject of just congratulation to the Government.¹

The effect of this decisive step on the part of the President of the United States was thus described by Mr. Biddle, the President of the United States Bank: "The interior banks making no loans, and converting their Atlantic funds into specie, the debtors in the interior could make no remittances to the merchants of the Atlantic cities, who are thus thrown for support upon the banks of those cities at a moment when they are unable to afford relief on account of this very abstraction of specie to the West. The creditor States not only receive no money, but their money is carried away to the debtor States, who in turn can not use it either to pay old debts or to contract new. By this unnatural process the specie of New York and the other commercial cities is *piled up in the western States*—not circulated, not used, but *held as a defense against the Treasury*; and while the West can not use it, the East is suffering from the want of it. The result is, that the commercial intercourse between the East and the West is almost suspended, and the few operations which are made are burdened with the most extravagant expense. In November, 1836, the interest of money had risen to 24 per cent.; merchants were struggling to preserve their credit by various sacrifices; and it cost six times as much to transmit funds from the West and the Southwest as it did in 1832, 1834, or 1835. Then, while the exchanges with all the world are in our favor—while Europe is alarmed and the Bank of England itself uneasy at the quantity of specie which we possess—we

are suffering because, from mere mismanagement, the whole ballast of the currency is shifted from one side of the vessel to the other."²

² Mr. Biddle's Statement, Jan. 18, 1837; of the currency is shifted from An. Reg. 1837, one side of the vessel to the other."

The effect of this state of things was to the very last degree disastrous in every part of the United States. The fleets of this whole bullion of the country was withdrawn from the commercial cities on the coast, where it was essential to sup-

port the banks and regulate the exchanges, and thrown, as Government deposits, to stagnate unemployed in the vaults of remote provincial banks. The gold and silver so abstracted from the great commercial cities found no channels for return; for when the western banks began to restrict their loans, the merchants in these parts were deprived of the means of making remittances; and the proceeds of the goods remitted to them, having been for the most part invested in the purchase of land, were now locked up in the banks to meet the Treasury orders. Thus credit was destroyed, and transactions of all sorts were stopped alike in the cities on the coast and the forests in the interior. The banks, compelled to pay in specie by the existing law, could get none, and their only resource was sternly to refuse accommodation even to houses of the first respectability. Terror and distrust universally prevailed; the machine of society, like a huge mill turned by water which was suddenly frozen, came to 1837, 362—a stand.³

General Jackson retired from office, having served his time, in March, 1837, and was succeeded by Mr. Van Buren. He might boast with justice that he had inflicted, during his official career, an amount of ruin and misery

on his country unparalleled in any other age or country. The catastrophe, inevitable from the circular of July 11, 1836, was for a short period kept off by the expedient adopted by the chief merchants and bankers in New York and Philadelphia, of drawing bills at twelve months on certain great houses in London and Liverpool which accepted them, and on which cash was raised in the mean time. But this expedient only postponed, it did not avert the disaster; England itself, as will immediately appear, was involved in the consequences of the crusade against paper raised in the United States; the acceptors for the most part failed before the bills became due; and the crash set in with unexampled severity in March, 1837. It first began in New Orleans, in consequence of the great transactions in cotton of that place with Great Britain, but rapidly spread to New York, Philadelphia, and the other cities on the coast, and the scene of confusion and panic which ensued baffles all description. A universal run took place upon the banks, which being in a great degree unprovided with cash, in consequence of its having been drained away to the banks in the West, were unable to meet the demand for specie. They all, including the United States Bank, accordingly soon suspended cash payments, and upon this the panic became universal, and the crash as wide-spread. Deprived of the wonted resource of discounted bills to meet their engagements, the greatest as well as the smallest houses in all the commercial cities became bankrupt. Two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment in New York in the first three weeks of April; and in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the other cities on the coast, the devastation was not less universal. Cotton fell from 14d. the pound in 1835 to 7½d. all other articles of export in a similar proportion. "Soon the distress spread like a pestilence through the various ramifications of society." Pub-

³ Ann. Reg. 1837, 370; Tooko on Prices, ii. 401.

lic works, railways, canals, were brought to a stand; the shipwright and builder dismissed their men, the manufacturer closed his doors; one sentiment pervaded all classes—the anticipation of universal ruin and individual beggary.³⁹

As usual in such cases, when the madness of a party has induced general ruin, the authors of the catastrophe strove to lay the blame of it upon their opponents, and were only the more confirmed in their resolution to persevere in their career, by the proof which had been afforded of its disastrous effects. The merchants of New York presented a petition to the President, praying him to retrace his steps, relax the laws as to the payment of the price of lands sold, and convoke Congress to consider what means could be devised to alleviate the public distress. They met only with a stern refusal. The calamities which prevailed were ascribed entirely to the mania of speculation and overtrading; the “mercantile aristocracy” were signalized as the authors of all the public misfortunes; and the deposit banks were charged with “base treachery and perfidy unparalleled in the history of the world, all purely with the view of gratifying Biddle and the Barings.” At the same time, to evince his determination to persist in the career of his predecessor, Van Buren issued a circular to the different collectors

of the revenue in the United States, to receive nothing but specie, or notes of banks still paying in specie, in payment of revenue bonds or debts due to the States. But it was easier to issue such a circular than give the means of complying with it; and the public revenue, entirely dependent on the custom-house duties and the sale of the public lands, almost entirely disappeared. Within six months after the general suspension of cash payments, it was found that not more than five per cent. of the sums due on the public debts had been paid to the collectors; the Government, without a revenue, were compelled to bring in a bill authorizing them to appropriate 9,867,214 dollars lying in the Treasury—which, under the existing law of 23d June, 1836, should have been distributed among the States—and give them Treasury bonds instead. Thus the first effect of General Jackson's crusade against the banks was to spread universal bankruptcy through the States, and convert the surplus of 24,000,000 dollars in the public revenue of preceding years into a deficit of above 9,000,000 dollars in this. So strong was the current of general opinion in consequence against the measures of Government, that in the next election of the provincial Legislature of New York, instead of 94 Van Buren men to 34 Opposition, there were 27 of the former to 101 of the latter; and the same change was observable in Pennsylvania, Georgia, New Jersey, and many other States.⁴⁰

So strong was the sense of the ruinous effects of the crusade against the banks, that the elections in the next year ran generally against the Government, inasmuch that Van Buren's re-election to the office of President became doubtful. So utterly was Government bereaved of money, that they were reduced to the necessity of issuing Treasury Bills to the amount

of 10,000,000 dollars more, which was justified to the public upon the humiliating confession that above 28,000,000 dollars was due to Government by State banks of deposit, and 15,000,000 by private banks and individuals, and that it could recover no part of these sums; a state of things, it is believed, unparalleled in any other age or country.* Notwithstanding all this, and though they themselves were the greatest sufferers from their own measures, the Government, trusting to a majority of ten in the House of Representatives, still clung with invincible tenacity to the measures of hostility to the banks, grounded avowedly on their jealousy of the weight and influence which the banks, from their vast capital and liberal advances, had acquired in the country, and which threatened to wrest the sceptre of government from the Republicans.⁴¹

The suspension of the crisis by the issue of the long-dated bills accepted by the English houses, proved, as already mentioned, only temporary. Such was the scarcity of specie, in consequence of its being locked up in the western banks, that the banks on the coast were compelled to apply to England for assistance before they could resume cash payments; and the Bank of England, with praiseworthy liberality, in April, 1838, remitted the United States Bank £1,000,000 in specie. This enabled them to resume payments in specie, and recommence operations on a large scale, which soon restored credit, as all the other banks did the same. Their efforts were immediately directed to arrest the fall in the price of cotton, the great article of common export, which had fallen, in consequence of the measures of the Government, to 4d. a pound, being not a third of what it had been three years before, and that although the last crop had been deficient rather than the reverse. For this purpose they made immense advances on long-dated bills, drawn on and accepted by houses in England to the holders of cotton, to prevent their stock being forced into the English market at these ruinously low prices.† The operation, which was indispensable to arrest the ruin of the country, succeeded for a time, and prices of cotton rose considerably

* “I submit to the consideration of Congress a statement prepared by the Secretary to the Treasury, by which it appears that the United States, with over 28,000,000 dollars in deposit with the States, and over 15,000,000 dollars due from individuals and banks, are, from the situation in which these funds are placed, in immediate danger of being unable to discharge with good faith and promptitude the various pecuniary obligations of the Government.”—President's Message, April 5, 1838; *Am. Reg.* 1838, 490.

† “The number of State banks and branches is now 222. The number of presidents, directors, and other officers, is not overestimated at 6200. The number of holders of bank stock may be safely estimated at 320,000, and the number of debtors, exclusive of stockholders, at 65,000. The capital of all the banks is about 317,636,770 dollars, and the amount of their loans is 485,631,567 dollars. If the minor banks were to act in subservience to the monarch of the great banking system, on whom the inexorable laws of credit and of trade confer the power to crush or careen them according to his uncontrollable will, who could withstand them?”—Address of Republican Members of Congress, July 6, 1838; *Am. Reg.* 1838, p. 491.

‡ PRICES OF COTTON.

August 2, 1838. August 2, 1839. August 2, 1839.
Upland.... 11d. to 1s. 3d. ... 5½d. to 7½d. ... 7½d. to 9d.
Surats..... 9d. to 1s. 3d. ... 4d. to 5½d. ... 4½d. to 6½d.
—TOLSON ON PRICES, II. 401; III. 59.

in the first half of 1839; but, unhappily, the crash which ensued at that time in England utterly destroyed the means of carrying it forward. The Bank of England itself, as will immediately appear, nearly as hard pressed as the banks of America, was obliged, in the autumn of 1839, rapidly and rigidly to contract its advances; the houses which had accepted the long-dated bills became bankrupt; and the consequence was, that the crash came on again in America, after this vain attempt to arrest it, with more severity

than ever. The United States Bank stopped payment, finally and irrecoverably, on the 5th October; all the other banks, in the southern States of the Union, suspended cash payments; and before the end of the year, nine-tenths of the whole commercial houses in America were bankrupt, and nearly the whole commercial wealth of the country was swept away.¹

So far the design of the democrats had been entirely successful; the crusade against property had accomplished all for which it was intended. The banks were ruined; the "commercial aristocracy," the object of so much jealousy, was destroyed; all effectual resistance to democratic rule in the Legislature was at an end. The little informed sturdy voters in the western States had now got the entire command of the country. Immense was the effect of this change upon the government and policy of America; the revolution was as great and irremediable as that of 1789 had been in France—that of 1832 in Great Britain. But at what price was this victory gained? At that of the national wealth, the national happiness, the national honor. Foreign commerce was almost destroyed; that with England was reduced to little more than a *fourth* of its former amount.* The embarrassment in the interior, from the failure of the customs and the diminished sales of the public lands, became so great that payment of public debts was impossible, since no legislator had ever ventured, for general and national objects, to pronounce the words *direct taxation*. Thence the REPUDIATION OF STATE DEBTS, which, as will hereafter appear, became general in the United States, and has affixed a lasting and ineffaceable stain on the national honor, and on the character of the people for common honesty. Thence, too, has arisen a grasping disposition on the part of the ruling multitude, who sought in foreign conquest an escape from the consequences of domestic mismanagement, which has brought them into constant broils with their neighbors in every direction, and made "filibustering" abroad as common as repudiation of debts at home.† Such have been the direct and immediate effects of the ascendancy of numbers over property, and the unchecked sway of the majority in the Government.

* EXPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE UNITED STATES FROM 1835 TO 1842.

1835.....	£10,568,459	1839.....	£8,630,304
1836.....	12,425,604	1840.....	5,283,020
1837.....	4,695,325	1841.....	7,098,842
1838.....	7,585,761	1842.....	3,528,807

—*Parl. Papers*, 27th May, 1840, and 20th July, 1843.

† "Our progress in prosperity has indeed been the wonder of the world, but this prosperity has done much to

Connected with the United States by a traffic which had come to reach £12,000,000 a year, it was impossible that Great Britain should not feel in the highest degree the consequences of this long-continued train of disasters, produced by the crusade of the democratic party against the banks in America. It produced effects, accordingly, of lasting importance on this side of the Atlantic, and which render an account of these Transatlantic proceedings a necessary prelude to the narrative of the great social changes ere long to commence in England. But independent of this cause of paramount importance and irresistible force, there were other causes tending to the same result in the British Islands, and which, acting upon the currency, the main-spring for good or for evil of the national fortunes, produced effects second only to those of the Reform Bill in consequence and durability. It is time to resume the narrative of these all-important events.

The first was the excess of imports over exports in Great Britain, in consequence of the continued prosperity and fine harvests of the three preceding years. It has been already mentioned, that in consequence of the uncommonly fine seasons from 1832 to 1835, the importation of grain had entirely disappeared, and the nation had become self-supporting. In addition to this, these years had been so prosperous from other causes already detailed, that a great balance of imports over exports had come to take place. This balance had come, in the year 1837, to be no less than £12,000,000; and it, of course, required to be paid wholly, or at least chiefly, in

counteract the ennobling influences of free institutions. The peculiar circumstances of the country and of our times have poured it upon us a torrent of wealth, and human nature has not been strong enough for the assault of such severe temptation. Prosperity has become dearer than freedom. Government is regarded more as a means of enriching the country than of securing private rights. We have become wedded to gain as our chief good. That under the predominance of this degrading passion, the higher virtues, the moral independence, the simplicity of manners, the stern uprightness, the self-reverence, the respect for man as man, which are the ornaments and safeguards of a republic, should wither and give place to selfish calculation and indulgence, to show and extravagance, to anxious, envious, discontented strivings, to wild adventure, and to the gambling spirit of speculation, will surprise no one who has studied human nature. The invasion of Texas by our citizens is a mournful comment on our national morality. Whether, without some fiery trial, some signal prostration of our prosperity, we can rise to the force and self-denial of freemen, is a question not easily solved.

"There are other alarming views. A spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which, if not repressed, threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. Even in the old States, mobs are taking the government into their hands, and a profligate newspaper finds little difficulty in stirring up multitudes to violence. When we look at the parts of the country nearest to Texas, we see the arm of the law paralyzed by the passions of the individual—men taking under their own protection the rights which it is the very office of government to secure. The citizen, wearing arms as means of defence, carries with him perpetual proofs of the weakness of the authorities under which he lives. The substitution of self-constituted tribunals for the regular course of justice, and the infliction of immediate punishment in the moment of popular frenzy, are symptoms of a people half-reclaimed from barbarism. I know not that any civilized country on earth has exhibited during the last year a spectacle so atrocious as the burning of a colored man, by a slow fire, in the neighborhood of St. Louis; and this infernal sacrifice was offered not by a few fiends selected from the whole country, but by a crowd gathered from a single spot."—*Dr. CRANING to Mr. CLAY*, August 18, 1837.

Effect of these changes in America on England.

Excess of imports over exports.

gold or silver.* This state of things is the inevitable result of a prosperous course of years, and its inevitable consequence a great domestic consumption, acting upon a currency dependent upon the retention of gold. There must always, in such circumstances, be a great balance of imports over exports; and consequently, after the expiry of a few years of prosperity, a severe drain upon the metallic treasures of the country, and its invariable results, a contracted currency, fall of prices, and general distress. The sequence is as necessary and unavoidable as the succession of night to day. The reason is, that the amount of imports is determined by the consumption of the whole people; that of exports, by the labor of a small part of them only. When the people are prosperous, therefore, the imports must greatly exceed the exports.

The next circumstance which came to operate with decisive effect in increasing this balance of imports over exports, and swelling the drain upon the metallic treasures of the country was the great and long-continued change which, in 1836, took place in the seasons in the British Islands.

Abundant in every respect, the harvests from 1832 to 1836 had been pre-eminently so in wheat-crops. It was hard to say whether the genial warmth and showers of spring, or the bright sun and protracted dry weather of autumn, had been most favorable to the production of that noble cereal crop. But it was very different with the seasons from 1836 to 1841. The rains of the autumn of 1836, excessive in Scotland and the North of England, first awakened the people of Great Britain from their fancied dream of peace and plenty. They were, in these latitudes, greater than had been known since the cold and calamitous season of 1816; and by a singular chance, the harvest in the South of England was seriously injured by excessive drought at the very time when that in the North was almost destroyed by incessant rains. The consequences were soon apparent. Prices rapidly rose during the succeeding winter; importation of wheat, which had almost entirely ceased, recommenced, and the average cost of a quarter, which in the preceding year had been 39s. 5d., rose to 48s. 6d.¹

The harvest of 1837, upon the whole, was not an unfavorable one, though the wetness in Scotland and the North of England, especially in spring, continued, and the crop in these grain districts

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM 1837 to 1842.

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	Exports. Declared Value.	Difference.
1837	£54,737,301	£42,069,245	£12,668,056
1838	61,268,320	50,060,970	11,207,350
1839	62,004,000	53,233,580	8,770,420
1840	67,432,964	51,406,480	16,026,534
1841	64,377,982	51,634,623	12,743,358
1842	65,304,729	47,381,023	17,923,706

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 356.

It is true, the imports here are calculated according to the official, and the exports according to the declared value. But that the official value of the imports was not materially different from the real, is proved by the fact that, from 1797 down to 1819, the official value of exports exceeded their real value. In 1819, for the first time, the scale turned: the official value of exports in that year was £33,534,176, the real value, £35,308,321. So great and decisive had since that time been the effect of the contraction of the currency in lowering the prices of manufactured goods, that in 1840 the official value of exports was £102,708,372, the real value only £51,406,430.—*Ibid*,

was seriously injured, inasmuch that the average prices of the succeeding year rose to 55s. 10d., and the importation steadily increased. But the next year (1838) was one, in an agricultural point of view, of almost unmitigated disaster. On the 6th January a violent snow-storm came on, followed by a tract of frost of two months' duration, and, for these islands, uncommon severity. Even in the South of England the thermometer fell to 5° below zero of Fahrenheit: in Scotland it was at —10° and —12°.* Such extreme cold, if followed by corresponding warmth in summer, is by no means inconsistent, as the example of Upper Canada shows, with the raising of very fine cereal crops. But that is by no means the case in the British Islands: no burst of a Canadian spring succeeds the gloom of an arctic winter. On the contrary, the more severe and protracted the winter, the colder and more ungenial in general is the spring, the more late and wet the harvest. So it proved in 1838. The rains of the summer and autumn of that year were incessant, and not, as in the two preceding, confined to Scotland and the North of England, but universal over the British Islands. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme; but what is very remarkable, more so to the manufacturing than the agricultural interests. The latter were compensated for a deficient harvest by an enhanced price; but to the former it was a source of unmitigated calamity. The connection between an unfavorable harvest, great importation of grain, and consequent export of the precious metals, had become apparent to all, and most of all to the mercantile classes. Men became sensitive and nervous as the rains continued with unmitigated severity through the whole of autumn; and the merchants, coming to the front of the Royal Exchange, and looking up to the watery sky, exclaimed, "The Bank will break! the Bank will break!"†

In consequence of this incessant rain, prices of wheat rose to 78s. 4d. by the end of December, and reached 81s. 6d. in the first week of January, 1839, being higher than it had been since 1816, and more than double what it had been three years before. Notwithstanding an immense and unprecedented importation, which, under the sliding-scale, was immediately thrown into the market at the lowest duty then paid, prices were sustained during the whole year; for the crop, on being thrashed out, proved worse than had been anticipated, and the worst that had been known since 1816. The deficiency, as compared with the preceding year, was fully a fourth, with 1835 a third. The quantity of wheat required for food and seed in Great Britain was about 15,000,000 quarters; so that nearly 4,000,000 quarters required to be imported to supply the wants of the country, and at the present high prices they could not be got for less than

* The Author frequently saw it at —5° in February, 1838, at Possil House, near Glasgow.

† The Author saw, on the 31st December, 1838, in the Carae of Falkirk, one of the finest agricultural districts of Scotland, men standing up to their knees in snow, mowing wheat with scythes, which they effected by shaving off the ears, as they stood erect above the snow. It began to rain heavily in the beginning of August in that year, and with the exception of the period of frost, it rained almost incessantly for seven months in Scotland.

£9,000,000 or £10,000,000. The spring of 1839, as is always the case after a severe winter, was extremely cold and backward, and the summer and autumn again deluged with rains, which rendered the harvest of that year nearly as deficient as that of 1838 had been. Thus, although, owing to the great rise of prices in the preceding years, a much greater breadth of land had been sown with grain than formerly, there was still a deficiency of wheaten crops in the British Islands of at least 2,000,000 quarters, which required to be supplied by importation. The average price of 1839 was 70s. 8d.; between the 5th August, 1838, to the 3d August, 1840, the quantity of wheat imported into Great Britain was 5,324,171 quarters;* and the cost 1 Tooke, *iii.* of the grain imported in 1838 and 2-13, 73; *iv.* 1839 was about £10,000,000, nearly 2-5. the whole of which was paid in gold.¹

The crops of 1840 and 1841 were not so deficient as those of the two preceding 38. Crops of years had been, but still they were far 1840 and from being of average amount, and the 1841. prices in consequence continued high, and the importation large. The average price of 1840 was 63s. 6d., and of 1841 63s. 4d.; indicating an improvement from the two disastrous years 1838 and 1839, but still by no means an average supply, or satisfactory state of things. The winter 1840-1841 was again very severe, and the subsequent spring backward, and incessant rain fell in the autumn of both years. The quantity of wheat imported between 1st August, 1840, and 1st August, 1841, was 1,925,241 quarters; between the same period in 1841 and 1842, 2,900,000 quarters. The inspected market returns from 1st September, 1841, to 1st September, 1842, showed only 3,626,000 quarters brought to market; whereas the corresponding year after 1st September, 1842, showed 5,000,000 brought to market. Thus the nation was on short supply to the extent of a half in both years, and of that supply, such as it was, a large proportion came from foreign parts! Notwithstanding the high prices, the quantity of wheat imported 3 Tooke on yearly from Ireland in three years, Prices, *iv.* owing chiefly to the excessive rain, 7, 13, 35. did not average 200,000 quarters.²†

* *Viz.*—

	Quantity. Quarters.
From 5th August, 1838, to end of that year.	1,927,038
In 1839	2,712,545
In 1840, to 5th August	784,171
Total	5,324,171

—Tooke *On Prices*, *iv.* 3.

The quantity of rain which fell in every part of Great Britain, in these two years, was fully double the usual amount. In the county of Lanark, the average quantity is 36 inches a year; in 1838 it was 68 inches; in 1839, 66. The average in London and Edinburgh, and the east coast of the island generally, is 24 inches.

† The quantities of wheat imported from Ireland into Great Britain, in the undermentioned years, were as follows, clearly showing how dependent the returns of cereal crops in that country are on dry seasons:

	Quantity. Quarters.	Prices. s. d.
From Aug. 1, 1834, to Aug. 1, 1835	625,567	41 5
" 1835, " 1836	705,593	42 8
" 1836, " 1837	457,435	55 0
" 1837, " 1838	500,842	57 10
" 1838, " 1839	333,370	71 8
" 1839, " 1840	174,650	68 0
" 1840, " 1841	192,665	63 6
" 1841, " 1842	216,304	63 4
" 1842, " 1843	310,344	49 4
" 1843, " 1844	467,800	53 9
" 1844, " 1845	729,802	46 7

—Tooke *On Prices*, *iv.* 35.

A most inadequate idea of the sufferings of the people, and consequent discontent, during the disastrous years 39. from 1837 to 1841, will be formed, Immenae distress in the country during these years. if the prices of grain, and especially wheat alone, are taken into consideration, compared with what they had been in preceding years since the peace of 1815. The immense difference in price of every article of produce, and in consequence in wages, produced by the Act of 1819 restoring cash payments, must be taken into consideration if a true view of the real suffering endured is to be taken. That Act having lowered prices and wages fully fifty per cent., the rise of wheat to 80s. a quarter was in reality, as great a rise as one to 120s. would have been in the latter years of the war. Wheat had doubled in price during three years, while wages, so far from having kept pace with that advance, had, from the very same cause, receded nearly as much. Weavers, instead of 8d. a day, were making only 4½d.; ordinary laborers, instead of 1s. 6d. a day, only 1s. The shopkeepers and traders were in an equally wretched condition: their stock of goods was every day falling in value if it remained on their hands; their sales, if they made any, were daily at more reduced prices. Great as the suffering was among the agricultural laborers from the high prices, it was much greater among the manufacturing; for the price of their produce, instead of being raised, as that of the farmers was, by the long-continued scarcity, was every day diminished; and thus, while the price of the necessaries of life was nearly doubled, the wages by which they were to purchase them were nearly halved. This arose from the action of a large importation of grain, and other causes producing a great export of the precious metals, on the amount of the currency in circulation, and the consequent price of every species of produce unaffected by real scarcity, which was so strikingly illustrated in these fearful years.

The circulation of the Bank of England in 1835 had been £18,500,000, its 40. bullion £6,219,000, which rose in Effect of these changes on the currency. January, 1836, to £7,076,000. The joint-stock bank circulation at the same period was £11,100,000, and in 1836, £17,707,000: in all, about £30,500,000; and with the Irish and Scotch banks about 1 Tooke, £38,000,000.¹ The first indications of ill 136. a drain upon the Bank's coffers, and consequent monetary crisis, occurred in April, 1836, when the joint-stock mania was at its height, and credit was high in this country; but the crusade of the President of the United States against the banks in that country, already described, had produced an extraordinary demand for specie on the other side of the Atlantic. So great, however, was the stock of specie, owing to the entire cessation of the importation of foreign grain at that period in the British Islands, that this difficulty was soon surmounted; and the copious shipments of gold to the United States at that period averted the catastrophe there for more than a year. But in the succeeding years it could no longer be averted. The President's circular of 12th July, 1836, requiring all purchases of public lands and payments to the Treasury to be made in specie,

coupled with the deficient harvest of 1837, and the still more deficient one of 1838 in these Islands, and the great balance of imports over exports in the trade of Great Britain, arising from the prosperity of the two preceding years, then conspired to produce a drain upon the Bank's coffers which went on steadily increasing, till it brought that establishment, and with it the whole commercial world in Great Britain, to the very verge of insolvency. The stock of bullion in the Bank's coffers, which in the beginning of 1838 had been above £10,000,000, sunk in the middle of October, 1839, to £2,522,000; while its deposits, which in the former period had been £11,266,000, were reduced in the latter to £5,952,000! The Bank escaped bankruptcy by a loan of £2,000,000 from twelve of the principal bankers of Paris, which was only granted after much hesitation, and inquiries in this country of a very humiliating description. This crisis was the more remarkable that there was no internal pressure at the time; on the contrary, the money paid in by the country bankers

was greater than what was drawn out ¹Tooke, for domestic purposes. The *foreign* _{iii. 73, 91.} drain did the whole.^{1*}

The effect of this severe drain upon the metallic treasure of the Bank, of course, was to narrow the circulation of that establishment, which was reduced in the beginning of 1840 to £16,866,000, being not more than *two-thirds* of what it had been even after the terrible monetary crisis of December, 1825. So completely had the suppression of small notes, which took effect in 1829, cramped the operations of the Bank, and fettered it in the means which it formerly enjoyed of relieving the distresses of the country! Of course, the effect of this contraction of issue by the Bank was to produce a corresponding reduction in the issues of the country bankers, which fell in the year 1838 no less than £2,000,000; producing a reduction of the paper circulation of England of above £4,000,000, at the very time when nearly the whole coin in the country was drained away to America and the grain-growing states.† The effect of this, again, was a considerable rise in the rate of interest charged on discounts; and no small sensation was excited

on the Stock Exchange on 20th June, 1839, by an announcement from the directors of the Bank of England, that the rate of interest charged on the discount of bills was raised to 5½ per cent., being the first time it had passed the hitherto impassable line of 5 per cent. The rate was on first August raised to 6 per cent. from 5¼ per cent., which it had been a year before; at which advanced rate it continued for above a year. The inconvenience arising from this great advance in the interest paid for money, considerable as it is, and seriously as it diminished the profits of trade, is but a small part of the evils consequent upon such defensive measures, intended to effect a contraction of the currency. A far more serious and widespread evil is to be found in the sudden stoppage of credit and withdrawal of accommodation *altogether*, to all but the first class of traders; a state of things which at once renders a great proportion of the middle, and many of the highest class, insolvent, brings numerous bankrupt stocks into the market, checks speculation, and induces a great fall in the price of all articles of commerce, ruinous to the trading, and in the highest degree distressing to the laboring class, the more especially when it is accompanied, as it was at this time in the British Islands, with a great increase, from scarcity, in the price of ¹Tooke, the necessaries of life.¹ _{iii. 78, 86.}

It is a curious proof how much more rapidly the truth in regard to the effects of political changes is discerned by practical men engaged in the real business of life, than by philosophers absorbed in the weaving of theories, or statesmen intrusted with the direction of affairs, that at the time when the Legislature was clinging with invincible tenacity to a paper circulation, which was to expand or contract according as gold flowed into or out of the country, and economists had pledged their credit on the marvelous assertion that the resumption of cash payments would not alter prices *more than three per cent.*, and even that trifling alteration would be over in a *few weeks*,* the merchants, both in Great Britain and America, had come to regard with the utmost alarm the drain of gold from the Bank of England, occasioned by every serious deficiency in the grain crops of the former country. "During the last few years," says Mr. Tooke, "a striking change has taken place in the degree of attention given to the effect of the seasons on the price of provisions. It is not now the farmer or the corn-dealer only who watches with painful anxiety the state of the weather, at the several critical periods in the growth of the different descriptions of produce, and from what he thus observes infers the probable range of

* "Unquestionably," said Mr. Ricardo, "a most fearful and destructive depreciation had at one time taken place. But from that we had recovered, and he was happy to reflect that we had so far retraced our steps. We have nearly got home; and he hoped his right honorable friend (Sir R. Peel) would enable us to reach it in safety. He could venture to state that in a very few weeks all alarm would be forgotten; and at the end of the year we should all be surprised that any alarm at all had ever prevailed at the prospect of a variation of three per cent. in the value of the circulating medium. His particular reason for supporting the measure under consideration was this, by withdrawing paper so as to restore the note to its bullion value, an alteration of only three per cent.—all that is required will be done."—*Parl. Deb.*, 1819.

* AVERAGES OF THREE MONTHS OF BANK OF ENGLAND, FROM 1838 TO 1840.

	Circulation.	Deposits.	Bullion.
1838.			
January 9 . . .	£17,900,000	£10,992,000	£8,365,000
April 3 . . .	18,987,000	11,262,000	10,126,000
July 24 . . .	19,286,000	10,424,000	9,749,000
October 16 . . .	19,359,000	9,327,000	9,437,000
1839.			
January 9 . . .	18,201,000	10,315,000	9,336,000
April 2 . . .	18,371,000	8,998,000	7,073,000
July 23 . . .	18,049,000	7,955,000	3,785,000
October 13 . . .	17,612,000	6,734,000	2,532,000
1840.			
January 7 . . .	16,366,000	5,952,000	3,454,000

—*TOOKE On Prices*, iii. 78.

† AVERAGE OF NOTES OF BANK OF ENGLAND AND COUNTRY BANKS IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Bank of England.	Country Banks.	Total.
1837	£18,887,000	£12,012,196	£30,899,196
1838	19,490,000	10,225,488	29,715,488
1839	15,317,000	12,359,467	27,676,471
1840	15,797,000	10,853,244	26,650,244
1841	16,897,490	10,251,450	26,048,940

—*TOOKE On Prices*, iii. and iv. p. 87, 480, 491.

prices and of his own fortune in the succeeding year; such anxious observation has been scarcely less common in the counting-house and on the Stock Exchange than on the farm and in the corn-market. Every passing cloud, indeed, may at those periods be said to have had some effect on the price of public securities, and of shares in railways and other joint-stock companies, in consequence of the apprehensions entertained of the unfavorable influence of high prices, and of large importations of corn, on the rate of interest, and on banking accommodation.¹ So generally were these apprehensions entertained on the same subject on the other side of the Atlantic, and so strong the feeling of the dependence of the entire commercial world over the globe on the money-market of England, that the President of the United States, in a message to Congress, lamented that the money power of London had become irresistible, and that the merchants of America, despite the obvious advantage to the industry of their country which would arise from a failure of the crops in England, contemplated it with dismay, from a sense of the effect it would have on the operations of the Bank of England, and the state of credit over the world.*

It is not surprising that the merchants, both of Great Britain and America, watched with trembling anxiety the rains of August and September, 1839, in the British Islands; for their consequences, under a currency in the heart of commercial circulation dependent on the retention of gold, were immense on both sides of the Atlantic. By stopping suddenly the credit given to the American houses by the London banks, it at once spread bankruptcy throughout the United States, occasioned the suspension of the United States Bank and all the other banks of America in the October of that year, and diffused general ruin over the whole of the trading classes in the country. The effects in Great Britain were not less calamitous, and from its being an old State, with complicated commercial relations, and without the

boundless resources of the back settlements, they were there of much longer continuance, and recovered from with more difficulty. The bankruptcies, which had been very frequent ever since the abolition of small notes, and consequent limitation of bank accommodation in 1829, became fearfully numerous in 1839 and 1840—nearly double of what they had been five years before.* They increased in weight as much as in number in those disastrous years; for the houses engaged in the American trade, and which had accepted the bills in 1838, which for a year averted the ruinous effects of General Jackson's crusade against the banks in the United States, were among the greatest and most wealthy that ever had existed in Great Britain. The effects of the failure of these great houses, and of the universal contraction of credit from banks, were to the last degree calamitous in this country, and produced that universal fall of prices and widespread distress among the laboring poor, which could not fail to end in public convulsions or an entire change in the system of policy of government.

The shock given to commercial credit over the world by the run upon the Bank of England in 1838 and 1839, was felt nearly as severely in Belgium and France as in the United States or the commercial towns of England. In September, 1838, the Bank of Belgium failed, which spread consternation and distrust over the whole of the Low Countries; and at the same time the panic was so great in Paris that Lafitte's bank with difficulty weathered the storm. The bankruptcies in France in those years told the same melancholy tale of widespread and consuming distress which those of Great Britain and America had done. The effect of these disasters, of course, was to extend the distrust and stagnation in Great Britain, and augment the number of those thrown out of employment, as well as the profits or salaries of those still engaged in business.¹

These effects soon appeared in every imaginable way in the British Islands. Every where was told the same unvarying tale of bankruptcy, suffering, and want of employment. It is true, the poor-law returns,† owing to the efforts made by the Poor-Law Commissioners to keep down charges, did not exhibit any great increase in these years; although the great apparent decrease of £2,000,000, so much boasted of at first, was almost entirely owing to the extremely low prices of food in the years 1835 and 1836.

* "The banks in the centre, to which the currency flows, and where it is required in payment of merchandise, hold the power of controlling those in the regions whence it comes, while the latter possess no means of restraining them; so that the value of individual property, and the prosperity of trade through the whole interior of the country, are made to depend on the good or bad management of the banking institutions in the cities on the seaboard. From this state of dependence we can not escape. The same laws of trade which give to the banks in our principal towns power over the whole banking system of the United States, subject the former, in their turn, to the money power of Great Britain. This, it is not denied, was the cause of the suspension of the New York banks in 1837, and their present embarrassments have arisen from the same cause. London is the centre in which all the currents of trade unite; and it is rendered irresistible by the large debts contracted there by our merchants, our banks, and our States. The introduction of a new bank into the most distant of our villages places the business of that village within the influence of the money power of England. The time is not long past when a deficiency of foreign crops was thought to afford a profitable market for the surplus of our industry, but now we wait with feverish anxiety the state of the English harvest, not so much from motives of commendable sympathy, but fearful lest its anticipated failure should narrow the field of credit there."—President Van Buren's Message, Dec. 8, 1839; *Ann. Reg.* 1839, p. 453-455 (Public Documents).
—What a picture of the effects throughout the whole commercial world, of a currency in Great Britain dependent on the retention of gold, and so liable to be disturbed by every rain that falls!

* BANKRUPTCIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

1834	1101	1838	978
1835	1032	1839	1203
1836	929	1840	1870
1837	1668	1841	1769

—*Ann. Reg.* (Public Documents for three years.)

† EXPENDED ON THE POOR, AND PERSONS RELIEVED IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	Amount.	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.
1836	£4,717,630	....	....	....
1837	4,644,741	....	....	....
1838	4,123,604	....	....	....
1839	4,421,712	....	....	....
1840	4,576,965	169,232	1,456,313	1,721,351
1841	4,760,993	192,106	1,361,061	1,696,201

—*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, 94, 3d edit.

But the number of paupers increased in a frightful progression, inasmuch that in the year 1840 they amounted to 1,721,000 out of a population at that period not exceeding 16,000,000—showing that more than one in nine of the whole population had become a recipient of public charity. At the same time, the paupers in Ireland were 2,285,000, and in Scotland, 85,000, making a total of 4,081,000 in the British Islands, or fully a seventh part of the whole population, which at that time was about 27,000,000. The increase of crime in these years told a similar woeful tale of suffering in the laboring classes: the committals had swelled from 20,000 in England and Wales in 1833, to 31,000 in 1842.* If was no wonder that crime and pauperism were advancing with such rapid strides over the land, for the condition of the working classes had become miserable in the extreme. The wages of agricultural labor in Ireland were only 3½d. a day; the weavers in England could earn no more; and the authentic record of what wages should be made up to in the rural districts of the south of England,† proves that they had fallen so low as to be inadequate to the support of a human being on the very lowest species of food. In fact, they were

1 Doubleday's *Life of Peel*, i. scarcely more than was at the same time; An. Reg. time earned by the Ryots of Hindostan.¹

* COMMITTED IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	Committals.	Years.	Committals.
1833	20,072	1838	23,004
1834	22,451	1839	24,443
1835	20,731	1840	27,187
1836	20,984	1841	27,760
1837	23,612	1842	31,309

—PORTER, 685, 3d edit.

† Scale of allowance to which farm-laborers' wages were to be made up by the magistrates of Dorset in 1830:

When quarter loaf is at—				
12d.	11d.	10d.	9d.	8d.
Weekly wages—				
2s. 1d.	2s. 10d.	2s. 7d.	2s. 4d.	2s. 1d.

—DOUBLEDAY'S *Life of Peel*, ii. 50.

It was the incessant fall in the price of commodities of every sort which had now gone on, with only two periods of intermission of two years each, for twenty years, which was the cause of this universal and unheard-of distress. With the exception of the years 1824 and 1825, when the Small-Note Bill temporarily suspended the decline, and the years 1834 and 1835, when the Joint-Stock Banks Bill, and bill making Bank of England notes a legal tender save at the Bank of England, produced the same effect, the whole period from 1819 to 1839 had been one of incessant fall of prices. The chief articles of commerce had declined in money value during that time 50 per cent., many much more.‡ Such a long-continued and prodigious fall of prices filled all classes with despair. True, they bought every thing cheaper, but what did this cheapness avail them when the wages of labor came down in a still greater proportion, when two millions of destitute paupers in Ireland were at every moment ready to inundate the labor market of England, and employment even on the lowest rates was often not to be had, from the discouragement to speculation of every kind which the continual fall of prices occasioned? The only thing which rendered this fall tolerable to the working classes in towns and the manufacturing districts, was the extremely low price of the necessaries of life which the magnificent harvests from 1832 to 1836 occasioned; but this reduced the agricultural classes to despair; and the table of the House of Commons groaned, during these years, under petitions which set forth with truth, that under existing prices cultivation of any kind could be carried on only at a loss.§ And when the bad seasons began in 1837, and five cold and wet autumns in succession raised the cost of food, even of the humblest kind, again to the war rates, which were then felt as famine prices, a still more general and acute suffering was ex-

‡ The following most valuable Table of Prices was prepared with great care by Mr. Taylor, and presented by him to the Commons Committee on Commercial Distress in 1848, and is to be found in their Report. The price of each article at the commencement is taken as the standard:

Articles of Commerce.	Prices.	1793 to 1799.	1805 to 1811.	1812 to 1818.	1819 to 1825.	1826 to 1832.	1833 to 1837.
Wheat, per quarter	2 5 0	160	193	190	190	190	103
Barley, per quarter	1 4 6	100	177	191	194	196	131
Oats, per quarter	0 17 2	100	170	181	181	185	122
Beef, per tierce	3 13 10	100	195	188	186	142	152
Pork, per barrel	2 19 7	100	168	176	183	181	111
Cotton, per pound	0 1 2	100	119	105	57	37	49
Cotton yarn, per pound	0 2 8	100	179	150	117	73	63
Indigo, per pound	0 0 11	100	116	106	97	86	55
Iron, per ton	5 18 0	100	151	151	146	115	96
Coal, per chaldron	0 19 11	100	202	190	156	139	124
Coffee, per cwt.	4 9 5	100	123	88	194	59	88
Malt, per bushel	0 3 0½	100	186	225	176	177	150
Flour, per sack	1 17 2	100	214	223	155	162	137
Silk, per pound	1 6 3	100	106	111	90	80	76
Tea, per pound, Congou	0 1 9	100	73	75	73	67	61
Tobacco, per pound	0 0 5½	100	204	252	161	104	109
Sugar, per cwt.	1 9 6	100	139	181	107	93	104
Rum, per gallon	0 3 1	100	179	185	106	103	100
Wine, per pipe	22 7 4	100	228	274	228	221	221
Wool, per pound	0 0 10½	100	226	221	150	92	166
Spirits, per gallon	1 8 0	100	223	220	193	112	82

—Commons' Report, 1848.

§ COMPARATIVE FALL OF FOOD AND OF WAGES OF WEAVERS AND COMBERS, AND PRISONERS IN WAKEFIELD PRISON, IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1842.
Price of Wheat per quarter	£5 13 7	£5 6 2	£3 7 11	£3 4 3	£3 6 4	£3 5 6
Weavers, per week	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 16 0	0 16 0	0 8 0	0 6 0
Combers' wages	1 1 0	0 19 0	0 19 0	1 0 0	0 9 0	0 6 0
No. of Prisoners in Wakefield Prison.	670	499	2169	2020	2566	4420

—An. Reg. 1842; DOUBLEDAY'S *Life of Peel*, ii. p. 368.

perienched by the manufacturers; for in proportion to the decline of their wages, from the contraction of the currency and consequent commercial distress, was the rise in the cost of the necessaries of life from the badness of the season.

This unparalleled series of internal disasters produced a very important and lasting effect upon the administration of the new Poor-Law Act, and, through the suffering with which it was attended, ultimately upon the party in Great Britain intrusted with power. That this Act corrected many abuses which, in the course of ages, had crept into the administration of the English poor-laws, was, certain; and a reduction of two millions, which took place in the two years immediately succeeding the passing of the Act, inspired general hopes that a remedy had at last been discovered for the growing evils of pauperism.* But, though not apparent on the face of the Act, or openly avowed by its supporters, there is no doubt that the intention of its authors was to go a great deal farther, and to put an end altogether to parochial relief, unless in such cases of extreme destitution or incapacity for labor as induced the applicants for relief to go into the work-house rather than forego it. The "*work-house test*" was the great discovery of the economists which was to distinguish real distress from that which was assumed, and bring down the burden of poor-rates at length to the lowest point consistent with the prevention of actual death by famine. This purpose, carefully concealed from the public, was not disguised in the private instructions of the commissioners to the boards of guardians.† With this view the regulation was made, that husband was to be separated from wife, parent from child; that the inmates of all work-houses should wear work-house dresses; and the fare was to be regulated in such a manner as to be the most economical which was consistent with the support of life. Relief was to be sternly denied to all persons who declined to enter these gloomy abodes; and to render them capable of containing the multitudes who might be expected to apply for admission, huge union work-houses were erected in most places, called by the people "*bastiles*," the very sight of

* Doubleday, *ii.* 186. which, it was trusted, would deter any one from seeking admission.

Although the Poor-Law Commissioners appointed by Government were so deeply imbued with the principles of the economists that a steady prosecution of the ulterior objects of the bill might be anticipated from them, yet happily

* Lord Brougham, with more candor than discretion, avowed this secret feeling in the House of Lords in the debate on the bill; for he said, "If something is not done to stop relief being given, your lordships' estates will be swallowed up, and I myself, Lord Brougham, will become a Westmoreland pauper."—DOUBLEDAY'S *Life of Peel*, *ii.* 239.

† "We could not be understood as recommending the immediate abolition of the English poor-laws; we are simply desirous of stating the conclusions to which we have been led by the preceding evidence, that all poor-laws are in their essence impolitic and uncalled for, and that consequently their final abolition ought to be the ultimate object of any changes that may be made; an object, however, that can not be attained without being preceded by several years' careful preparation for it. E. CARLTON TUFFNELL, P. F. JOHNSTON, Commissioners."—*Poor-Law Commissioners' Reports*, App. A., Part II.

the immediate and local administration was intrusted to a different set of men, entitled "Guardians of the Poor,"⁴⁸ Dissatisfaction elected by the rate-payers, and still, the Act, and its entire abrogation by the distress of 1839. for the most part, subject to the old influences. Hence there was a constant struggle going forward in every part of England between the Central Board and the local commissioners, and according as the former or the latter prevailed, the new act was administered with more or less rigor, and dissatisfaction and complaint were more or less general. During the cheap years, and under the influence of the plentiful harvests of 1834 and 1835, these complaints were not very general; for the prosperity without diminished the number of applicants for relief, and the cheapness of food rendered the guardians less niggardly in its distribution. But when the bad harvests of 1838 and 1839 came on, and starving crowds were at the gates of the workhouses clamoring for admission, while wheat, whereon they were to be fed, was at 80s., it became utterly impossible to carry out the instructions of the commissioners. At Nottingham the crowd of applicants was so great that no building could hold a fifth part of them, and outdoor relief or a serious riot was the only alternative. In Lancashire similar scenes occurred; and in all the manufacturing counties the pressure was so immense, that a general relaxation of the practice in regard to outdoor relief took place. In the succeeding year this relaxation became universal, inasmuch that out of 1,721,351 paupers relieved, no less than 1,456,313 were outdoor ones; and the proportion has remained very nearly the same, though the numbers have been very much reduced in subsequent years. A striking proof how vain are instructions of government commissioners when opposed to the stream of general feeling, and of the manner in which, in a free community, dangerous laws introduced by inexperienced men are quietly abrogated by the good sense of those intrusted with their administration.⁴⁹

The administration of the poor-laws was a subject too seriously affecting the great body of English laborers, not to rouse the anxious attention both of Parliament and the public press. Accordingly, so soon as the general distress began in 1837, the matter was brought before Parliament by Mr. Walter, in a very powerful speech, which acquired additional currency from the advocacy of the *Times*, of which journal he was a leading proprietor, and the support of Mr. Fielden, who seconded the motion, and brought to the aid of the cause unflinching courage, warm philanthropy, and unwearied industry. In the course of the debate, it appeared that the new act had been adopted in 12,182 out of 13,433 parishes or townships of which England consisted, and that, especially in several of the southern parts of the island, a great reduction of rates had taken place; the rates in 4082 parishes, including 2,722,849 souls, having decreased from £2,189,000 to £1,187,000. On the other hand, it was proved, and, indeed, not denied, that very great oppression in individual cases had been committed, chiefly in refus-

⁴⁸ Porter, 94, 3d edit.; Doubleday, *ii.* 233, 234. Ann. Reg. 1837, 130; 1839, 297-299.

⁴⁹ Debate on the subject in the House of Commons.

ing outdoor relief, and the wholesale removal of the poor from the parish, when their application had been made to that on which they were legally chargeable. In one instance, 217 of these unfortunate persons were seen packed in a single wagon! Ministers made the utmost opposition to any inquiry; but the public feeling was so strong, owing to the growing experience of evil with the advent of calamitous times, that they were compelled to yield, and a committee was appointed to inquire into the working of the Poor-Law Amendment Act in every part of England, which shortly commenced its herculean labors. The Report of the Commissioners was lodged before the end of the year, and bore in substance that the operation of the new poor-law had been on the whole satisfactory, though many cases of individual or local hardship had occurred. The point was very anxiously debated at the time; but the subject has now lost much of its importance, in consequence of the compulsory practical repeal of the most obnoxious parts of the Act, which took place during the severe distress of 1838 and 1839, and the consequent restoration of the system of outdoor relief, which it had been the great object of the Act to abolish. Since that time the paupers in England have been generally from 800,000 to 900,000, of whom five-sixths were supported by outdoor relief.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1837, 122, 142; Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 598, 1280.

It would have been well for the country if all the other social evils which arose out of the long-continued distress which pervaded the working classes from 1837 to 1842, had been as susceptible of practical abolition as those connected with the working of the new Poor-Law Act. But this was very far indeed from being the case; and out of the sufferings of that calamitous period arose three sets of evils, as widespread in their operation as they were ruinous in their effects, and under some of which the empire has ever since that period, with few intermissions, continually labored. These were Trades-Unions, Strikes, and Chartism in Great Britain, and Ribbonism in Ireland; maladies to the last degree in themselves calamitous, but still more serious as indicating a diseased and suffering state of the social body in which they arise.

Combinations are the natural resource of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the rich, the oppressed against the oppressors. As such they have been known in all countries and in all ages, and have often rendered important, sometimes beneficial, services to society. Their natural tendency, however, and in fact the condition of their existence, is the bringing the great body of the combined persons under the guidance, which soon becomes the imperious disposition, of a few ambitious leaders, who are generally as eminent from their talent as they are unscrupulous in their measures. Combinations among workmen, to prevent a reduction or effect a rise of their wages, had been known from a very early period in Great Britain, and many penal laws had been passed both in England and Scotland for their suppression; but it was not till the Act of 1819 had induced a general fall of prices, and consequently of wages, that they

assumed a general and alarming character. In 1822 and 1823, however, in consequence of the rapid fall of wages, they became general in both parts of the island, and were organized in an occult and skillful manner on the model of the "secret societies," then so prevalent in France and Italy; and by the instigation of their leaders a great number of frightful crimes were committed, chiefly against workmen who ventured to work at lower wages than the chiefs of the combination had fixed on,—such as assassination, fire-raising, throwing vitriol on the face, or the like, which filled society with consternation, and of which the better classes of the workmen themselves came, in their better moments, to be ashamed.*

It was at first hoped that the repeal of the Combination Laws, by legalizing strikes to raise or prevent the fall of wages, would put an end to these atrocious crimes at which humanity shudders; and there is reason to hope, from the experience of the last which have occurred in Great Britain, that these expectations will be realized. But in 1837 and 1838 this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, strikes at that period, without having lost any thing of their violent and criminal character, had become more formidable, from the increased number engaged in them, and the acknowledged legality of their association. Conviction for crimes perpetrated for the purposes of the strike was always difficult, often impossible, even when numbers were witnesses of the crime, because they were perpetrated with the utmost precautions against discovery; and being in general directed against fellow-workmen, the intimidation with which they were accompanied was such, that even the sufferers under the violence could seldom be prevailed on to come forward as witnesses; and if they did, they endeavored to escape future danger by declaring they could not identify the guilty parties. Add to this, that from the total want of police at that period in any place but the large towns, it was alike impossible in rural districts to give protection to the new hands, or obtain evidence against the perpetrators of violence when committed on their defenseless victims. Thus nine-tenths of combination crimes were committed with impunity: and such was the terror generally inspired by the extent of the associations, the number of the crimes they perpetrated, and the secrecy with which they were committed, that prosecutions were rarely attempted; and if begun, still more rarely successful: and even the public press, from motives of terror, ceased, except in very flagrant cases, to record their excesses.¹

At length matters were brought to a crisis by the conduct of the Cotton-Spinners' Association in the west of Scotland in 1837. A very serious strike had taken place of the calico-printers in that part of the country in 1834, attended with the usual amount of violence and intimidation; but though some persons had been brought to trial for these of-

* Between 1822 and 1823, great numbers of combination crimes, such as murder, fire-raising, throwing vitriol in the face or eyes, and the like, formed the subject of trial, and in many cases of conviction, in Glasgow.

50. Trades-Unions and Strikes; Chartism and Ribbonism.

51. Origin of trades-unions.

52. Increase of strikes from 1834 to 1837.

1 Personal knowledge.

53. Great cotton-spinners' strike in 1837, and its break-up.

ferences, it was found impossible to convict them of more than the minor offenses, and they escaped with imprisonment only. Encouraged by this practical impunity, the great Cotton-Spinners' Association in Glasgow struck, to prevent a reduction of wages, in consequence of the commercial embarrassments arising from the crash in the United States in April, 1837. Such was the extent of this association, which had its ramifications all over Scotland and the north of England, that during the last sixteen years £200,000 had passed through its hands. When it struck in spring, 1837, the whole works of that description in Scotland were stopped, and above fifty thousand persons, including the families of the workers, were deprived of the means of subsistence. As the masters stood out firmly, the strike continued long, and at length the workmen and their families were reduced to the last degree of destitution and suffering. In this stage of the disease the usual aggravated symptoms appeared. Intimidation became general; menacing crowds paraded through the streets, and thronged round the gates of the manufactories where the new hands required to enter; and at length, after numerous acts of violence, and throwing fire-balls into several of the manufactories, which were happily extinguished before they ignited the buildings, a working man, one of the new hands, was shot in the back, and killed by one of the assassins in the employment of the association, in open day, in one of the public streets of Glasgow. Informed of this outrage, and having obtained information as to the numbers and place of meeting of the committee, the sheriff of Lanarkshire proceeded with a body of twenty policemen, two nights after, and arrested the whole, sixteen in number, in a garret, to which access was obtained by a trap-ladder, in Gallowgate of that city. This

Aug. 3. was on a Saturday night, August 3. On the Monday following the strike was at an end, and all the mills in Glasgow were going: so entirely are these calamitous associations the result of terror inspired in the enslaved multitude by a few daring and unscrupulous leaders.¹

Five of the persons apprehended were afterward indicted for illegal conspiracy and murder, and the evidence brought out at the trial unfolded in the clearest manner the thorough organization, deep designs, and extreme danger of these trades-unions. It appeared, from the testimony of some of their own number, that when a strike had lasted a considerable time without producing the desired result of forcing the employers into submission, the workmen of the different factories engaged in it were summoned by the committee of the association to send delegates to a place of meeting to appoint a "secret select committee." Two were summoned from each factory, and at Glasgow at that period there were thirty-seven such establishments. The meaning and purpose of such a committee was perfectly understood by the whole association. It was to organize intimidation and violence, and, if necessary, assault, fire-raising, and murder. When the delegates assembled in the appointed place, each was directed to write on a slip of paper the per-

sons whom he voted for to form the "secret select," which consisted in general of five persons, and give it folded up to the secretary. Having got the votes, the secretary immediately dissolved the meeting without announcing who had the majority, and thus the names were known only to himself. In the evening he called on the persons who had the majority of votes, and informed them in private that they had been elected. When the "secret select" was thus appointed, it commenced its operations, but with the utmost precautions against detection. Its meetings were held sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, but always in secrecy, and none of its proceedings were committed to writing. When it was deemed expedient for the purposes of the association, that an assault or a murder should be committed, an anonymous letter was sent to the person selected out of No. 61, the name appropriated to the loose, daring characters who were ready to undertake any service, however desperate, for the sake of gain. He came accordingly to the appointed place, and was ushered into a dark room. He was there told by one of the members what he was to do, or who was to be assaulted or murdered, or in whose eyes vitriol was to be thrown, and when and where the crime was to be perpetrated. Upon his agreeing to undertake it, he was desired to put out his hands and take whatever he could reach, which was a sum of money. Thus all concerned could safely swear that nothing was given on the occasion. The committee charged itself with procuring the assassin the means of immediate emigration, which promise was in general faithfully performed. This done, he departed, and at the appointed time lay in wait for his victim. Thus was the crime planned, and the execution of it chosen—no one knew how, or by whom; and without the committee or their agent ever once seeing each other, the most effectual means were taken to secure the perpetration of the crime. The names of the secret select committees were known only to each other and the secretary of the association, with whom, from the consciousness of iniquity, they were deemed safe; and the mandates of this mysterious junta were obeyed by tens of thousands with new Trial, 54, 78, 88; an unanimity, and their measures looked forward to with an anxiety, unknown to the subjects of the most despotic sultan in the East.^{1*}

* "Every morning we asked each other why nothing was done last night. What did you mean by nothing being done?—Why was no one murdered by the committee?"—Murdoch's Evidence (a cotton-spinner); SWINTON'S Report of Cotton-Spinners' Trial, p. 80.

"I remember the shooting of John Graham. I was a member of the select committee. Kean was the person who fired the shot. He was convicted, whipped, and banished. Orr made a claim on the committee, on the ground that he had been hired for £30, with Kean and Lafferty, to shoot Graham. He produced a witness who proved the hiring, and the Committee awarded the sum."—Murdoch's Evidence, *ibid.*, p. 67.

"June 15, 1837.—Moved at the general meeting by William Johnston, and unanimously carried, that the name of every *mob* (new hand) at present working, and the district he last worked in, should be enrolled in a book, and at the end of the strike, unless a change takes place, may be printed; but, at all events, the names of all who remained *nobs* at the end of the strike shall be printed, and sent to all the spinning districts in Scotland, England and Ireland; and that they remain *nobs* forever, and a persecuting committee be appointed to persecute them to the uttermost."—Minutes of Cotton-

¹ Cotton Spinners' Trial, 1838, by Swinton, 13-20.

54. Indictment of the Committee for conspiracy and murder. Jan. 17, 1838.

¹ Cotton Spinners' Trial, 54, 78, 88; Combinations Committee Report, July, 1838, 126, 164.

The steps adopted by the association when these committee-men were brought to trial, and to trial, were singularly illustrative of the immense extent of the combination, and the resolution of its members to attain their unlawful ends by the most flagrant attempts to obstruct the course of justice. First, a printed placard was widely posted in every manufacturing town of Great Britain and Ireland, on the same day, denouncing the conduct of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire in apprehending the committee as tyrannical in the highest degree, and calling on all the combined trades to co-operate in defeating the measure. Next, that magistrate was assailed with anonymous letters three or four times a week, from the time of the apprehension till the trial came on, five months after, from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, threatening him with instant death if the accused persons were not immediately liberated. The Crown witnesses, eleven in number, were so threatened that on their own petition they were committed to jail till the trial, and then sent out of the country at the public expense. At the trial, which lasted six days, the utmost efforts to disturb the course of justice were made. Five-and-twenty jurors were challenged by the prisoners, not one by the Crown. A crowd of two or three thousand unionists surrounded the court every evening when the trial was adjourned, which at length increased to such a degree that five thousand persons were assembled, and military assistance had to be sent for. Under these circumstances it was hardly to be expected that a verdict according to evidence could be obtained. The jury found the prisoners guilty of conspiracy, and they were sentenced to transportation—but the murder not proven: a result which excit-

ed general dissatisfaction, as the evidence was thought to have warranted a general verdict of guilty. This was, two years after, followed by their being all liberated from confinement by Lord Normanby, then Home Secretary, in pursuance of his wholesale system of pardoning criminals, set on foot in Ireland.¹

It was now evident, however, that this result was on the whole of a beneficial kind, and that the moral impression produced by the proceeding was enhanced by its having not been followed by the consequences which were generally anticipated. The system was slaughtered by the evidence adduced at the trial, and that is sometimes much better than executing the criminals on the scaffold. Men saw that the trades-unionists used daggers, though they suffered none. The moral effect produced by this memorable trial was immense—greater, perhaps, than that of any other within the memory of man; and it was only increased by the generally felt inadequacy of the punishment. There were no moving scenes on the scaffold to lessen the abhorrence at proud turpitude. It led immediately to a committee on the Combination Laws in Parliament, which took a great deal of important evidence on the subject, and ended by recommending nothing; the usual result when a great social evil not immediately affecting the interests of any party is under consideration. But the effect of the disclosures made at the trial, in rousing public indignation against the organized atrocities of these trades-unions, has been great and lasting. Strikes, indeed, have continued, and been attended by open violence and intimidation, but no secret system of organized assassination has been again attempted. There have been no more "secret select" committees; on the contrary, though the leaders of strikes often forget to obey their own precepts, they always now set out with deprecating any violation of the law. In the cotton-spinners' trade, this strike led to the general adoption of the self-acting mules, which, by superseding almost entirely the need of the male operative, has ended these strikes in that particular branch of manufacture altogether.

They have continued, however, in other trades, particularly those of colliers and iron-miners; and there is no subject that, from its magnitude and the distressing consequences, more loudly calls for the intervention of Government. Worse even than plague, pestilence, or famine, combinations among workmen are the greatest social evil which, in a manufacturing or mining community, afflicts society. These, bad as they often are, affect only the bodies of men; but strikes affect their minds. They utterly confound the ideas of right and wrong among immense numbers of the people, by arraying them in hostile bands against their fellow-men, induce a "bellum plusquam civile" in the heart of peaceful society, and in their later stages lead them anxiously to expect the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes for the attainment of what they consider their legitimate rights. They subject tens, sometimes hundreds of thousands of per-

Spinners' Association; SWINTON'S Report of the Trial.

The oath taken by the cotton-spinners who were fully initiated was in these terms: "I, A. B., do voluntarily swear, in the awful presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses, that I will execute with zeal and alacrity, as far as in me lies, every task and injunction which the majority of my brethren shall impose upon me in furtherance of our common welfare—as the chastisement of nobles, the assassination of oppressors or tyrannical masters, or the demolition of shops that shall be deemed incorrigible; and also, that I will cheerfully contribute to the support of such of my brethren as shall lose their work in consequence of their exertions against tyranny, or renounce it in resistance to a reduction of wages; and I do farther swear that I will never divulge the above obligation, unless I shall have been duly authorized and appointed to administer the same to persons becoming members of our fraternity."—*Evidence Combinations Committee*, June 6, 1835.

In regard to the trial, Sir Edward Sugden, now Lord St. Leonards, said, on February 13, 1836: "No case had ever been investigated with more attention; no advantage had been taken against the prisoners in any particular; while the atrocity of the proceedings was greater than that of which any single man could be guilty. A more atrocious case he could not conceive, and it showed more clearly that there was no crime to which combination rising into conspiracy would not lead."—*Parl. Deb.*, February 13, 1836.

The system of hiring assassins to work out the purposes of a strike is not peculiar to Glasgow; it is well known also in Manchester and Dublin. "Money," says Sir Charles Shaw, "is often voted in Manchester to convey members who have committed legal offenses out of the country, in obedience to the commands of the ruling committees. The following are some of the entries: 'That £13 *ds.* be allowed to — for passage-money to America after having murdered —,' 'That £10 be given to — for outfit and passage-money to America after the murder of —.'"—SIR CHARLES SHAW'S *Replies to Lord Ashley's Queries*, 1834, p. 17.

¹ *Parl. Deb.*
Feb. 13, 1836;
Swinton's
Trial, 373;
Personal
knowledge.

^{50.}
Beneficial
results of
this trial.

^{57.}
Vast importance
of the
subject, and
its general
neglect.

sons, innocent of any offense, and anxious only to earn a subsistence by honest industry for themselves and their families, to months of compulsory idleness and real destitution. They deprive them, often for long periods, of occupation, as fatal to their minds as the loss of wages is to their bodies. They band them together in the beginning by the strong attraction of common hope, in the end by the hellish bond of committed wickedness. They subject the immense majority of quiet inoffensive persons to the tyrannical rule of a small minority of violent and ambitious men, who form a secret power, wielding an authority greater than even the triumvirate of Augustus, or the Committee of Public Salvation of Robespierre. Their evils do not terminate with the closing of the strife, and the resumption of labor by the combined workmen; they leave a long catalogue of ills behind them, and for years after the energies of the workmen are depressed by the debt which they can not discharge, idle habits which they can not conquer, and crimes into which they have been involuntarily led.*

Great as these evils are, and universally as they are felt in all the manufacturing and mining districts, after the occurrence of every monetary crisis, and consequent depression of wages, there are no causes of ruin in society which excite so little permanent interest, or are so unlikely to be removed, either by the enactments of the Legislature, or the unaided efforts of private individuals. The reason is, that the evils do not affect the *peculiar* interests of any influential body in the State, and that their removal *requires money*, from which all shrink. Government, in general, gives itself very little concern with such social contests, because they are not directed against itself, and do not, immediately at least, threaten the exchequer. They content themselves, therefore, with styling them "local disorders," the cognizance of which properly belongs to the magistrates on the spot, who are in general totally unprovided with any civil force adequate to arrest the evil. No religious party gives itself any concern about them, because they do not involve any difference of creed, and spring only from divisions in regard to temporal interests. The landed proprietors carefully eschew any discussion on the subject, for they have an

instinctive conviction that it will terminate in the pronouncing that odious word "assessment." The working classes cling to them as their palladium, their *Magna Charta*, and regard them as the only means within their power of making wages rise in proportion to the profits of trade and the requirements of their families. Even the masters employing the combined workmen are far from being always averse to strikes; on the contrary, they sometimes secretly encourage, generally largely profit by them. The cessation of production in any branch of trade, of course makes the value of the stock on hand more valuable, and it is often no small comfort to them, when a monetary crisis has occurred, and prices are generally falling, to see the value of their own article continually rising, while at the same time they are relieved from the disagreeable necessity, during a period of disaster, of paying their workmen wages.* Thus all classes, from different motives, concur either in secretly encouraging or regarding with supreme indifference these disastrous combinations; and the moment one of them is over, all concerned hasten to banish them from their thoughts, until, like the cholera, the disease returns, after a stated period, to renew its devastations in a society totally unprepared to combat them.

What tends greatly to increase this strange indifference to the greatest social evil which afflicts society, is the opinion generally entertained that strikes are *always* unfortunate to the workmen, and therefore that their good sense or experience will lead to their discontinuance. There never was a greater mistake. In the great majority of instances strikes are *successful*; and it is the knowledge of this fact which renders them of such frequent recurrence. It is true, the world in general hears nothing except of those which are unfortunate, because it is for the interest of no one to publish those which are successful, and being over, they are as soon forgotten. But they are not forgotten by the workmen, who are encouraged by their frequent successes to try their strength with their masters, in circumstances

* During the great colliers' and iron-miners' strike in 1856, in Scotland, one collierymaster cleared £30,000 by a mass of dross, which, before it began, was absolutely unsalable, and another £25,000. And the price of coal, which during its continuance was 25s. a ton, was only 12s. 6d. at its commencement.

* The following Table, compiled by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire from official sources, was laid before the Commons' Combination Committee in 1838, and exhibits a melancholy picture of the disastrous consequences of the mutations of the currency, and consequent combination and strikes in Glasgow, the great manufacturing emporium of the west of Scotland, for sixteen years before 1838:

Years.	Population.	Serious Crimes tried by Jury.	Fever Patients in Royal Infirmary.	Deaths in whole City.	Rate of Mortality.	Rate of Crime to Population.
1823	151,440	98	229	3,590	1 to 41-00	1 to 1540
1823	150,170	114	269	4,647	1 to 33-75	1 to 1306
1824	161,190	118	323	4,070	1 to 34-50	1 to 1361
1825	160,280	100	397	4,206	1 to 33-94	1 to 1037
1826	171,000	168	326	4,338	1 to 37-83	1 to 909
1827	177,280	170	1084	5,130	1 to 34-51	1 to 1041
1828	183,150	212	1511	5,942	1 to 30-83	1 to 873
1829	189,370	239	865	5,453	1 to 34-71	1 to 790
1830	185,650	271	729	5,785	1 to 37-73	1 to 719
1831	202,450	238	1657	6,547	1 to 30-91	1 to 848
1832	206,320	273	1569	10,378†	1 to 30-35	1 to 768
1833	210,450	341	1365	6,632	1 to 32-63	1 to 633
1834	223,040	367	2003	6,728	1 to 33-26	1 to 522
1835	221,800	348	1359	7,849	1 to 29-53	1 to 633
1836	244,000	329	3125	9,143	1 to 30-67	1 to 741
1837	253,000	322	2500	10,868	1 to 24-20	1 to 645
1838	261,000	466	4071	11,451	1 to 25-01	1 to 590

—Commons' Combinations Report, 1838, p. 578.

† Cholera.

entirely different, when they are sure to be defeated. The reason is, that they are successful when it is for the interest of the master to retain the men in his service, and unsuccessful when it is for his interest to get quit of them. With a rising market for the produce of their labor, no master will allow his workmen to remain idle as long as any profit remains to himself from their labor. With a falling one, he is too happy of a pretext to get quit of paying them their wages, for the produce of which existing prices will not yield a profit. Thus strikes are constantly successful when they take place with a rising market, and as uniformly unsuccessful when they are ventured upon with a falling; and it is because the workmen can not be brought to see the difference of these situations that they occur so often, and, under circumstances evidently hopeless, are adhered to with such pertinacity. For the same reason, they may be expected to occur most frequently in a community in which, from the alternate expansions and contractions of the currency, prices frequently, and for a long period together, rise and fall, and are in truth the sad bequest of that system of monetary policy to the laboring classes of the community.

There is a very curious regulation general in 60. all combinations among colliers and Institution iron-miners, singularly characteristic of the Darg. of the leveling tendency of democratic institutions where they are fully developed. This is the *Darg*, as it is technically called, or quantity of minerals which, and no more, each working man is allowed to put out. It is fixed at a very moderate amount—equal only to what *indifferent* workmen can accomplish in eight or ten hours labor. The strongest and most active are not permitted to do more, and hence the best workmen are forcibly retained at the level of the inferior ones. Capable of earning 7s. 6d. a day, they are constrained by the majority to limit themselves to 4s. or 5s., as the general rate of wages may be. If a regulation of this tyrannical nature were to be proposed by the masters, they would make the empire ring with it from side to side; but being established by themselves, it is submitted to without an open, though many a secret murmur; and as the majority of all bodies of men are indolent or inefficient, it is generally established and quietly acquiesced in. It is an instance of the tyranny of the *democracy of unskilled over the aristocracy of skilled labor*; and is the result of the same feeling which causes intellectual superiority, when not entirely subservient to the popular will, to be so generally the object of jealousy in democratic communities.

There is one way, and *one only*, of preventing the terrible evils of these combinations, and that is, to be prepared for them. The whole reliance of their leaders is on intimidation and violence, which, always disavowed in the outset, is always practiced in the end. Make no attempt to coerce or prevent such strikes by legal measures. Allow them full liberty of action so far as they themselves are concerned, but secure to others, who are not inclined to go into their measures, the same rights which they assert for their own body. Nothing can effect this but a strong and *previously established*

civil force. No great or expensive establishment is required for this purpose; but one is absolutely required of a certain magnitude, and constantly ready for action. Military, admirable as a *reserve*, are not alone sufficient; it is a powerful civil force, capable of being directed at will by Government to the menaced district, which is required. Fifteen hundred or two thousand men, regularly drilled, and ready to be called out like firemen when the occasion requires, would be ample for this purpose; for, suddenly directed to the endangered district, they would, if supported by one or two regiments, amply suffice to prevent intimidation, and thereby cut short the strike which relies on such methods of gaining its points. The expense would not exceed £75,000 or £100,000 a year—not a fifth part of that which every one of these disastrous struggles costs the community, independent altogether of the widespread suffering and fearful demoralization which they invariably occasion.*

Combinations among workmen, how great soever a social evil, do not necessarily lead to disaffection toward the Government; on the contrary, they often coexist with the strongest feelings of loyalty toward the sovereign. Being directed against the employers, not the constituted authorities, they may go on for some time without being merged in political discontent. But the transition is easy from the one to the other, the more especially as they both spring from the same cause, viz., the experience of suffering or disappointment, owing to change of prices, among the working classes. The machinery got up, and often so successfully worked, to effect a rise or prevent a reduction of wages, can by an easy transfer be directed against the Government; there can be a "secret select" to get quit of a sovereign, as well as to murder an obnoxious master or terrify a refractory fellow-workman. It is not surprising, therefore, that the same long-continued suffering which produced such formidable trades-unions in 1837 and 1838, should have led also to a serious political combination. Hence the rise of CHARTISM, which, in these melancholy years, spread its roots widely among the manufacturing and mining districts, and came at length to embrace nearly the whole working classes in these employments in every part of the country.

* At the moment in which these lines are written (28th May, 1850), a strike of colliers and iron-miners in Lanarkshire, and the two adjoining counties of Linlithgow and Ayr, embracing 35,000 workmen, has continued above three months, kept 130,000 persons, including families, during all that time, in a state of penury and idleness, and cost Scotland at least £700,000! The strike of colliers in 1837, in Lanarkshire, cost the nation £400,000; that of the cotton-spinners, which led to the proceedings mentioned in the text, £230,000 in the same year! The strike of colliers in the same county, in 1842, lasted four months, and cost the nation at least £500,000; that of the same body, in 1848, nearly as much, and on the last occasion, the men struck because offered only 4s. a day, and came in, after 7 months' idleness, at 2s. 9d. The great strike at Preston, in 1854, lasted 37 weeks, involved 15,000 persons in misery, and occasioned an enormous loss. No one, not practically acquainted with these matters, can conceive the misery and demoralization these long periods of idleness produce; the sad bequest of a currency dependent on the retention of gold, which, in the nature of things, can not be always retained. Whenever the Author sees a serious drain of gold setting in on the Bank of England, he anticipates, at no distant period, a protracted strike; and he has never, during thirty years, been wrong in his predictions on that matter.

Suffering was so general—it may be said universal—from the low rate of wages, the rigorous execution of the new poor-law, and the numerous insolvencies among the employers, that the working classes were driven well-nigh to desperation, and led to lend a willing ear to those artful demagogues who represented it as entirely owing to the weight of taxes and the profligate expenditure of Government, and that the only remedy for it was to be found in the general emancipation of industry and reduction of burdens, by vesting the entire direction of affairs in the hands of the people. They did not propose to dethrone the sovereign, or openly establish a commonwealth: it was “a throne surrounded by republican institutions” which was the object of their desire. Their demands were reduced to six, styled the “Six Points of the Charter,” which became the watchword of the discontented in every part of the empire, and never ceased to agitate the country with more or less violence, till the hostility of the middle classes to those changes was clearly evinced during the general convulsion of 1848, and the cause of suffering and consequent discontent was removed by the huge banks of issue opened by Providence in California and Australia.

These Six Points, which became so well known in English history, were—1st, Universal Suffrage; 2d, Vote by Ballot; 3d, Paid Representatives in Parliament; 4th, Equal Electoral Districts; 5th, The Abolition of a Property Qualification; 6th, Annual Parliaments. These principles were not new in social history; they were nothing but a brief summary of those which had desolated France and Spain, and from the first dawn of civilization had been more or less contended for wherever freedom had spread its roots. But the universal suffering of the working classes rendered their reception much more easy and general at this time than they had ever before been in English history. Suffering led to its natural result, general discontent. So general did this discontent become, that an organization of Chartists took place over the whole manufacturing cities of the empire, for the purpose of electing deputies, who were to represent the whole body in a national convention, which was to sit in London, and which would soon, it was hoped, come to supersede the legitimate Parliament. An enormous petition, professing to be signed by 1,200,000 Chartists, and certainly bearing that number of names, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Attwood, on 14th June, 1839. But from the proof obtained, ten years afterward, of the way in which petitions of that description were got up, and false signatures appended to them, to be hereafter detailed, it may be doubted whether the real signatures ever amounted to half the number.¹

Although the Chartists professed, and really desired, great political as well as social changes, yet the former were considered by them only a step to the latter. The movement was essentially social, and it was directed rather against the capitalists than the Government. As such it merits very particular attention, for it was the first indication which appeared in this

country of the SOCIALIST AGITATION which, ten years after, overturned the Government of Louis Philippe, and worked such important effects on the monarchy of France. The object of the Chartists was, at bottom, to obtain a new distribution of the profits of manufacturing or mining industry. The movement did not extend to the agricultural districts, and the rural population remained from first to last almost entire strangers to it. Their real hostility was against the capitalist, whom they regarded as a middleman, interposed between them and the purchasers of the produce of their industry, and who succeeded in realizing enormous profits at their expense. The profits of stock they regarded as an unjust and improper deduction from the remuneration of industry, which should extend to the whole price of its produce, under deduction of the cost of the raw material. On these principles they kept studiously aloof from the movement which, from the excessively high price of provisions, had begun against the Corn Laws, holding that any reduction in the price of the necessities of life would turn to the profit of the masters, by occasioning a proportion-¹ Ann. Reg. 1839, 304, al or even greater fall in the wages of labor.² Mar. ii. 411.

The Chartist agitation first became formidable in the latter months of 1838, when the high price of provisions, coupled with the low wages of labor, had rendered suffering of the severest kind almost universal among the manufacturing classes, and the strict execution of the new poor-law put the relief afforded from the public funds under restrictions to which they were not willing to submit. So extensive did the agitation then become, that Government held Mr. Stephens, one of their leaders, to bail on a charge of sedition; but this step, instead of checking the movement, only rendered it more violent and widespread. Meetings were held at the principal manufacturing towns, at which language the most violent was indulged in by the orators, among whom Messrs. Oastler and Feargus O'Connor stood forth as conspicuous. Mr. Attwood, on the 15th July, moved that the petition should be referred to a select committee, but the motion was negatived by a majority of 281 to 189. The agitation only became the greater on this event; for the orators had now the just and popular topic to dwell upon, that the Legislature had refused even to take their grievances into consideration. At a great meeting held on Kersal Moor, near Manchester, 200,000 persons are said to have been assembled; and although the numbers were, doubtless, very much exaggerated, yet there was certainly such an array as had not been seen in that vicinity since the famous Peterloo assemblage in 1817, already recounted.³

However much the leaders of a movement of this description may wish to keep it free from popular violence, and thereby shun the risk of alienating the shopkeepers and middle classes, it has never been found practicable to continue for any length of time in this rational and measured course. Sooner or later the aroused passions of the multitude impel them into deeds of violence, and the cause

63. Six points of the Charter, and causes of their popularity.

¹ Spectator, 1839, 537; Ann. Reg. 1839; Mar. ii. 304, 411.

64. Real objects of the Chartist hostility.

65. Rise and progress of the Chartist movement.

² Parl. Deb. xlix. 274; Ann. Reg. 1839, 306; Mar. ii. 410, 411.

66. Chartist riot in the Bull-ring, Birmingham, July 15.

itself is brought into general discredit from the atrocities to which it has been found to lead. This truth—of which examples are perpetually recurring and forgotten—was strikingly exemplified on the present occasion. The Chartist

rioting of 1839 was of the most alarming description. In April there was a serious riot in Devizes, in consequence of an intrusion of a thousand Chartists, armed with bludgeons, into the market-place of that town, to hold a public meeting. This was followed by a still

more violent outbreak in Birmingham on the 4th, and again in the middle of July. A crowd had there assembled on a piece of open

ground, called Holloway Head, in expectation of hearing Mr. Attwood address them; but in this they were disappointed, as he did not make his appearance. Several orators recommended them, upon this, to form in line, and parade the streets in an orderly manner. Instead of doing so, they broke into small parties, which ere long united in the Bullring, the chief open place of the city, from whence they proceeded down Moor Street, and made an attack on the police-office there. Though a body of police were in the inner yard of the building, yet as there was no magistrate at hand to head them, and they were forbidden to act without orders, they did not move; and the mob were permitted to break the whole windows of the building without resistance. Emboldened by this impunity, the crowd, now swelled to several thousand persons, proceeded back to the Bullring, where they commenced a violent attack upon houses and property of every description. No sort of weapon came amiss to the infuriated multitude: "Furor arma ministrat."

Broken flag-staves, heavy bludgeons, old scythes, paling-stobs, iron rails torn up, were instantly put into requisition; and with these, amidst loud yells, they commenced an attack upon the wealthiest and most respectable houses in the Square. The whole furniture and effects they contained were carried into the centre of the Square, and there set fire to, in a huge pile, amidst the cries and howlings of demons. Not content with this, they carried back the burning materials to the houses, to commence a general conflagration, and two were soon in flames. Besides those consumed by fire, twenty houses or shops were utterly gutted and destroyed in little more than an hour, when the Chartists were masters of the Square. At length a body of police, followed by a party of three hundred of the Rifles, and a troop of the 4th Dragoons, under Colonel Chatterton, made their appearance, and were received with loud cheers by the respectable inhabitants. The Chartists immediately fled; and several attempts to re-

assemble next day were defeated by the energetic conduct of Colonel Chatterton and the military, as well as the civic authorities, now fully aroused to a sense of their danger.¹

When this alarming outbreak came to be discussed in Parliament, the Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords, that "he had seen as much of war as most men; but he had never seen a town carried by assault, subjected to such violence, as Birmingham had been during an

hour, by its own inhabitants." This statement, coming from the General who had seen what followed the assault of Badajoz and St. Sebastian, made a very great impression; and the middle classes every where saw the necessity of rallying round the magistrates and civic authorities, if they would avoid the fate of the Bullring. Chartist assemblages, accordingly, held at Clerkenwell near London, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Manchester, Stockport, and other places, were vigorously met by the now thoroughly alarmed authorities, and dispersed with more or less violence. There is seldom any great difficulty in preserving the public peace when the magistrates are sure of being supported by the Government. It is timidity in high places which leads to audacity in low. So general was the impression produced by this outbreak, and the reaction against Chartist violence by which it was followed, that the Attorney-General did not hesitate to say publicly that "Chartism was extinct, and would never again be revived."¹

The event soon proved, however, that this exalted functionary was mistaken in his expectation, and that political maladies, arising, like Chartism, out of long-continued and widespread suffering, are not to be extirpated by the mere failure of the external eruptions to which they have given rise. Among the many improper persons whom the zeal of their Liberal supporters had, in many places, forced upon the Government, one of the most improper was Mr. John Frost, a linen-draper at Newport, who had been made a justice of peace for the borough of Newport in entire ignorance of his real character. When the Chartist agitation began, in the autumn of 1838, he had made a very violent and dangerous speech in that town, for which he was immediately called to account, with great propriety, by Lord John Russell, as Home Secretary, and narrowly escaped being at once removed from the magistracy. This lenity afterward proved to have been entirely thrown away. So far from being induced to halt in his career by the indulgence shown to his first transgression, Frost seems to have only regarded it as a symptom of fear on the part of Government, which rendered it safe for him to advance in it. A plan was laid in profound secrecy between Frost himself, Williams, who kept a beer-shop at Coalbrookdale, and Jones, a watchmaker in Pontypool. Each of these persons was to command a division of insurgents, who were to unite at Risca, at dead of night on 3d November, and march into Newport, when the military were to be surrounded and made prisoners, the bridge over the Usk broken down, and rockets sent up from the adjoining hills to rouse the country. It was agreed with their confederates at Birmingham that the non-arrival of the mail within an hour and a half of its customary time should be considered as a signal that the insurrection had succeeded at Newport, which was to be immediately followed by a general rising at Birmingham and in all the northern counties, and proclamation of the Charter as the law of the land.²

With whatever caution the secret of these arrangements had been preserved, it was impossi-

¹ Parl. Deb. July 18, 1839; Ann. Reg. 1839, 307; Mart. ii. 412, 413.

² Mr. John Frost and the Newport riot.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1839, 307; Clifton. 109, 112, 307; Mart. ii. 411, 412.

^{67.} Declaration of the Duke of Wellington on the subject, and great moral effect of the outbreak.

² Ann. Reg. 1839, 314, 315; Mart. ii. 412.

ble that the requisite orders could be given to ten or twelve thousand men to assemble in hostile array, without some intelligence on the subject reaching the magistrates of the district. Those of Newport did their duty on this occasion with a prudence and courage which may serve as a model to civic authorities on all similar occasions. They did the one thing needful on such occasions—they looked the danger boldly in the face, and made preparations against it before it came. The mayor, Mr. Phillips, with the chief magistrates, took post in the principal inn, called the Westgate Hotel; and as soon as it was ascertained that the Chartists were marching on the town, an application was made to a body of military in the neighborhood, and thirty men under Lieutenant Grey were obtained, and posted in the hotel. Meanwhile Frost arrived at the point of junction, and finding that the other divisions had not yet arrived, he set out with his own, 5000 strong, partially armed with muskets, and arrived in Newport. He then made straight for the Westgate Hotel, and summoned the special constables at its door to surrender. This being refused, an attack was made upon them. The door was quickly forced open with crowbars and hatchets, and the tumultuous crowd burst, with loud cheers, into the lobby. But meanwhile the magistrates and military in the floor above were not idle. Mr. Phillips and Lieutenant Grey each opened a shutter of the low window which looked upon the street, which was immediately followed by a shower of balls from the Chartists below, by which the former and several other persons were wounded. But never did the superiority of courage and discipline appear more clearly than on this occasion. The soldiers, admirably directed, opened a continued and sustained fire both upon the insurgents without and those in the lobby within, and with such effect that, after a few rounds, during which twenty fell, the whole broke and fled. Frost himself was not seen on the theatre of conflict, but he was arrested in Newport that evening, as were Jones and Williams, who had arrived ten minutes too late at the point of rendezvous. These three persons were afterward indicted for high treason, and found guilty; but their lives were spared, though with great difficulty, by the leniency of the Crown, in consequence of a technical legal difficulty on which the judges were divided. Mr. Phillips, who recovered from his wound, was with great propriety knighted by the Queen for his gallantry on the occasion. Every right-thinking man must rejoice at the honor thus worthily bestowed; for what said Napoleon?—"There is one death more glorious than that of a soldier on the field of battle; it is that of a magistrate on the threshold of the hall of justice in defense of the law."^{*}

This decided defeat suppressed for a time any similar Chartist outbreaks, though it was far from putting an end to the profound feelings

of discontent in which it originated, and which broke out, three years after, in alarming strikes and combination riots amounting to insurrection, both in England and Scotland. But meanwhile another movement was commencing under wiser directions, and supported by greater wealth, which was not destined to be of such ephemeral duration, and which, springing up from small beginnings, ere long acquired such consistency and strength as enabled it to modify, in a most important respect, the commercial policy of the country. On the 18th September, 1838, a public dinner was given to Mr. Bowring, whose labors in behalf of an unrestrained commercial intercourse among nations had long attracted attention, at Manchester, which was attended by only sixty persons. Though so few in number, they were united in conviction and resolute in spirit, and they at once formed themselves into a society for promoting the principles of Free Trade. They commenced operations in the most business-like way, and soon showed that they well knew how the foundations of a great national superstructure are to be laid. They opened subscription lists, when large sums were put down by the leading firms, obtained the sanction of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and recommended the formation of similar societies in all the great manufacturing towns of the kingdom. With such success were their efforts attended, that, before February, 1839, associations of the same sort were established in London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and other great towns, which soon became connected together, and formed a great association for establishing the principles of Free Trade, especially in grain. Such was the origin of the ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, which gradually drew to itself nearly all the commercial and manufacturing industry of the country, and worked such wonders in the modifications of its future policy.¹

The reason of this rapid progress, as of success in all similar changes, is to be found in the fact that as the Anti-Corn-Law League proposed to rectify the great existing evil generally felt, so it originated in the experience of suffering universally diffused. It sprang from the same source as the Chartist agitation among the operative masses. Both arose from the ruinous effects of the fall of prices produced by the contraction of the currency necessarily induced under the existing system by the bad seasons, and each was intended to throw the effects of that fall off themselves and upon their neighbors. The Chartists proposed to do this by establishing a frame of government which, by giving them, through the force of numbers, the command of the State, should enable them to abolish the entire class of employers and capitalists, and to divide, on the Communist principle, the whole profits of stock among those engaged in labor. The Anti-Corn-Law League proposed to extricate the masters out of the difficulty arising from the fall of prices by diminishing the price of food, without any regard to the effect of such reduction upon those engaged in its production, and thus effecting a considerable diminution in the cost of the production of

^{*} Frost was, after his transportation, restored to Great Britain by the general amnesty passed on occasion of the glorious peace with Russia in 1856. The first use he made of his liberty, on his release, was to make a decided, though happily abortive, attempt to renew the Chartist agitation in London; a proceeding on his part which both demonstrated how righteous had been his previous sentence, and undeserved the lenity which led to its relaxation.

70.
Origin of the
Anti-Corn-
Law League.
Sept. 18, 1838.

¹ Mart. ii. 415;
An. Reg. 1839,
204.

71.
Cause of the
success of the
Anti-Corn-
Law League.

manufactured articles. Both parties felt the pressure, and each, after the usual fashion of human nature, proposed to ease itself by throwing it upon its neighbor. And neither saw, what the event ere long proved, and what was clearly demonstrated in 1852 and 1853, that the existing evil was entirely artificial, and of human creation, and that without tearing society to pieces by rousing the antagonism of class against class, the whole existing evils might be remedied by the simple expedient of arresting the fall of prices by the establishment of a currency not liable to be drawn away, and adequate to the increasing wants of the nation.

Mr. RICHARD CORDEN was the leader of the movement in the country, Mr. Villiers, the member for Wolverhampton, in the House of Commons. Both were men of vigor and capacity, and eminently fitted for the task they had undertaken. Possessed of strong good sense and powerful natural talents, Mr. Cobden had none of the general views or systematic caution which arises from an enlarged acquaintance with human affairs, and the habit of reflecting on their varied and complicated interests. He saw one great evil before his face, which was the fall in the price of manufactured articles, and he saw only one remedy for it, which was to effect a corresponding reduction in the cost of their production. This could only be done by cheapening the price of subsistence, and so reducing the wages of labor; and to this object all his efforts accordingly were directed. He was sure of a willing audience wherever he went; cheap bread is a cry to which the working classes, especially when really suffering, are never insensible. The ultimate effect of cheap wages is a remote consequence, to which comparatively few are alive. Cobden was a powerful political fanatic. He pursued his favorite *single idea* of free trade in corn with the same sincerity and vigor with which Mr. O'Connell at the same time was pursuing his chimera of the repeal of the Union, or with which he himself afterward advocated the disbanding our troops, and selling our ships of the line, and crumpling up Russia like a sheet of paper in his hand. To produce a great public movement, a cry must be *simple and single*—complication or multiplicity are alike fatal to any general excitement. If the Chartists had had one point in their Charter instead of six, the fate of their movement might have been widely different from what it actually was.

Connected with these great political agitations, and, though far less important in its consequences, not less characteristic of the temper of the times, a movement took place at this time in Scotland, which has been attended with lasting effects upon the ecclesiastical establishment of that country, and, on account of its singularity, merits a brief notice even in general history. It originated in the passion for independence, and chafing against control, which are in so remarkable a manner inherent in the Scotch character, and which have at different periods produced the most important results in British history. In the fourteenth century it inflicted the most severe defeat upon the arms of England which they ever sustained, and prolonged for three centuries the national independ-

ence; in the seventeenth century it gave victory to the English Parliament when its forces were yielding to the increasing vigor of the Royalists; and in the nineteenth it secured the triumph of the same party in working out the Reform Bill, and has returned the Liberal party in power for twenty years, after the majority of the constituencies in England and Wales had decided for the other side. Whether from their remote situation, or the secluded nature of their country, or the character of original descent, the Scotch are singularly tenacious of old ideas; and the principles of the Solemn League and Covenant were as rife in their hills and moors as when, two centuries before, they marched to the support of the sinking English Puritans at Marston Moor.

Among a people of such a character, and so situated, it was not to be expected that the many causes which had produced such a ferment in southern Britain should fail in occasioning a serious convulsion. But following the direction of the national temperament, which is eminently, and in a most remarkable manner, prone to theological disputes, the general fervor fastened not upon the State, but the Church, as the theatre for the exercise of its powers. Independence of all temporal authority in spiritual concerns became as general a passion as national independence had been in the days of Wallace and Bruce. Though it was the Church, not the State, which was split asunder, the movement was democratic not religious. It was not a contest for doctrine, principle, or form of worship, but for the appointment of the clergy. The existing law had vested the right of nomination in the patrons of parishes, but a large portion of the Presbyterians held it should be intrusted to a majority of the congregations in communion with the Church. The General Assembly of the Church, in conformity with early precedent, and yielding to the prevailing fervor of the times, had in 1834 passed an Act, well known under the name of the Veto Act, which empowered presbyteries to refuse to sanction the appointment of ministers who were disapproved of by a majority of the heads of families in the respective congregations. As this Act practically took the appointment out of the hands of the patrons, it was made the subject of legal trial in the noted case of Auchterarder; and the Court of Session and House of Peers successively decided in favor of the patron, thereby nullifying the ecclesiastical Veto Act of 1834. Upon this, Dr. May 3, 1839.

Chalmers brought forward a motion in the General Assembly of the Church, which, while it enjoined obedience to the decrees of the courts of law, so far as the civil rights of patrons are concerned, asserted in the most express terms the principle of *Non-Intrusion*, as it was called, or the right of the majority of parishioners to put a *veto* upon the appointment of any minister who was displeasing to them.* This resolution was carried by a majority of 86, the num-

* "And whereas the principle of non-intrusion is now coeval with the reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of its constitution embodied in its standards, and declared in various Acts of Assembly, the General Assembly resolved that this principle can not be abandoned, and that no presbyteries should be forced upon any parish contrary to the will of the congregation."—Dr. CHALMERS' Resolution, May 23, 1839; *Ann. Reg.*, 1839, p. 302.

Mr. Cobden and Mr. Villiers, and first proceedings in Parliament on the subject.

74. Origin of the secession, and severance of the Scotch Church.

bers being 197 to 161. As the effect of this resolution was to put the Church, on religious rights, directly at variance with the declared law of the land, it could not fail to lead to a schism. Lord Dalhousie said, "I shall not again consent to sit in any Church which, gloss it as you may, has resolved doggedly, but virtually, to set at defiance the law of the land. The knell is now rung of the Establishment of the Church of Scotland." It was followed, accordingly, by a secession of about two-thirds of the clergy of the Established Church from their cures, and the establishment of a vast dissenting church in every part of the country, which ere
¹ An. Reg. 1839, 302. long came to number seven hundred congregations in its bosom.¹

The effects of this great schism, as of most similar movements which originate in the wants and are supported by the feelings of a large portion of the people, have been partly beneficial, partly injurious. On the one hand, it has led to the establishment of a new or additional church, supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and which, like all similar voluntary establishments, in the first instance at least, has been supported with uncommon liberality on the part of the congregations, and adorned by a splendid array of oratorical ability on the part of the pastors. In a community where manufacturing and mining undertakings, on a very extended scale, have congregated the working classes in huge and neglected masses in particular localities, there can be no doubt that this has proved in many cases a very great benefit; and it may be doubted whether any old establishment, or any thing but the fervor of an infant voluntary church, could have effected it. It has adorned our cities with splendid structures, and in many places brought to the destitute and debased portion of our people the light of Christian faith. On the other hand, it has induced many evils nearly as formidable—some, it is to be feared, still more lasting. It has brought to an unparalleled degree the bitterness of sectarian division into private life; divided brother against sister, father against child; turned charity itself, the bond of peace, into party channels; starved down the great establishments which, without any distinction of creed, look only to the alleviation of human suffering; rendered a poor-law universal and unavoidable from the absorption of a large portion of the funds of charity in the support of a new ecclesiastical establishment,* differing from the former in no respect except in the parties in whom the choice of a minister is vested, and in its being supported entirely by voluntary contributions drawn chiefly from the working classes. But whichever of these opposite sets of considerations may be deemed to preponderate, there can be but one feeling, and that of unmixed

* The subscriptions to the Glasgow Infirmary, which is open to the sick and infirm of all nations and creeds, are now (1856) less than they were forty years ago, when the city had not a fourth of its present inhabitants, or a tenth of its present wealth. Nearly all the Catholic (not Roman Catholic) charitable establishments are laboring under similar difficulties, while the poor-rate, then unknown, or a mere trifle, now amounts to £80,000 a year, and was £120,000 in 1849. On the other hand, £130,000 has, within the last six years, been expended in building Free Kirks in that city, and its ministers are as numerous, and have larger congregations, than the Established and are nearly as comfortable.

admiration, for the many conscientious and courageous men who, actuated by a sense of duty for what they considered a point of conscience, abandoned the sweets of home, independence, and long-cherished associations.

This question of the party in whom the appointment of the clergy should be vested, is one of general importance, and has distracted many ages; and on this subject, though it appeared first in Scotland in these times, which is pre-eminently a religious nation, yet it is of general interest, and will come to shake other countries besides the land of the mountain and the flood. Leaving it to theologians to determine whether the Divine grace is most likely to follow the "apostolic succession" in which some of the Episcopalians believe, or the popular election for which the Presbyterians contend, it is the duty of the temporal historian to apply himself to the practical and momentous question, In what way are good and faithful pastors for the people most likely to be secured? And the same principle will probably be found to apply here which regulates mere worldly appointments. No lasting security is to be found for a proper selection but in *singleness of patronage, coupled with reality of responsibility for its exercise*. There is no doubt that there was great truth in what the zealous Presbyterians alleged, that patronage in Scotland had run very much into a mode of providing sinecure retreats for decayed tutors in families, whose abilities, never very considerable, had been entirely worn out in teaching idle boys the rudiments of the dead languages. On the other hand, although, in the first fervor of innovation, much talent, especially of an oratorical kind, has been imported into the Free Kirk, yet the continuance of such disinterested feelings is not to be permanently relied on, and little security is to be found for right appointments in the majority of a promiscuous multitude of five or six hundred persons, in whom numbers have destroyed the sense of responsibility without conferring the power of discrimination. Many improper appointments may be laid to the door of the Cabinet, when no one often knows by whom appointments are really made; but such complaints are seldom heard in regard to the filling up of judicial offices, which is known to be done by the Lord Chancellor, under the vigilant surveillance of the Bar. Perhaps when the first heats consequent on the Disruption have passed away with the generation in which they arose, it will be found that the present system in the Established Church of Scotland, by which a list of five or six persons is presented by the patron to the congregation, and they make choice of the one whom they prefer, and which permits objections to be made, on cause shown, in the church courts, is the one which presents the fairest chance of lasting success in a matter in which a choice of difficulties is to be expected, and provision is to be made rather against the ultimate inroads of selfishness than for the present admission of zeal.

When so many causes, some deeply affecting material interests, others keenly arousing political or religious fervor, were agitating the mother country, it was not to be expected that the colonies could

escape convulsion. Least of all was this to be looked for in Canada, the lower province of which, nearly equally divided between persons professing the Romish and Protestant faith, presented a fair field for O'Connell's intrigues; while the upper, exposed to the constant influx of several thousand discontented emigrants from Ireland, afforded a growing nucleus of Radicalism utterly at variance with the general and devoted loyalty of its inhabitants. The progress of the dissensions has already been detailed, which for several years had divided the House of Representatives and the executive, the decision of which had been postponed, not effected, by successive governor-generals. But at length matters came to a crisis, and appeal was made by both sides to the sword. The Canadian revolutionists contended that the Senate or Upper House, which had hitherto, according to the analogy of the British constitution, been appointed by the Crown, should be elected by the people; and that the executive should be rendered accountable to the House of Representatives. The first demand was naturally suggested by the analogy of America, where the Senate is so elected, though by a double election; the latter was strictly in accordance with the British constitution. The demand, however, was made in such menacing terms, and it had been preceded by so long a course of passive resistance, in the form of withholding the supplies in the province, that it was resisted by Government, and negated by the House of Commons, after a long debate, by a majority of 269 to 46. "Look," said Sir Robert Peel, who supported the Government on this occasion, "at the position of Lower Canada, commanding the entrance

of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and then ask if a population of half a million had a right to insist upon a measure which, in the heart of the British colonies in North America, would establish a French republic."¹

The difference between the temper of the people in Lower and Upper Canada at once appeared upon the receipt of this intelligence. The *habitans* of the lower province were instantly in a ferment, and the leading demagogues made a skillful use of the agitation to

fan the flame into a conflagration. Confidently relying on Mr. O'Connell and the Irish Catholic members, who composed the chief part of the majority which retained Ministers in power, to avert any extreme measures, they vigorously proceeded to stimulate instant insurrection. Armed men assembled in great numbers to listen to the most violent and seditious harangues, in which the tyranny of the British Parliament was vehemently denounced, and the example of the United States of America held up, amidst loud cheers, as an example to be imitated on a crisis similar to that which had now occurred. Government did not venture to prosecute the leaders of the movement; they were well aware, in the temper of the province, they would immediately be acquitted. A great meeting was held at St. Charles, in the county of Richelieu, where a column was erected surmounted by a Cap of Liberty, at the foot of which PAPINEAU, the leader of the movement, was presented with a patriotic address by his admiring countrymen,

who, marching in regular bands to the foot of the column, placed their hands on it, and solemnly devoted themselves to the service of their country. This imposing ceremony was followed by processions of the "Sons of Liberty" through the streets of Montreal, met by others styled the "Loyalists," which led to serious encounters, in which the former were generally worsted. On the other hand, so different was the temper of the upper province, that its governor, Sir Francis Head, having dissolved its Assembly in the close of 1836, the new house returned was decidedly in favor of Government by a majority of 40 to 20. Instead of joining their brethren in Lower Canada in the chase of visionary improvements in the contest for organic changes, they set themselves to work, like real men of business, to remedy experienced evils, and voted the large sum of £500,000 for the formation of roads and bridges, which, by opening up its immense resources, laid the foundation of the subsequent un-
1 Mart. II. 379, 380; An. Reg. 1839, 241, 251.

Deprived in this manner of the prospect of support from the majority, at least, in the upper province, it is probable that Papineau and the revolutionists of the lower would have hesitated in coming to an actual appeal to arms, were it not that an accidental circumstance, arising from a foreign cause, introduced a division and discontent into the upper province, which encouraged them to proceed with their insurrectionary measures. This was the crusade against the banks in the United States, already explained, brought to a crisis by General Jackson's desperate attempt to destroy paper credit in the spring of 1837. The effects of that course of measures, so ruinous both to the United States and Great Britain, were felt with equal or even greater severity in the British provinces of North America. The general suspension of cash payments in New York, Philadelphia, and the principal commercial States of the Union, rendered a similar measure indispensable on the Canadian side of the frontier; for else the whole cash in the banks of both provinces would be instantly drawn out to meet the necessities of the United States banks, themselves on the verge of insolvency from General Jackson's desperate measures. So universally was this felt to be the case, and so generally was it understood that the difficulties of the Canadian banks were owing to no faults or instability of their own, but to the pressure arising from foreign legislation, that the suspension of cash payments announced by the Quebec and some other banks met with general

approbation and support. In vain the Governor, acting upon the maxims of the Home Government, adjured the banks in the most solemn terms to abide by their engagements, and not to suspend cash payments as long as they had a dollar in their coffers; the necessity of the case, and the clear appreciation of the foreign nature of the difficulty, overpowered every other consideration; and after a special session of Parliament had been held in the upper province to consider the commercial difficulties which had occurred, a general suspension of cash payments took place. Like that in England in 1797 and 1848, this measure relieved

78.
Different
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Canada.

May 22,
1837.

Great effects
in Canada
of the Amer-
ican crusade
against the
banks.

the banks without injuring public credit; and when the foreign drain ceased, cash payments were resumed without any shock to the lasting stability of those valuable establishments. But in the mean time the derangement of commerce and abridging of private credit were Head to the extreme; and from the number of Banks of persons thus involved in difficulties, Canada, May 22, 1837; the revolutionary wedge was introduced into Upper Canada, though Ann. Reg. 1837, 242-247. fortunately without being able to penetrate far.¹

In Lower Canada things bore a much more unpromising aspect, and the symptoms of an approaching convulsion soon became painfully apparent. The provincial parliament assembled on the 18th August; but no sooner were the resolutions of the House of Commons of March preceding communicated to them than they presented a long address, complaining bitterly of the tyrannical conduct of the Imperial Parliament, and announced their intention "of suspending their deliberations until the consummation of the reforms, and that of the Legislative Council above all, announced by and in the name of the imperial authorities." The Governor, Lord Gosford, described "the voluntary and continued abandonment of their functions by one branch of the Legislature as a virtual annihilation of the constitution." The parliament was of course prorogued, and both parties prepared to decide the question by force of arms. The military authorities did the utmost to render the small force at their disposal as efficient as possible. Two regiments were brought from Halifax, where, happily, disaffection was unknown, to Lower Canada; and a great meeting was held at Montreal of the Loyalists, when it was unanimously resolved to raise several regiments of volunteers to support the Government, which were immediately filled up with bold and resolute men, whose gallant bearing might well have made the insurgents hesitate before they hazarded all on an appeal to arms. At the same time, Sir Francis Head, in the upper province, felt so confident in the loyalty and steadiness of the inhabitants that he not only sent all the regular troops out of the province into Lower Canada, but declined the offer of two regiments of militia, and one of volunteers, who offered to do garrison duty in the absence of the Queen's troops.²

Government in the lower province, though perfectly aware that an insurrection was approaching, for long delayed taking any decided step to arrest it, from a desire, natural and generally laudable, to put their opponents in the wrong, by letting them take the lead in the adoption of warlike measures. At length, as it was ascertained that Papineau and his confederates had taken up their quarters in the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles, on the right bank of the river Richelieu, and that armed forces were there assembled, it was resolved to arrest them; and warrants to that effect were put into the hands of the civil officers, who were supported by military force. Colonel Gore, with five companies of regulars, a few mounted police, and a six-pounder, moved on the night of

the 22d November from Sorel on St. Denis, from which it was sixteen miles distant. After a fatiguing night-march of twelve hours over roads rendered almost impassable by heavy rains, they arrived at daylight at the village, which they found strongly barricaded, and its entrance defended by 1500 men posted in stone houses, from which a severe and well-directed fire was opened on the troops who advanced to the assault. The resistance was so determined, and the superiority of the insurgents so great, that after having exhausted all their ammunition in an ineffectual fire, the troops were obliged to return with the loss of six killed and ten wounded. To add to the mortification of the soldiers, the badness of the roads rendered it necessary to abandon the field-piece during the retreat; and Lieutenant Weir, who had fallen wounded into the hands of the insurgents, was barbarously murdered by them in cold blood.³

On the same night on which this ill-starred expedition took place against St. Denis, Colonel Wetherell, with five companies of infantry, a party of mounted police, and two guns, moved from Chambly upon St. Charles. More fortunate than his gallant brother officer, Colonel Wetherell met with decisive success. He did not reach St. Charles, owing to the badness of the roads and the destruction of the bridges, till noon on the 25th; but when he arrived there the works were stormed in the most gallant style, in despite of an obstinate resistance from the insurgents. The village, with the exception of one house, became a prey to the flames: the victors lost only three killed and eighteen wounded. Hearing of this success, the rebels precipitately abandoned their position at St. Denis, which Colonel Gore entered without opposition on the 4th December. This success was followed by the complete dispersion of the armed bands on the banks both of the Richelieu and the Yamaska, and the flight of their leaders into the United States. One of these, named Brown, made his escape early, and lost the confidence of his followers by his pusillanimous conduct; another, Wolfrid Nelson, a brave man, was captured by a party of volunteers before he got over the border.⁴

These successes enabled Sir John Colborne, a veteran of Waterloo fame, to direct his chief disposable force into the country of the Two Mountains, where the strength of the insurgents lay, and where it was known they were strongly intrenched. His force, including several companies of gallant volunteers, amounted to 1900 men. The first point which presented itself for attack was the village of St. Eustache on the left bank of the Ottawa, which was strongly occupied by the insurgents. Alarmed by the approach of forces so considerable, a large part of them, including their commander, Girod, took to flight before the assault commenced. Four hundred, however, under Dr. Chenier, threw themselves into a church and some adjoining buildings, where they made a most resolute stand. After a severe fire of two hours' duration, their barricades were beat down by the British artillery, the church was set on fire, the houses wrapt in

¹ Sir Francis Head to the extreme; and from the number of Banks of Canada, May 22, 1837; Ann. Reg. 1837, 242-247.

² Mart. ii. 379, 380; An. Reg. 1839, 247-249.

³ Commencement of the insurrection. Nov. 22.

⁴ Dec. 14.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1838, 10.

² Success of Colonel Wetherell at St. Charles.

³ Nov. 25.

⁴ Dec. 4.

⁵ Ann. Reg. 1837, 10.

⁶ Decisive success of Sir John Colborne at St. Eustache. Dec. 14.

flames, and their brave defenders driven out at the point of the bayonet. A hundred of the insurgents, including Chenier, were killed, and a hundred and twenty made prisoners. Girod, having been taken prisoner in the course of his flight, shot himself. On the following day Colborne advanced on St. Benoit, where the chief body of the insurgents was understood to be posted; but on entering it, the town was found to be deserted except by two hundred insurgents, who laid down their arms, and were dismissed to their homes. Unfortunately, such was the state of exasperation of the Loyalists in the British army at the state of proscription in which they had been long kept by their enemies, that they set fire to the village, which was in great part consumed before the flames could be extinguished by the soldiers of the Royals, 32d, and 88d, who had been engaged in this brilliant affair.¹

¹ Sir John Colborne's Dispatch, Dec. 16, 1837, London Gazette, Ann. Reg. 1838, 11-13.

"Thus," said Lord Gosford, with justifiable pride, in his dispatches, "have the measures adopted for putting down this reckless revolt been crowned with success. Wherever an armed body has shown itself it has been completely dispersed; the principal leaders and instigators have been killed, taken, or forced into exile; there is no longer a head, or concert, or organization among the deluded and betrayed *habitans*; all the newspaper organs of revolution in the province—the *Vindictive*, *Minerve*, and *Liberal*—are no longer in existence, having ceased to appear in the commencement of the trouble; and in the short space of a month, a rebellion which at first wore so threatening an aspect, has, with much less loss of life than could have been expected, been effectually put down." It was not at first known what had become of Papi-neau, the leader of the insurrection, but it was ere long ascertained that he had reached New York in safety, having made his escape in the very commencement of the conflict. His conduct in heading it was the more inexcusable that he was well aware of the advantages which had accrued to Canada from the English connection, and had himself expressed them in the most emphatic terms.* It would be unaccountable, did we not recollect that he was a Catholic who at that time was directing the Romish movement in Ireland, and that it was by the aid of the Romish members in the House that the feeble and tottering Administration was retained in power.²

² Lord Gosford's Dispatches, Dec. 18, 1837; Ann. Reg. 1838, 11-13.

While these important events were occurring in Lower Canada, the upper province was also, though in a much lesser degree, the theatre of convulsion; and the confidence of Sir Francis Head in the loyalty of the inhabitants was put to the severest test. Although the vast majority of that prov-

³ Commencement of the insurrection in Upper Canada. Nov. 29.

* "Compare," says Papi-neau, "our present happy situation with that of our fathers. From the day on which the British dominion supervened, the reign of law succeeded to that of violence. From that day the treasures, the navy, and the army of Great Britain are mustered to afford us an invincible protection; from that day the better part of her laws became ours, while our religion, property, and the laws by which they are governed, remain unaltered."—PAPINEAU on the English Government, 1820; Ann. Reg. 1838, p. 49.

ince were firm in their attachment to Great Britain, and devoted in their loyalty to their Sovereign, yet there were some malcontents, chiefly Irish, who, if unresisted, were in a situation, for a time at least, to do very considerable mischief. It has been already mentioned that Sir Francis had sent all the regular troops out of the province, and even declined the aid of some battalions of volunteers, who tendered their services to guard a dépôt of six thousand arms at Toronto, its capital city. The result soon proved that this conduct, though bold, and in one view wise, was foolhardy.* No sooner was the intelligence of the rising in the lower province received in Toronto, than a proclamation appeared, headed "Provincial Convention," and signed by "W. L. Mackenzie," the editor of a Radical newspaper, summoning the Convention to meet there on the 21st December. This was soon followed by a proclamation calling on the people at once to take up arms, and expel their tyrants.† Armed meetings were at the same time held in different parts of the province, in which the most violent and treasonable language was used; but still the Governor, relying on the loyalty of the people, and thinking that the danger should be met by moral, not physical strength, took no visible steps to avert it. At length, on the night of the 3d December, Mackenzie, at the head of five hundred rebels, advanced toward Toronto, and on the way murdered Colonel Moodie, a distinguished Loyalist, who was passing Montgomerie's Tavern, their head-quarters, on horseback. "Blood," said Mackenzie, "has now been spilled; we are in for it, and have nothing left but to advance."¹

¹ Sir F. Head to Lord Glenelg, Dec. 19, 1837; Ann. Reg. 1838, 14, 15.

They advanced accordingly, and soon reached Toronto, where the Governor, according to his own admission, was "in bed and asleep." Roused by the intelligence of the rebels' approach, Dec. 4, he hastily rose, and hurried to the town-hall, where the arms were deposited, to prepare for a sudden defense. The first man he met was the Lord Chief Justice of the province, with a musket on his shoulder. He was soon followed by a crowd of brave men, half-dressed, and many of them unarmed, who hurried on the first alarm to what they knew would be the point of attack. Sir Francis hastily disposed these gallant men

* "Considering the invasion with which we are still threatened, I conceived it to be absolutely my duty, by any means in my power, to lay before the American people the incontrovertible fact, that by the removal of her Majesty's troops, as also by the surrender of six thousand stand of arms to the civil authorities, the people of Upper Canada had virtually been granted an opportunity of revolting, and consequently, that as the British Constitution had been protected solely by the sovereign will of the people, it became, even by the greatest of all republican maxims, the only law of the land."—SIR FRANCIS HEAD's Explanatory Memorandum to Lord GLENELG; *Parl. Paper*, 21st May, 1838.

† "Canadians! do you love freedom—do you wish for perpetual peace, and a Government founded upon the eternal heaven-born principle of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then buckle on your armor, and put down the villains who oppress and enslave our country in the name of that God who goes forth with the arms of His people, and whose Bible shows that it is with the same human means whereby you put to death thieves and murderers, that you must put down, in the strength of the Almighty, those Governments which, like bad individuals, trample on the law, and destroy its usefulness. W. L. MACKENZIE."—Ann. Reg. 1838, p. 12, 13.

at the windows of the town-hall and adjoining houses; and scarcely had he done so when the rebel column, headed by Mackenzie, approached. Seeing the windows occupied, however, by armed men, and being ignorant of their strength, the insurgents halted, and did not venture on an immediate attack. This hesitation, as is usually the case in such instances, proved fatal to the insurrection. In the interval, dispatches were sent to COLONEL ALLAN M'NAB (now Sir Allan M'Nab, Bart.), who commanded the militia, to claim their support, and that intrepid man and his faithful followers made their appearance at daybreak. Three hundred armed men were soon assembled, which increased in the course of the day to five hundred; and the "fiery cross" was dispatched to all the parishes and townships, which soon roused the whole of the inhabitants to arms. Meanwhile Mackenzie and his followers committed every species of enormity; with his own hands he robbed the mail, and set fire to Dr. Horn's house.¹

Finding that all attempts at an accommodation with the rebels were nugatory, as they demanded as an indispensable preliminary that a convention should be assembled, Sir Francis proceeded to reduce them to submission by force of arms. On the 7th, Colonel M'Nab marched out of Toronto, and attacked them in their position at Montgomerie's Tavern, whither they had retired after the failure of their attempt to surprise the capital. The insurgents, being strongly posted in the Tavern and adjacent buildings, and all armed with rifles, made a stout resistance; but the militia and volunteers, headed by M'Nab, pushed forward with a vigor worthy of veteran troops, carried all their defenses, and drove them out at the point of the bayonet. A total rout ensued. Mackenzie, in the utmost agitation, ran off, and reached Buffalo, in New York, in disguise; while the flag of the rebels, bearing the words, "Bidwell and the glorious minority, 1837—a good beginning," fell into the hands of the victors. Their triumph was complete; the insurgents were all dispersed; a great number of prisoners were taken, who were immediately released, and dismissed to their homes; and but for the efforts of the American "sympathizers" to rekindle the flames of civil war, the upper province was entirely tranquilized. This great success was achieved by the Loyalists without the loss of a single man.²

If the narrow escape which the Governor made from being surprised in the first outbreak of the insurrection, showed a want of due precaution in the beginning, the conduct of the Canadians in the upper province proved that he had not miscalculated in reckoning upon their loyalty and patriotism. No sooner was intelligence received, which it was with extraordinary rapidity, of Mackenzie's attack upon Toronto, than the militia every where flew to arms, and, setting out in the snow in the depth of a Canadian winter, marched with alacrity to the defense of the capital. From Niagara, Gore, Lake Simcoe, and many

other places, brave men, armed and unarmed, rushed forward unsolicited to the theatre of conflict. The Scotch Highlanders from Glen-garry evinced a spirit worthy of their descent; they mustered at once nine hundred strong when the news arrived, and had marched one hundred miles through the snow, every man carrying his arms and provisions, before they were stopped by advices of the suppression of the insurrection. The whole upper province was in motion and in arms. The excitement was universal and indescribable. So great was the concurrence of armed men who hastened to the support of the government, that within three days ten thousand were assembled at Toronto and its vicinity, and Sir Francis was enabled to issue an order the day after Mackenzie's defeat, announcing that there was no further occasion for the resort of the militia to Toronto, and directing that of Bathurst, Johnston, Ottawa, and the eastern districts, to the lower province. From this outburst of patriotic feeling, it is evident that, even if the rebels had succeeded in surprising and capturing the Governor, and taking the arms, they would have been in the end defeated by the loyalty and public spirit of the province.³

The insurrection was now effectually suppressed, so far as it depended on its own resources. But it had extensive ramifications on the other side of the frontier; and the American "sympathizers," as they were called, mustered in great strength along the Niagara river. Handbills and proclamations were openly placarded in Buffalo, and all the towns of the United States adjoining Canada, in the name of the "Provisional Government," in which 100 dollars in silver and 300 acres of the finest land in Canada were offered to every one who might join the patriot forces; and it was stated that there would speedily be "10,000,000 acres of land fertile and fair at the disposal of the patriots, with the other vast resources of a country more extensive and rich in natural treasures than the United Kingdom or old France." The head-quarters of these pirates were an island named Navy Island, in the Niagara River, about two miles above the Falls, and within the British territory. Of this island a body of 1500 Americans took possession on the 18th December, and they made it their chief dépôt of arms and provisions, and planted a gun on it, which began to cannonade the populous village of Chippewa on the British side, about 600 yards distant. They drew their chief supplies from the American shore by means of a small steamer called the *Caroline*, which plied between the island and opposite shore, and enabled the troops assembled there to maintain their ground in the advanced position within the British territory which they had gained. Among other military stores, she had brought them a piece of artillery, which was employed in cannonading Chippewa.⁴

Having ascertained these facts, Colonel M'Nab resolved to destroy the piratical vessel engaged in this clandestine warfare. On the 28th December a party of militia was dispatched from the British side to seize her. They

¹ Sir F. Head to Lord Glenelg, Dec. 19, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1839, 14, 15.

² Their conduct defeat. Dec. 7.

³ Sir F. Head's Dispatches, Dec. 19, 1837; Ann. Reg. 1838, 15, 16.

⁴ Glorious conduct of the militia in the upper province.

Head's Dispatches, Dec. 19, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1838, 16, 17.

Efforts of the American sympathizers to invade Canada. Dec. 13.

Ann. Reg. 1838, 16, 17; Mart. ii. 383.

found the vessel moored opposite Fort Schlosser on the American side, and strongly guarded by bodies of armed men, both on board and on shore. Lieutenant Drew led the boarding-party, which, after a short but desperate conflict carried the vessel, which was immediately set on fire after the prisoners had been taken out, and suffered to drift down the rapids to the Falls. It was swept down accordingly, and, still in flames, was precipitated over the terrific edge into the boiling caldron beneath, where it was immediately dashed to pieces.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1838, 16, 17.

This bold act, which reflected equal honor on the judgment and courage of Colonel M'Nab, was decisive of the present fate of the British North American provinces. Though perfectly warranted by the law of nations, seeing the *Caroline* had been engaged in piratical warfare against Great Britain, it made a very great impression in the United States, and immediately became the subject of the most unbounded exaggeration. It was said that an unprovoked attack had been made on an unarmed vessel in a state of profound peace, and a helpless crowd of women and children precipitated in flames over the cataract of Niagara, in the dead of night, by an armed British force. Immense was the sensation which this announcement produced, which was increased by a picture of the burning vessel going over the Falls, which was circulated from one end of the Union to the other, and thrilled every heart with horror. By degrees, however, the real state of the case made its way through the clouds of falsehood with which it had been environed; and the truth became manifest that the *Caroline* was attacked because she was a pirate employed in peace in prosecuting private warfare, and only sent over the Falls after all the crew had been taken out. Seeing the British authorities thus determined, the President of the United States issued a proclamation, admitting the piratical warfare of the sympathizers in Navy Island, and forbidding its continuance; and the American armed force in Navy Island, thus denounced by their own Government, and learning they were about to be attacked by a body of British militia, evacuated it on the 14th of January.²

² Ann. Reg. 1838, President's Proclamation, Jan. 5, 1838; *Ibid.* 217; Pub. Doc.

* "Whereas, information having been received of a dangerous excitement on the northern frontier of the United States, in consequence of the civil war begun in Canada, and instructions having been given to the officers on that frontier, and application having been made to the government of the adjoining States to prevent any unlawful interference of our citizens in the contest unfortunately commenced in the British provinces, additional information has just been received that, notwithstanding the proclamation of the Governors of the States of New York and Vermont, exhorting their citizens to refrain from any unlawful acts within the territory of the United States, and notwithstanding the presence of the civil officers of the United States, who by my directions have visited the scene of commotion with a view of impressing the citizens with a proper sense of their duty, the excitement, instead of being appeased, is every day increasing in degree; that arms and ammunition, and other supplies, have been obtained by the insurgents in the United States; that a military force, consisting, in part at least, of citizens of the United States, had been actually congregated at Navy Island, and were still in arms under a citizen of the United States, and that they were constantly receiving

In this proclamation the President of the United States admitted, what was notoriously the fact, that the insurgents had obtained arms, ammunition, and other supplies within the territory of the United States. He might have added, what was not less the fact, that they were taken from the arsenals of the United States in presence of its civil officers, who were either unable or unwilling to prevent this covert and illegal warfare from going on. The governors of the frontier provinces issued proclamations against any interference, but did nothing *all the expedition had failed*. Then, and not till then, Van Rensselaer, who commanded the sympathizers, was held to bail, and the arms, guns, and ammunition which had been taken from the public arsenals were replaced in them. Upon this the pirates changed the scene of their operations. They collected in force at Detroit, in Michigan, making demonstrations against the western end of Lake Ontario, while others menaced Kingston, at the northeast-
Feb. 25.
ern end of the same lake. Both parties, however, retired upon the approach of a body of British militia dispatched to meet them. A more serious conflict soon after ensued with a body of Americans, who, after collecting at Sandusky Bay, in the State of Ohio, took possession of Point Pile Island, in Lake Erie, within the British territory. The troops and artillery dispatched to dislodge them, under General Maitland, marched twenty miles over the ice, and took up such a position as obliged the Americans to fight. A severe conflict ensued, in which the invaders were utterly routed, not, however, without some loss on the part of the British, who had two killed and thirty wounded. This checked the incursions of the sympathizers, who did not again disturb the frontier till the insurrection a second time broke out in the following winter.¹

^{92.} Reflections on this piratical warfare.

¹ An. Reg. 1838, 18, 19; Mart. II. 381, 384.

Immense was the sensation which the intelligence of the outbreak in Canada produced in Great Britain. In the first moments of alarm all the disposable forces which could be collected, including a regiment of the Foot Guards, were sent out; and on this occasion the example was first afforded of a ship of the line carrying a battalion of the Guards, eight hundred strong, across the Atlantic. Parliament took the state of the colony into consideration on the 16th January, when Ministers introduced their remedial measures, which consisted in a suspension of the constitution of the colony, and the appointment of Lord Durham as Governor, with very ample powers for its future government and remodeling. Lord Gosford had resigned, and came home immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, leaving the interim direction of the province in the hands of the commander-in-chief, Sir John Colborne, to whom in such critical circumstances

^{93.} Measures of Government in this emergency. Jan. 16.

accessions and aid.—I, Martin Van Buren, President of the United States, do hereby warn all such persons as shall compromise the neutrality of this government by interfering in an unlawful manner with the affairs of the neighboring British provinces, that they will render themselves liable to arrest and punishment under the law of the United States. M. VAN BUREN, January 5, 1838."—*Ann. Reg.* 1838, p. 318 (Public Documents).

it seemed proper to intrust it. Sir Francis Head also, having differed with Government on some points of domestic policy, resigned his situation as governor of the upper province, and was succeeded by Sir George Arthur. Very animated debates on the subject took place in both Houses of Parliament, in the course of which the Duke of Wellington made use of the celebrated expression "that a great nation can not make a little war," and severely condemned Ministers for not having had a large military force in Canada when the rebellion, so long anticipated, broke out. Lord Durham declared that he accepted the onerous charge "with inexpressible reluctance," and that he felt "he could accomplish it only by the cordial and energetic support of his noble friends, the members of Her Majesty's Cabinet, by the co-operation of the Imperial Parliament, and the generous forbearance of the noble lords

¹ Part. Deb. xl. 242-247. opposite, to whom he had been always politically opposed."¹

The session of the Legislature in Upper Canada was prorogued on the 6th March; but before it separated, a very able report was presented by the committee of the Assembly to the Governor, highly important, as indicating the wants of the sound and loyal portion of the population. This report recommended that all the British provinces in North America should be incorporated in a legislative union, "which would put them on a level with the most powerful nations," but that the local concerns should still be left as heretofore to the provincial parliaments; that the Queen should incorporate in her royal title the distinct claim of sovereignty over this portion of her dominions, and that their governor should be a nobleman of high rank, and bear the title of Viceroy; that Montreal should be incorporated with the upper province, as the present division left them without an independent outlet to the ocean; that representatives from the colonies of North America should have seats in the *House of Commons*, in the proportion of two for each of the two Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick respectively, and one each from Newfoundland and Cape Breton—in all ten from the whole provinces of North America. The report concludes with a well-founded expression of satisfaction at the proof which recent events have afforded, how ardently the 600,000 inhabitants of Canada, of British origin, desire to continue subject to the British crown; and complains loudly of the "inefficiency imputed by a large class of the most intelligent of their fellow-subjects to the colonial department in England, owing to the frequent changes of the head of that department, and the incoherency of systems which such changes involve." English statesmen may well ponder over the contents of this temperate and able state-paper, every proposition of which subsequent events have proved to be well founded. Upon the adoption or rejection of these views, the retention of these magnificent colonies, as part of the dominions of Great Britain, is entirely dependent.²

The Government measures in regard to Canada were carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 246, the numbers being 262 to

16, and in the House of Lords without a division; and Lord Durham proceeded on his arduous mission. The voyage was long and unpropitious, and he did not land at Quebec till 29th May. He found difficulties of the most appalling kind awaiting him. No less than 161 prisoners were in custody awaiting their trial, although 326 had been liberated without any farther proceedings. Of these, seventy-two were charged as being the principal promoters of the insurrection. It was universally known that no convictions could be obtained against any of these from juries in Lower Canada, as the majority were generally French; and even where this was not the case, the English law, which required *unanimity*, precluded the hope of justice being ever administered by them in political cases. Aware of this obstacle, Sir John Colborne had delayed the trial of all the prisoners till the new Lord High Commissioner's arrival. The difficulty would have been avoided had martial law been at once proclaimed when the rising began; but unfortunately this had not been done, from a desire to avoid proceeding to extreme measures; and the consequence was, that they could not now be tried except by the ordinary tribunals, without incurring the just reproach of accusing them under an *ex post facto* law. Such was the first difficulty which presented itself to Lord Durham on his arrival: a phalanx of prisoners awaiting their trial, a political necessity of bringing them to justice, and an absolute impossibility of doing this by the only legal means which the constitution left at his disposal. And of the reality of this last danger ample proof was afforded in the sequel; for a Frenchman named Chartrand having been murdered in cold blood by a party of the Canadian rebels, they were acquitted by the jury in the face of the clearest evidence, and of a decided charge for conviction by the chief justice who presided at the trial. The acquitted murderers and perjured jury were immediately feted throughout Lower Canada as the purest and most exalted patriots. With truth did Lord Durham say, in his dispatch on the subject to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, "In the present state of the province, trial by jury exists only to defeat the ends of justice, and provoke the righteous scorn and indignation of the community."³

In this distressing dilemma, one of three courses alone presented itself to the consideration of Lord Durham.

The first was to go on with the treason trials in the ordinary way, with the *certainty* of the prisoners being all acquitted, and immediately paraded as flaming patriots through the province. The second was to try them under an *ex post facto* law, either before courts-martial, or a tribunal specially constituted without a jury, subject to all the animadversions which such a course of proceeding would justly excite. The third was to pack the juries by whom they were to be tried, and fill them only with British subjects; a course which would indeed secure their conviction, but would be open to the gravest reproaches, as a scandalous perversion of legal forms. It was a course, however, which

^{94.} Report of the committee of the Assembly on the wants of Canada. March 6, 1838.

² Report, March 6, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1838, 20, 21.

^{95.} State of the Canadas when Lord Durham arrived.

³ Lord Durham to Lord Glenelg, Sept. 28, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1838, 259-261.

^{96.} Three courses open to Lord Durham, and which he chose.

might easily have been adopted, as the powers vested in the sheriffs by whom the juries were summoned were so extensive and ill-defined that scarcely any check existed on their malversations; and it was the one which the prisoners most dreaded, from a very natural apprehension that Government would seek to counteract the undue partiality of juries on the one side by a similar stretch of partiality on the other. The feelings of justice in the mind of the Lord High Commissioner, however, revolted against such a perversion of the forms of justice, though it was pressed upon him as the only practicable course by several of his leading councilors; and he preferred acceding to a petition presented to him by the leading

June 25, political prisoners on 25th June, in 1838.

which they offered, in order to avoid a trial, and in order to give, as far as in their power, tranquillity to the country, to place themselves at his lordship's discretion. In pursuance

June 28, of this petition, an ordinance appeared 1838.

Queen's coronation, which declared that Wolfred Nelson, and seven other persons therein named, had acknowledged their participation in high treason, and had submitted themselves to her Majesty's pleasure; that Papineau, with fifteen others, had absconded; and enacted that it should be lawful for her Majesty to transport Nelson and his seven associates to Bermuda during pleasure, there to be subjected to such restraints as should be deemed fit; and that if any persons of the above classes should be found at large without permission, they should suffer death as traitors. Two other classes, implicated in the murder of Lieutenant Weir and Joseph Chartrand, were excepted from the general amnesty which, with the exceptions above mentioned, was proclaimed to all persons engaged in the late disturbances. The Gazette which contained this notification announced that the Governor and special council were

actively engaged in the preparation of ordinances relative to jury trial, bankrupt law, municipal institutions, general education, registry offices, and an equitable commutation of feudal services.¹

Excellent as this ordinance was in most respects, there was one particular in which, in point of form, it was unfortunately open to exception. It is a general principle of law that the jurisdiction of any judge or public officer does not extend beyond the territory over which he presides, and that any sentence he may pronounce can only be carried into execution within that territory. For this reason, when the sentence of transportation, in lieu of death or corporal pains, was introduced into Great Britain, a special

statute was passed in the reign of Queen Anne, authorizing judges to pronounce such sentence, leaving it to the executive to carry it into execution, by ordering the removal of the convict beyond seas. No such statute had been passed in regard to the Canadas, and therefore the power of its judges and governors ceased when the limits of their jurisdiction were passed. When Lord Durham, therefore, pronounced sentence of banishment to the Bermudas, and de-

tention therein at the Queen's pleasure, he obviously, in strict legal form, exceeded his powers. What he should have done was to have sentenced them to imprisonment in Canada till the Queen's pleasure in regard to their ultimate destination and disposal was taken, or simply banished them from Canada, which was, in the strictest sense, within his powers. But the error was one of form only, and was not only trivial, but it had proceeded from the very best motives. It spared the lives of the criminals, which had been justly forfeited to the offended laws of their country, removed them from the theatre of their machinations and their danger, and avoided the scandal, otherwise unavoidable, of either convicting the prisoners by means of a packed jury, or converting them into triumphant martyrs by the verdict of a perjured one. Nothing was easier than for the Government at home to have supplied what was wanting in legal form. All that was required was to have passed an Act, which could have been done in three days, confirming the ordinance as a measure of state necessity, and authorizing the detention of the criminals in Bermuda or elsewhere, or commuting their sentences into simple banishment from the whole British provinces of North America. The reasons for sustaining the ordinances were explained by Lord Durham, in a dispatch to Lord Glenelg on the subject, in the clearest terms, and they are so convincing as must ever command the assent of every unprejudiced mind.*

The technical difficulty regarding the detention of the prisoners beyond the limits of Canada does not seem to have occurred either to Lord Durham or any of his councilors, none of whom were lawyers, and with whom the desire to get quit of the prisoners was very naturally paramount to every other consideration. But though this was a most pressing object with those who were sending the prisoners away, it was not equally urgent with those who were to receive them; and accordingly Sir Stephen Chapman, the Governor of Bermuda, felt not a little embarrassed as to the course which he should pursue when they arrived there, which they did in the middle of July. After consultation with the law officers of the Crown in that island, it was determined that there was no legal ground on which they could be kept in detention; and to solve the difficulty, they were

* "These measures have met with the entire approbation of Sir John Colborne and the heads of what is called the British party; they declared they did not require any sanguinary punishment, but they desired security for the future, and the certainty that the returning tranquillity of the province should not be arrested by the machinations of these ringleaders of the rebellion, either here or in the United States. This I have effected for them to their contentment. I did not think it right to transport these persons to a convict colony, for two reasons; first, because it was affixing a character of moral infamy on their acts, which public opinion would not sanction; and secondly, because I hold it would be impolitic to force on the colony itself persons who would be looked upon in the light of political martyrs, and thus acquire, perhaps, a degree of influence, which might be applied to evil uses in a community composed of such dangerous elements. On consultation, therefore, with Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Paget, I determined on sending them to Bermuda, where they would be placed under strict surveillance. There is, however, little fear of their attempting to escape, as such an act would close at once and for ever the door against their re-entering their native country."—LORD DURHAM to LORD GLENELG, 29th June, 1838; *Parl. Papers*.

merely put on their parole not to leave the island. At the same time urgent dispatches were sent off to the Government at home, requesting instructions how to act in the embarrassing circumstances which had arisen.¹

Unfortunately, the nobleman at the head of the Colonial Department of Great Britain at this time was by no means equal to the crisis which had arisen. Lord Glenelg, formerly Mr. Charles Grant, was a man of talents and amiable character, but he was destitute of all the great and commanding qualities of a statesman. Born of a family of sincere but perhaps ultra-religious convictions, he saw every thing, if the expression may be used, through a conscientious medium. He made no allowance for the difference of men from race, circumstances, or political institutions, but applied the same undeviating rule of right and wrong to the half-civilized backwoodsman or the savage Caffre which he would have done to the sturdy Presbyterian or the zealous Episcopalian. This principle is right in the main, for morality, individual or political, is of universal obligation; but it requires in practice to be largely modified in its application to different places, and some of the greatest calamities recorded in history have arisen from its unbending enforcement. A melancholy example of this will occur in the sequel, in the case of the Caffre war.

In addition to the peril arising to Lord Durham and the Canadas from the rigid and over-strict principles of the Colonial Minister, there was an additional danger of the most formidable kind, owing to the state of parties at the time when intelligence of the insurrection arrived in Great Britain. The Government, which, since its reconstruction under Lord Melbourne, had never been sure of a majority in the House of Peers, had only one of twenty or thirty, almost entirely composed of Irish Catholics, in the Commons. In these circumstances, it was perilous in the extreme to take a decided line in regard to an insurrection which excited the sympathy of the Romish party so strongly as that of the French *habitans* of Lower Canada had done. The Tories, exasperated by the loss of office, and the retention of it by their opponents, when they could only command so small a majority, eagerly laid hold of any slip in administration to drive Ministers into a minority, and compel them to resign. Lord Brougham, who had never forgiven his former colleagues the reconstruction of the Cabinet, on Sir R. Peel's resignation, without his forming part of it, signalized himself by the extreme bitterness with which he headed the onslaught. Lord Durham, in the hour of his need, was far from experiencing either "the cordial and sincere support of his noble friends in the Cabinet," or the "generous forbearance of the noble lords opposite," on which he had relied when he set out on his arduous mission. The result was, that, after protracted debates in both Houses of Parliament, which occupied the whole of summer, and fill up nearly five hundred pages of the Parliamentary Debates, the ordinance

was annulled by Act of Parliament, and a bill was passed declaring an indemnity for the consequence of their now declared illegal acts. The majority in the Commons on this subject was so large, that the Opposition in that House did not venture on a division; in the Lords it was 54 to 36.¹

"I can not but say," said Lord Melbourne, in communicating the resolution of Government to disavow the ordinance to the House of Peers, "that it is with the deepest alarm and regret that I have taken this course. Nor is it without very great apprehension of the consequence that I have come to this determination." The result soon proved that these anticipations were well founded, and that Government on this occasion had acted a timid and selfish, rather than a wise and magnanimous part. Lord Durham first received, *through American newspapers*, intelligence of the disavowal of the ordinance, and the proceedings of the House of Lords on the evenings of the 7th, 9th, and 10th of August, when the subject was finally discussed. Feeling that his weight and usefulness as Governor-General were at an end, by this decisive censure of his conduct in the most important particular, he immediately took the resolution to resign, which he communicated forthwith to the Cabinet, accompanied with a long explanatory memoir on his own conduct. His resignation was accepted, and Mr. Poulett Thomson, afterward Lord Sydenham, was appointed his successor. It is impossible to doubt that in doing so Lord Durham acted a dignified and appropriate part; but it is impossible to bestow a similar meed of praise on a proclamation which he published on the occasion, in which he openly announced to the Bermuda exiles, that as a general amnesty had been proclaimed by his authority under certain exceptions, and the exceptions had been disallowed by Government, there was no impediment to their immediate return to Canada, which accordingly took place. There could be no doubt that this view of the result of the timid policy of Government was well founded, though the policy of the ex-governor himself announcing it to his rebellious subjects was not equally apparent.*

But although Lord Durham retired from his command, he left his mantle to his successor. During the brief period—little exceeding four months—he had held office, he had collected with extraordinary diligence and great ability a vast mass of valuable information regarding both the Canadas and the whole British provinces of North America, which was digested in a long report replete with the most important suggestions regarding those splendid portions of the British dominions. He ascribes the chief

* "The proclamation contained an entire amnesty, qualified only by the exceptions specified in the ordinance. The ordinance has been disallowed, and the proclamation is confirmed. Her Majesty having been advised to refuse her assent to the exceptions, the amnesty exists without qualification. No impediment, therefore, exists to the return of the persons who have made the most distinct admission of guilt, or have been excluded by me from the province on account of the danger to which it would be exposed by their presence."—Proclamation, October 9, 1838; *Ann. Reg.* 1838, p. 322, note.

99. Lord Glenelg proves unequal to the crisis.

100. State of parties, and weakness of Government when the intelligence arrived.

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xi. 1039; *Ann. Reg.* 1838, 250, 281.

101. Lord Durham resigns.

Oct. 9, 1838.

¹ *Mart. ii.* 289, 300; *Ann. Reg.* 319-322.

evils in Lower Canada to the animosity of the British and French races, which no period of existence under the same government has been able to extinguish. This animosity at that period was carried so far, that they not only had scarcely any social intercourse, but each race had its separate steamboats, banks, and hotels. The English were ultra-English, the French ultra-French, and every question, whatever it arose from, ere long ran into one or other of these exclusive channels. The representative system, also, was little better than a solemn mockery, the representatives being shorn of all real authority except in local and comparatively immaterial concerns, and the forms of a responsible being combined with the reality of an irresponsible government. As a consequence of this want of effective popular control, government and its patronage and resources were farmed out for the benefit of a certain number of families or ruling districts, and the great bulk of the community excluded from all participation in them. Great abuses also existed in the administration of justice; and beyond the walls of Quebec, all regular conduct either of the law or of public affairs was almost unknown. As a remedy for these evils, he suggested a great variety of remedies, the principal of which was the union of the two provinces in one united

1 Lord Durham's Report on Canada, 1838.

Assembly, and a great extension of the power of the local Legislature, so as to realize the favorite colonial wish of real responsible government.¹

Scarcely had Lord Durham quitted the capital of Canada, which he did on the 1st November, when the ruinous effect of the timid policy of the British Government in not supporting his ordinances became apparent. The Bermuda prisoners had all returned, and instead of evincing either the smallest contrition for the treasons of which they had been guilty, or the least gratitude for the extraordinary lenity with which they had been treated, they set themselves at work immediately to organize a fresh insurrection. It had been originally intended that it should have broken out on the very night of his departure, but numerous arrests took place at Montreal on that evening, which prevented the explosion till the 8d, when the *habitans* were once more in arms against the British Crown. The insurrection began with an attack of four hundred men on the house of Mr. Ellice, a great proprietor in Lower Canada, who was made prisoner, and carried off as a hostage. On the same day, a body of armed men secreted themselves in the neighborhood of Langhawnawaga, an Indian village, the inhabitants of which had recently been converted to Christianity. Information having been brought to the Indians, who were at church, they instantly raised the war-whoop, and falling on the rebels, who made scarce any resistance, took seventy prisoners, and dispersed the whole party.²

Sir John Colborne, who on the departure of Lord Durham had resumed the interim command of the province, acted with the vigor and decision which in the outset of civil troubles is the general harbinger of success; and the military force at his disposal had

been so considerably augmented, that he was enabled to carry on operations with promptitude. Having received intelligence that between the 3d and 6th November four thousand insurgents had assembled at Napierville in La Prairie, under the command of Wolfred Nelson, Dr. Cote, and Eagnon, all three returned Bermuda prisoners, he directed Sir James Macdonnell and General Clitheron, with the Guards and a body of infantry, to move against them; but owing to the badness of the roads they did not arrive there before the 10th, when they found the whole body had dispersed. The leaders, before doing so, had issued a proclamation containing a declaration of independence, a republican form of government, the confiscation of the crown-lands and clergy reserves, the abolition of imprisonment for debt and of the feudal services, and the institution of a register for mortgages. The insurgents, being in close union with the American sympathizers, detached a force to open a communication with them in the neighborhood of Odell, on the Richelieu. But this force on its march fell in with a body of loyalist volunteers, by whom they were totally routed, with the loss of a field-piece and three hundred stand of arms. The same body of Loyalists, on the 9th, fell in with the insurgents, greatly superior in number, who were retreating from Napierville. They threw themselves into the church of Odell, and awaited the attack of the rebels. They were not long of commencing the assault, which they deemed sure of success; but such was the gallantry of the volunteers and the steadiness of their defense, that the assailants were repulsed with the loss of fifty killed and twice that number wounded. These successes so damped the spirits of the insurgents that the rebellion entirely ceased in Lower Canada, where it had been almost entirely suppressed by the energy and spirit of the loyalist volunteers, with very little assistance from the regular troops. On the other hand, it deserves to be recorded to the credit of the insurgents, that although they were at first twelve thousand strong, and had Mr. Ellice and nearly a hundred Loyalists in their hands for several days, no deeds of cruelty were exercised toward them, and their captors even showed them the shortest way to rejoin their friends on the suppression of the insurrection.³

The rebellion would never have extended on this occasion to Upper Canada had it not been for the efforts of the American sympathizers, who made the most vigorous efforts to instigate and support it in that quarter.

On the evening of November 12, a body of five hundred Americans, with several field-pieces, crossed the St. Lawrence at Prescott, and effected a landing on the British territory. They were there quickly attacked by three armed steamers, and a small body of regulars and militia, under the command of Captain Landon, R.N., and Colonel Young. After a brief combat the invaders gave way, and retired to a stone building, from which they kept up so vigorous a fire, especially with their field-pieces, that the British, who had no artillery, were unable to dislodge them. They took positions, however, which prevented their escape, while the war-

103. Fresh breaking out of the rebellion. Nov. 3.

1 Sir John Colborne's Dispatches, Dec. 12, 1838; London Gazette.

105. Defeat of the American invaders. Nov. 12 and 13.

2 Ann. Reg. 1838, 330; Mart. ii. 391.

104. Actions with the insurgents, and their defeat. Nov. 9.

steamers effectually cut off their communication with the American shore. Meanwhile dispatches were sent off for succor, and ere long four companies of the 83d, with two guns and a howitzer, arrived under Colonel Dundas, which were soon followed by a company of the 93d Highlanders. The investment of the building was now made closer, and the artillery opened a fire at four hundred yards upon its outer walls. Before a practicable breach could be effected, however, the enemy evacuated the position, and were taken prisoners in endeavoring to effect their escape. The loss of the British in this warm affair was forty-five killed and wounded; but they took three guns from the enemy, besides sixteen wounded, and a hundred and fifty-nine prisoners were taken and sent off to Kingston, to be tried before courts-martial; of these no less than a hundred and thirty-one were natives of the United States.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1838.

This rude repulse for some time checked the incursions of these lawless marauders; but the Americans were too much set upon Canadian insurrection and spoliation to abandon their designs without further efforts. On December 4, at daybreak, a fresh body of four hundred men landed at Sandwich, at the western extremity of Upper Canada, burned a steamboat, set fire to the barracks, in which two men perished, and inhumanly murdered Dr. Hume, a military surgeon, who accidentally fell into their hands from mistaking them for a body of provincial militia. These atrocities so roused the indignation of the Canadians, that when the militia under Colonel Prime came up and attacked the invaders, twenty-six of their number were slain, and only twenty-five prisoners taken. The remainder fled, with scarcely any resistance, across the frontier, and this ² Ann. Reg. 1838, 331, terminated the hostilities on the frontier of Upper Canada.²

But although the war on the field had terminated, that on the scaffold was to commence, and many brave men were to expiate by their lives the immense fault of the British Government in annulling the wise and humane ordinances of Lord Durham on occasion of the first insurrection. The number of prisoners taken and awaiting their trial in the prisons both of Montreal and Toronto was very great, and their disposal occasioned no small embarrassment to Government. No less than 763 were confined in the jail of the former of these places. Of these 164 were discharged at once; and of the whole remainder only twelve were brought to trial, all of French birth or extraction. Of these, two were acquitted by the court-martial before which they were arraigned, and the remainder were sentenced to death. Two only were executed, Cardinal and Duquette, the former a notary, the latter a tavern-keeper, who had been prominent instigators of the insurrection. The other convicts were sentenced to various periods of transportation or imprisonment. It must ever be considered as in the highest degree honorable to the British Government, that two formidable insurrections, in so important a part of its dominions, were suppressed with so small a sacrifice of life—a

striking contrast to the streams of noble blood which a century before had streamed on the scaffold in Scotland on occasion of the Highland rebellion, and warranting the hope that in process of time this barbarous infiction, in political cases, will entirely disappear before the growing influence of humanity.³

A more delicate and perilous task awaited the Government in the disposal of the American prisoners taken at Prescott, for there political and national passions of the most violent kind interfered on both sides. On the one hand, the Canadian Loyalists insisted that the renewal of the insurrection and the invasion had been entirely owing to the mistaken and ill-deserved lenity which had been shown to the insurgents on occasion of the first outbreak, and that there could be no security for the British provinces till the law was allowed to take its course against these repeated and incorrigible offenders. On the other hand, the excitement in the United States on account of the Canadian sympathizers was so strong, that there was the greatest danger that, if the punishment of death was inflicted on any considerable number of the invaders, it might become too strong for the Government, and precipitate the two countries into a ruinous war, despite the utmost efforts of the rulers on both sides to prevent it. In these difficult circumstances, the conduct of the executive on the British side was so firm as to command respect, and at the same time so moderate as not to excite animosity. A court-martial assembled at Kingston on the 24th November, before which Von Schoultz, a Pole, the commander of the Prescott invasion, and three of his associates, Abbey, George, and Woodruff, were tried, condemned, and executed. They met their fate with unpretending fortitude, only complaining of the deception which had been practiced upon them in regard to the nature of the enterprise on which they were to be engaged, and the amount of support they were likely to meet with. Their death was followed by that of five others, three of whom had been concerned in the piratical and barbarous inroad at Sandwich. This closed the melancholy list of capital convictions for these outrages, though a great number of others were sentenced to various penalties of lesser degree.* The Government of the United States interfered on humane grounds, but made no *casus belli* on account of these executions, though one of the sufferers was a colonel in their militia; on the contrary, they always held out to the British Cabinet that the piratical irruptions were done against their wishes and without their consent, and that so far from favoring

* PERSONS CONVICTED OF TREASON OR POLITICAL FELONY IN UPPER CANADA, FROM 1ST OCTOBER, 1837, TO 1ST NOVEMBER, 1838.

Pardoned on giving security.....	140
Sentenced to confinement in Penitentiary.....	14
Sentenced to banishment.....	18
Sentenced to transportation to Van Diemen's Land.....	37
Escaped from Fort Henry.....	12
Escaped from Cape Diamond.....	1
Tried by court-martial.....	1
Tried from Toronto Hospital.....	1
Sentenced to death.....	1

—Ann. Reg. 1838, p. 336.

^{106.}
Fresh rout of the Americans at Sandwich. December 12.

^{107.}
State trials after the suppression of the insurrection.

Ann. Reg. 1838, 323, 324; Mart. II. 392.

^{108.}
Execution of the leading American sympathizers.

the views of the sympathizers, they considered the union of the Canadas to 1838, 334, 335, their States as likely to prove 336; Mart. ii. 392. prejudicial to their best interests.¹

There is no reason to doubt that this statement on the part of the American Government was sincere; but it is not the less true that the system which it has often permitted its people to pursue, in this particular, is in the highest degree dangerous and unjust. It is no answer to the complaints of a neighboring people that their territory has been invaded, their subjects slaughtered, and their towns burned, by the pirates of an adjoining state, to say that it was all done without the knowledge or consent of their Government, that their artillery has been violently taken out of their arsenals by armed mobs, and that the national forces were inadequate to prevent their pillage, and the misappropriation of their resources to foreign aggression. No government is entitled in this manner to abdicate its functions, and shelter itself under alleged neutrality, so far as itself is concerned, when it permits its subjects to engage, without efficient check, in piratical incursions against its neighbors, often of the most dangerous character. If it pleads in extenuation that it is too weak to prevent such outrages, it affixes the darkest stigma upon the character of institutions which fail in discharging the first duty of government, that of preventing private warfare. The English historian need not fear incurring the imputation of undue national prejudice in making these observations, for he must confess with a blush, that it was his own country which began this iniquitous system, and that the American sympathizers only applied to the British dominions that species of covert hostility which their Government had sanctioned in regard to the Spanish colonies of South America, and recently introduced, with such ruinous consequences, into the European dominions of old Spain.

These decisive successes on the part of the British Government closed both the gulf of rebellion in the two Canadas, and the dangerous hostility on the American frontier. It was followed, however, by consequences the very reverse of what had been expected by both parties in that unhappy contest. The Loyalists anticipated the entire subjection of the colonies to British rule, now that their opponents had been so completely defeated. The *habitans* and their revolutionary leaders dreaded the establishment of a military government by the victors, which should abrogate their liberties, and extinguish both their nationality and peculiar laws. The result was entirely different from what either party had prognosticated. Lord Durham's report and recommendations were carried into full effect by his successors, though he himself fell a victim to the timidity of Government and the virulence of faction at home. In that valuable document he had signalized, as next to the division of races which imbibed every thing in Lower Canada, the existence of a "family compact," which had caused all the patronage and benefits of government to flow in a peculiar and restricted channel in the upper province. In his report he strongly urged the

adoption of a more liberal and catholic policy, which should take away the latter ground of complaint, and the union of the two provinces in one legislature, which might ultimately remove the asperity of the former. Both suggestions were adopted and carried into effect by his successor, Lord Sydenham. After a considerable delay, but not longer than was required to mature the details of so great an innovation, the new constitution was proclaimed in Canada, a united Legislature established, with a local government really, not merely in name, subjected to public control. The consequences of this change have been strange and unexpected, but on the whole eminently beneficial both to the colonies and the mother country.¹

The first effect was a change which the Loyalists were far from expecting, and which gave them, it must be confessed, a most reasonable ground of complaint. When the two provinces were united in one house, it was found, contrary to what had been generally anticipated, that the Liberals and French party had a majority in the Assembly. The consequence of course was, that the rule of the "family compact" in the upper province came to an end, and that the ministry were taken from the party which had the majority in the Legislature. Though this was entirely in accordance with the principles of representative government, yet it excited at first the most violent heats and animosities in the British party. They complained that Papi-neau and the leaders of the insurrection had been elevated to power, and enjoyed all the sweets of government, while they, who had imperiled their lives and fortunes to maintain the British supremacy and connection, were excluded from all share in the administration of the country they had saved. There can be no question that there was both reason and justice in these complaints; and after the violent collision which had taken place, and the glorious spirit they had evinced, they were peculiarly natural in Colonel M^r Nab and the Conservative leaders. Nevertheless it does not appear that any other course could have been pursued by a government subject to the real control of a popular assembly; and if experience, the true test of wisdom in a course of government, is referred to, the result seems to establish in the most triumphant manner the wisdom of the course which has been pursued.

The rebellion, as might have been expected, threw a grievous damp for a season over the fortunes of Canada; the imports from England, and emigrants from that country, exhibited a striking falling off in the years 1838 and 1839.* But from the time when the government appeared to be firmly established, and the Legislature of the two provinces was united in one Assembly, with a ministry subject to effective public control, the Canadas took a start, not only beyond any thing recorded in their history, but perhaps unexampled, in the absence of gold or silver mines, in the history of the world. During the

		To all the World.
* Emigrants to Canada in 1836	27,456	75,417
" " 1837	25,892	78,024
" " 1838	9,452	33,222

—*Parl. Papers*, 1836-7-8.

ten years from 1841 to 1851, the free population of the United States increased 37 per cent., the slave 27 per cent.; and this certainly was a sufficiently large increase for a country numbering, at the commencement of the period, nearly seventeen millions of inhabitants. But it was trifling in comparison of the growth of the two Canadas during the same years, the population of which, chiefly in consequence of immigration from the British Islands, increased no less than 59 per cent., while the increase of the upper province was 104 per cent.* In 1834, the exports to Canada were £1,018,000, her imports £1,063,000; while in 1854 her exports and imports, taken together, were £13,945,000, of which £4,622,000 was composed of imports from Great Britain. So rapid and sustained a growth, in so short a period, is perhaps unexampled in the history of the world.† Not less remarkable has

been the increase in the agricultural produce of the province, which, in Upper Canada, has quadrupled in ten years preceding 1851, while its shipping has doubled during the same period; and the consumption of British manufactures since 1852, when the gold discoveries came into play, is, on an average, £2 6s. a head for each inhabitant,‡ being more than double of what it is in the United States, where it is only £1 2s. per head.

Many causes have doubtless contributed to produce this astonishing increase

of material prosperity and inhab- Reflections on itants in Canada, during the period this wonderful increase. which has elapsed since the union

of the provinces and the establishment of popular and responsible government in 1841; and it would be unreasonable to ascribe it entirely to any one of them. Among these, a prominent place must be assigned to the establishment of free trade in Great Britain in 1846; the immense emigration from these islands in the five years immediately preceding 1853, a large part of which went to Canada, and contributed essentially to the growth of the province; and the gold discoveries in California and Australia, which, since 1852, have added 50 per cent. to the value of its produce—exports and imports.§ But giving full effect to the influence of these causes, which without doubt were the main-spring of Canadian prosperity, it seems, at the same time, not unreasonable to conclude that much also is to be ascribed to the establishment, in 1841, of a form of government essentially democratic, and therefore suited to the circumstances of the country, and calculated to soften down, and at length extinguish, its unhappy rivalry of races. There is much truth in the observation of Lord Elgin, whose liberal and enlightened administration has done so much to heal the divisions, and permit the expansion of the material resources of the province, that “in a society singularly democratic in its structure, where diversities of race supplied special elements of confusion, and where, consequently, it was most important that constituted authority should be respected, the moral influence of government was enfeebled by the existence of perpetual strife between the powers that ought to have afforded each other mutual support. No state of affairs could be imagined less favorable to the extinction of national animosities, and to the firm establishment of the gentle and benignant control of those liberal institutions” 1854, ¶ 66.

* Free population of the United States in 1840 14,582,102
1850 20,069,909

Increase, 37·77 per cent.

Slave population of the United States in 1840 2,487,358
1850 3,179,587

Increase, 27·81 per cent.

Total population of Canada in 1841 1,156,139
1851 1,842,265

Increase, 59·34 per cent.

Population of Upper Canada in 1841 465,357
1851 952,004

—Prospects of Canada, 1854, p. 66, 67.

† “No nation or community, with the solitary exception of Victoria, can boast of such extensive progress as Canada; but there is this important difference in the two colonies, that the sudden rise of the Australian colony was almost solely attributable to the rush which was made for the recently discovered gold. In 1834, Canada imported goods to the amount of only £1,063,000, and exported in return produce and manufactures of her own soil to the amount of £1,018,000; but in 1854 the value of her exports and imports was not less than £13,945,000. If we analyze these figures, it will be found that the mother country supplied Canada with her manufactures to the amount of £4,622,000, the United States sent her £2,945,000, foreign countries £268,507, and the adjoining British North American colonies, £159,000. Every person in Canada consumed on an average the produce of foreign countries to the amount of £3 14s. 10d., while in the adjoining States the average consumption reached only £2 7s. per head. The nature of the Canadian trade with foreign countries may be judged of by the following facts: The produce of the forests of the colony—the vast timber trade which was expected—was of the value of £2,355,000; of vegetable food, principally corn and flour, £1,995,099; animal produce, £342,631; fish, £85,000; manufactures, £35,106; various agricultural products, £26,618; ships, £520,187. The total exports, if divided among the population, would give an average of £2 15s. to each individual, or 8s. more than is the case in the United States. The entire value of the British exports of the United States was £23,461,000, or about £1 per head of the population; while the consumption of British goods by the Canadians was at the rate of £2 6s. 7d. per head.”—*Canadian News*, Aug. 24, 1856.

The progress of this astonishing trade has been as follows during the last seven years:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1847	£3,966,570	£2,203,054	£416,569	£376,456
1848	2,629,584	2,302,830	312,037	389,909
1849	2,468,130	2,193,678	421,998	370,618
1850	3,489,466	2,457,886	578,292	437,312
1851	4,404,409	2,663,968	692,306	531,643
1852	4,168,457	2,683,213	723,724	535,171
1853	6,571,527	4,523,060	962,334	611,607

—Lord ELGIN'S Report, Quebec, 18th December, 1854.

	1841.
Wheat crop, Upper Canada	3,321,991
“ Lower Canada	942,835
Total	4,264,826

	Value.	Population.
British imports to Canada in 1854	£3,475,643	1,642,265, or £1 6s. per head.
“ to United States	1,874,211	22,246,301, or 13s “
Shipping built at Quebec in 1843, 13,785 tons; 1851, 41,505 tons.		

—Lord ELGIN'S Dispatch, 22d December, 1852.

§ EMIGRANTS WHO ARRIVED AT QUEBEC, FROM 1847 TO 1854.

1847	90,150	1852	39,176
1848	27,939	1853	36,699
1849	38,494	1854	54,113
1850	82,292	In eight years	360,238
1851	41,076		

Besides a large number who landed at New York, and found their way across the frontier into the Canadian provinces.—Lord ELGIN'S Report, December 18, 1854.

	1847.	1851.
Bushels.		
Wheat	7,558,773	12,692,593
“	2,172,149	3,675,698
Total	9,730,922	15,778,760

which it is England's pride and privilege to bestow upon her children."

But in truth there is more in the case than even these eloquent words convey;

114. Adaptation of and it may with safety be affirmed, democracy to new colonies.

ernment is the one best adapted to rising colonial settlements, but that it is the one indispensable to their growth and prosperity. There is no example in the history of mankind of a despotic government having formed real colonies, or of those offshoots of civilization ever attaining a robust growth but under practically republican institutions. The colonies of Greece and Rome were as numerous and prosperous in ancient times, as those of Great Britain and Holland have been in modern; but colonization died away under the imperial sceptre; it has never proceeded from the despotisms of the East; and though France and Spain have made brilliant colonial conquests, they have never founded real colonies. The reason is, that the warfare of man in infant colonies is with the desert or the forest, not with the property or influence of his neighbors, which is what in after times renders a strong and real government indispensable. The energy and independence which make him penetrate the woods, render him confident in himself and impatient of the control of others; the submission and contentment which are essential to the peace of aged society, are fatal to its commencement in those solitary regions. Self-government is the want of man in such circumstances, because isolation is his destiny, and plenty his accompaniment. The government of others becomes necessary in later times, because he is surrounded by numbers, and the abundance of rude has been succeeded by the privations of civilized life.

It is the more evident that the popular government, which has succeeded the rebellions and union of the provinces in Canada, has been eminently favorable to the development of its energies and resources, that its present extraordinary prosperity is of recent growth, and has chiefly arisen since its establishment. Twenty years ago the case was just the reverse; and the backward condition and neglected natural riches of Canada presented a strange and mortifying contrast to the opposite condition of the adjoining provinces of the United States, which attracted the notice of every traveler. "The superiority of the condition of our republican neighbors," said Lord Durham in 1838, "is perceivable throughout the whole extent of our North American territory. Even the ancient city of Montreal will not bear a comparison with Buffalo, a creation of yesterday. There is but one railroad in all British North America—that between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence—and it is only fifteen miles long. The people on the frontier are poor and scattered, separated by vast forests, without towns or markets, and almost destitute of roads, living in mean houses, and without apparent means of improving their condition. On the American side, on the other hand, all is activity and bustle. The forest has been widely cleared; every year numerous settlements are formed, and thousands of farms

created out of the waste. The country is intersected by common roads; canals and railroads are finished, or in course of formation. The observer is surprised at the number of harbors on the lakes, and the multitude of vessels they contain; while bridges, artificial landing-places, and commodious wharves, are formed in all directions as soon as required. Good houses, mills, inns, warehouses, villages, towns, and even great cities, are almost seen to spring out of the desert. Every village has its school-house and place of public worship; every town has many of both, with its township buildings, book-stores, and probably one or two banks and newspapers; and the cities, with their fine churches, great hotels, great exchanges, court-houses, and municipal halls of stone and marble, so new and fresh as to mark the Recent existence of the forest where they now stand, would be admired in any part of the world."

What a contrast does this graphic description present to the present condition

116. of the British provinces of North America! The picture drawn in 1838 by Lord Durham of the American shore, might pass for a faithful portrait of the British at present. Individual enterprise has been fostered by public encouragement; magnificent undertakings by Government have formed the arteries of prosperity through the State; and the forest has, in an incredibly short space of time, under the influence of such stimulants, yielded its virgin riches to the efforts of laborious man. Where, twenty years ago, only one railway, fifteen miles long, existed, thirteen millions of British capital have now been expended on railway communication; a vast system of internal lines renders commerce alike independent of the obstacles of nature and the hostility of man; and a gigantic bridge, rivaling the greatest works of antiquity, is about to attract all future generations to the romantic shores of the St. Lawrence. Nor have these generous aids from the Government and riches of the mother country been thrown away upon an ungrateful people. Political divisions have in a great measure ceased in that prosperous land; even the rancor of religious-hostility has been, comparatively speaking, appeased; loyalty to the British throne, attachment to the British connection, have become universal. During the darkest periods of the Russian war, the Canadians stood faithfully by our side; they subscribed generously to the Patriotic Fund, intended to alleviate the distresses with which it was accompanied; they offered battalions of volunteers to share our dangers, and the fall of Sebastopol was celebrated with greater enthusiasm in Quebec and Montreal than either in London or Dublin. These unequivocal proofs of undiminished loyalty in this noble portion of the British people, encourage the pleasing hope that the bonds which unite them to the mother country may be long, very long of being severed; that the advantages of real self-government may, in their case, be united with the chivalrous feelings of attachment to the throne; that mutual benefit may perpetuate an union commenced from a sense of mutual dependence; and that, when at length it comes, as come it will, from the greatness of the

Opposite state of the British provinces at this time.

Lord Durham's Recent existence of the forest where port; Ann. Reg. 1838, 341.

younger State, to be dissolved, it may not be violently severed, but insensibly wear away, like the sway of parental authority in a united family, and melt into a PERPETUAL AND INDISSOLUBLE ALLIANCE.*

Canada was not the only portion of the British dominions which was convulsed during the disastrous years 1838 and 1839. The West Indies also shared in the convulsion; and so great was the discontent there, that it was prevented only by absolute impotence from breaking into open rebellion. The apprentice system, as had been predicted by all really acquainted with the circumstances, had entirely failed in practice, and produced, instead of quiet and contentment, a degree of irritation on all sides, which had now risen to such a height as rendered its abandonment indispensable. It could not possibly be otherwise. The negroes thought they had been really emancipated by the Imperial Legislature, and that the full fruition of their rights was only prevented by the selfish conduct of the planters and local parliaments; hence continual contention and discord. The negroes could be made to work in many cases only by actual compulsion; and such was their aversion to this supposed invasion of their rights, that more stripes were inflicted by the police magistrates during the freedom of the apprentice system than had been done during the reality of slavery. These melancholy tidings speedily reached Great Britain, and revived the public agitation in all its intensity. Public meetings were held on all sides, in which the immediate and entire abolition of slavery was loudly demanded. Government gave proof of their belief in the reality of these evils; for they introduced, in the early part of 1838, a

bill "to give full effect to the intent and meaning of the Act for the abolition of slavery;" and its provisions show how little had hitherto been gained for the cause of humanity by the emancipation of which so much had been said. It declares "that it shall no longer be lawful to place any female apprentice on a tread-mill, or on the chain of a penal gang of any parish, or to punish any female apprentice by whipping or beating her person, or by cutting off her hair, for any offense by her committed." The bill contained also stringent provisions prohibiting corporal punishment on any male apprentice, except in presence of a magistrate specially summoned for the occasion.¹

Lord Brougham, who was the mouthpiece of the anti-slavery party, which had become violently excited on the Lord's recital of these severities, gave a still more melancholy account of the increased horrors of the middle passage and augmentation of the slave trade, in consequence of the nominal emancipation of the English negroes, and the real stimulus given to the foreign slave colonies. On occasion of presenting a petition for immediate emancipation, on 19th January, 1838, he said: "The accursed traffic flourishes under the very expedients adopted to crush it, and increases in consequence of the very measures adopted for its extinction. So far from our efforts materially checking it, I find that the bulk of this infernal commerce is undiminished. The premium of insurance at the Havana on slave-ships is no more than 12½ per cent. to cover all risks. Of this 4½ per cent. is allowed for the usual sea-risk, leaving only 8 per cent. to meet the chances of capture. In 1835 eighty slave-ships sailed from the Havana alone, and six of them brought back an average of 360 slaves; so that 28,000 were brought to that port alone in the year. In December of the same year, between 4000 and 5000 were safely landed at Rio. One of the ships carried 570, another no less than 700 slaves. Of all the criminals engaged in this accursed traffic, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Brazilians are the greatest—the three nations with whom our influence is the most commanding, and our commerce the most intimate and profitable.

"Lamentable as this increase of the slave trade is, the horrors attending its carrying out are still more heart-rending. The cruiser intrusted with the duty of preventing the traffic, carefully avoids approaching the creek or harbor where the slavers are lying. She stands out, therefore, just so far as to command a view of the port from the mast-head, being herself quite out of sight. The slaver, believing the coast to be clear, accomplishes his crime and makes sail. Let us see how the unavoidable miseries of the middle passage are exasperated by the contraband nature of the adventure—how the unavoidable mischief is aggravated by the means taken to extirpate it. Every consideration is sacrificed to swiftness of sailing in the construction of the slave-ships, which are built so narrow as to put their safety in peril, being made just broad enough on the beam to keep the sea. What is the consequence to the slaves? Before the trade

* It is painful to be obliged to add that the statesman to whose wisdom and firmness, more than that of any other single individual in existence, this marvelous progress is to be ascribed, and whose suggestions were all embodied in the constitution and union of the provinces which have finally given peace to Canada, fell a victim to the efforts he had made on behalf of his country. To remarkable talents, which his report on Canada unequivocally demonstrates, Lord Durham united the magnanimity and lofty spirit which form an essential part in the heroic character. Unfortunately he possessed also the love of approbation and sensitiveness to blame which are the predominant features in the female disposition. He was impatient of contradiction, and irritable when thwarted; and those failings, which in ordinary life would scarcely have been observed, proved fatal to him on the stormy eminence on which he was ultimately placed. His mortification at the disallowance of his ordinances was extreme, and it preyed upon a constitution naturally weak, to such a degree as to bring him to an untimely grave. He was busily engaged with his official duties to the very last, and the night before his departure he drew up an important proclamation relative to squatters on the crown-lands. Thousands accompanied him to the quay when he embarked, and every eye strained after the vessel—the *Inconstant*—as it made its way down the river in the gloom of a Canadian snow-storm. He landed at Plymouth, on December 1st, without any honors, by the special orders of Government, who sent down a special messenger to prohibit them; but he was amply indemnified by the respect paid to him by the people, and the tokens of respect and confidence given him during his journey to London. Lady Durham, Earl Grey's daughter, immediately resigned her situation in the Queen's household; but the ingratitude of his party made no difference in the political sentiments and conduct of her husband, who was consistent to the last. But his race was run—his heart was broken; and he died on 28th July, 1840, the victim of ingratitude from a party on whom he had conferred the most essential services.—*Ann. Reg.* 1840; *Chron.* 173. MARTINEAU, li. 390, 391.

¹ Part. Deb. xlii. 1943, 1279; Ann. Reg. 1838, 345.

119.

Continued.

was put down in 1807, the slaves had the benefit of what was termed "the Slave-carrying Act," which gave the unhappy victims the benefit of a certain space between the decks, in which they might breathe the tainted air more freely, and a certain supply of water. But now there is nothing of the kind, and the slave is in the condition in which our debates found him half a century ago, when the venerable Clarkson awakened the world to his sufferings.

"The scantiest portion of food which will support life is alone provided; and the wretched Africans are compressed and stowed away in every nook and cranny of the ship, as if they were dead goods concealed on board smuggling vessels. On being discovered, the slaver has to determine whether he will endeavor to regain his port or will push on across the Atlantic, reaching the American shores with a part at least of his lading. No sooner does the miscreant find that the cruiser is gaining upon him, than he betinks him of lightening the ship, and casts overboard men, women, and children. Does he first knock off their fetters? No! because these irons, by which they have been held together in couples for safety, are not screwed together and padlocked, so as to be removed in case of danger from tempest or fire, but they are riveted—welded together by the blacksmith in his forge, never to be removed or loosened until, after the horrors of the middle passage, the children of misery shall be landed to bondage in the civilized world. The irons, too, serve the purpose of weights; and if time be allowed, more weights are added, to the end that the wretches may be entangled, to prevent their swimming. Nor is this all. Instances have been recorded of other precautions for the same purpose. Water-casks have been filled with human beings, and one vessel threw twelve overboard thus laden. In

one chase, two slave-ships endeavored, but in vain, to make their escape, and 1288; Ann. in the attempt they flung five hundred human beings into the sea, of all ages and either sex."¹²⁰

The Duke of Wellington and Lord Glenelg acquitted Lord Brougham of all exaggeration in this harrowing statement, which affords a melancholy picture of the aggravation of real evils by rash and ill-judged efforts for their removal. The true way

to put down the trade in slaves was to make it not worth while for any one to import them, and this could only be done by rendering the labor of the slaves already settled in the West Indies so productive that no additions to their number were required. Instead of this, the emancipation of the negroes, by rendering their labor less productive, increased the demand for slaves in the slave colonies of other states, and thus fearfully extended this infernal traffic. But though this was clearly pointed out at the time, yet there was no getting the public to be disabused on the subject. They persisted in holding that the labor of free men was more productive than that of slaves, and that the slave trade would be at once abolished by the extinction of slavery in the British West India islands. So violent did the clamor become, and so unequivocally was it manifested in the large constitu-

encies, that the planters, who had already suffered severely from the refractory spirit of the slaves, and the difficulty of getting them to submit to continuous labor, took the only course which in the circumstances remained open to them; and on the recommendation of Sir Lionel Smith, the governor of Jamaica, the parliament of that island abolished the apprentice system altogether, and declared all the negroes free on an early day. The provincial Legislatures of all the other islands adopted the same course, and on the 1st August, 1838, SLAVERY ENTIRELY CEASED IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.¹²¹

Sir Lionel Smith transmitted to Government the following account of the manner in which this great change was received in Jamaica: "It is impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude which the whole of the laboring population manifested upon this happy occasion. Not even the irregularity of a drunken individual occurred. Though joy beamed in every countenance, it was throughout the island tempered with solemn thankfulness to God; and the churches and chapels were every where filled with these happy people, in humble offering of praise for the great blessing He had conferred upon them." The Bishop of Jamaica bore similar testimony. "I had long known," said he, "the objects of this benevolent measure as the most patient, enduring, and long-suffering upon earth, and not easily provoked; but it was not until the actual promulgation of this great and glorious measure of justice and mercy that I was enabled fully to appreciate this advance in Christian principles. The quiet manner in which the whole has passed off has added much to the general effect, and made a deep impression on men's minds."¹²²

It is a noble spectacle to see a great nation voluntarily repairing wrong by a great act of mercy; and it is doubly so when that act was not done at the expense merely of others, but that a lasting and heavy burden had been undertaken by it to indemnify the immediate sufferers by the change. The immediate results of emancipation did not belie these flattering appearances; and nearly two months after the change, Sir Lionel Smith wrote to the Colonial Secretary that "experience had now established two important facts: first, that the negroes were willing, and even eager, to work for fair remuneration; and that so far from their resorting to the woods, to squat in idleness, as had been predicted, they submitted to the most galling oppression rather than be driven from their homes." But unhappily these flattering appearances were as short-lived as they were fallacious; and negro emancipation remains a lasting proof that great alterations in human affairs are not to be made with the rapidity of changes of scene on the opera stage, and that to be enduring they must be as slow and imperceptible as the revolutions of nature. Before many months had elapsed, it was found that, though willing to work occasionally, when

¹²⁰ Violent clamor in England, and total abolition of slavery. Aug. 1.

¹²¹ Parl. Deb. xlv. 1267.

¹²² 1838; Ann. Reg. 1838, 348.

¹²³ Reception of the emancipation in the West Indies.

¹²⁴ Sir Lionel Smith to Lord Glenelg, Aug. 8, 1838; Bishop of Jamaica to Lord Glenelg, Aug. 4, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1838, 348.

¹²⁵ Sept. 24, 1838.

it suited their inclinations to do so, yet the negroes were averse to *continuous* labor, and demanded such high wages for what they did perform, as rendered it more than doubtful whether cultivation at such rates could be carried on to a profit. Eight or nine dollars a month for working five days in the week, of nine hours each, besides house and garden-ground, came soon to be the wages generally demanded, and in many cases given. These rates, however, were soon found to be higher than the price of sugar, reduced as it was by the heavy import-duty, and contraction of the currency in Great Britain, could afford. Thence ensued combinations among laborers to raise their wages, which were strongly supported by the Baptist Missionaries, who warmly sympathized with the feelings of their sable flocks, and among the planters to get them down, who were as strongly urged on by stern necessity. Disorder and violence succeeded as a matter of course, which both seriously impeded the progress of rural labor, and engendered an angry feeling between employer and employed, occasioning frequent collisions, which all the efforts of the stipendiary magistracy were unable to prevent.¹

Matters were brought to a crisis in Jamaica and the other islands by the promulgation of an Act passed in the Imperial Parliament in 1838, laying down new regulations for the management of prisons in the colony, and empowering Ministers to dismiss certain persons from the offices they held in them. This Act excited a universal storm; and the Jamaica Legislature having assembled on the 30th October, their first act was to pass a resolution that this Act was a violation of their rights as British subjects; that it should not have the force of law; and that till it was repealed they would desist from all their legislative functions, except such as might be indispensable for the public credit. This resolution was carried by 24 to 6. Upon this the Assembly was prorogued; and as it again, on Nov. 8. 8th November, adhered to the resolution, Sir Lionel Smith dissolved the angry assemblage. "No House of Assembly," said he, "can now be found which will acknowledge the authority of Queen, Lords, and Commons to enact laws for Jamaica, or that will be likely to pass just and prudent laws for a large portion of the negro population lately brought into freedom." The new Assembly met on Dec. 18. cember 18, but the first thing it did was to pass a resolution adhering to the former one. Upon this it also was dissolved under circum-

stances of violence, which forcibly recalled the similar scenes in the Long Parliament. In a word, Jamaica, like Canada, was now on the border of insurrection; and nothing but its obvious impotence against Great Britain, and the extreme pecuniary embarrassments of the proprietors in the island, in consequence of the contraction of the currency at home and the difficulty of getting the negroes to work on their estates, prevented a civil war, as Reg. 1838, in North America, from breaking out.¹

It is impossible to defend the extreme violence of the language which, on some of these occasions, was used by the West India planters; which was the more reprehensible that they had in reality a good cause to defend, which required no intemperance of expression for its support. Experience has now demonstrated this in the most unequivocal manner. The measures of the Imperial Parliament had brought ruin upon the West India planters, and the emancipation of the negroes was the last drop which made the cup of misery overflow. The insuperable difficulty which in every age has rendered the West India question so embarrassing, is that Europeans who will work for wages are destroyed by the heat of the climate, and that the Africans, who do not suffer from it, will not work unless forced to do so. It is probable that the wit of man to the end of the world will hardly discover an exit from this dilemma, but either by the abandonment of cultivation in the tropical regions, or by the retention of slavery, at least in a modified form, in them. But the English Parliament, impelled by the loud clamor of a vast numerical majority in the British Islands, thought they had discovered a short-hand way of solving the difficulty by instantly emancipating the negroes, and trusting to their alleged readiness to work as freemen at days' wages for the continuance of cultivation in the West Indies. The result is now fully ascertained.* Though not averse to occasional labor at high wages, the African can not be brought to submit to the steady, continued effort requisite to carry on cultivation in the tropical regions. This is now sufficiently demonstrated by experience. The amount of agricultural produce raised in the West Indies had sunk to *less than a half* of what it had been in 1828, within three years after final emancipation; and the export of British manufactures to them, the measure of their material comforts, had diminished in an alarming proportion. Nothing was awaiting to complete their ruin but the removal of protecting duties, and

Sir Lionel Smith's Dispatches, Nov. and Dec. 1838. Ann. Reg. 1838, 345-351; 1839, 94-98.

Fatal results of emancipation.

124. Refractoriness of the Jamaica Legislature, and its dissolution. Oct. 30. Nov. 8. Dec. 18.

* EXPORTS AND SHIPPING FROM BRITISH WEST INDIES, AND EXPORTS OF BRITISH MANUFACTURES TO THEM.

Years.	Sugar.	Rum.	Coffee.	Shipping.	British Manufactures Exported.
	Cwt.	Gallons.	Pounds.	Tons.	£
1828.....	4,313,636	5,620,174	29,987,078	272,800	3,289,704
1829.....	4,152,614	6,307,294	29,911,785	263,268	3,612,063
1836.....	3,601,791	4,868,168	18,908,486	237,922	3,786,453
1837.....	3,306,775	4,418,349	15,577,888	226,428	3,456,745
1838.....	3,520,676	4,841,310	17,538,635	235,195	3,393,441
1839.....	3,624,372	4,021,820	11,485,675	196,715	3,986,598
1840.....	2,214,764	3,780,979	12,797,039	181,736	3,574,970
1841.....	2,151,217	2,770,161	9,927,689	174,975	2,504,004

¹ *Times Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., 360, 367, and 803, 804.

the admission of foreign slave-grown sugar on terms approaching to equality; and this was, ere long, conceded to the loud demand of the same party which had insisted for immediate emancipation. The effects of this latter measure, and the lamentable impulse it has given to the foreign slave-trade, in its worst and most atrocious form, will form an interesting and instructive topic in a future chapter.

This violent collision between the British Government and the West Indian colonies has acquired greater celebrity than would have otherwise belonged to it, from its having induced a conflict of parties which rendered necessary a resignation of Ministers, and occasioned the first serious shock to the Whig power, thought to be permanently secured by the Reform Bill. Since the accession of Queen Victoria, Ministers had never been able to command a majority of more than 25 or 30 on any vital question; but being cordially supported by the Sovereign, and aware that the balance of parties had now become such that a larger majority could not for a very long period be expected by either, they still retained office. Sir R. Peel, who with equal talent and judgment led the Opposition, was wisely desirous not to precipitate matters, and supported Ministers on all occasions when any motion perilous to the monarchy or existing institutions was brought forward. Thus the Government had gone on since the accession of the Queen, existing, as it were, on the sufferance of its opponents, but still retaining such a majority in the Lower House as rendered it unadvisable for their adversaries in the mean time to dispossess them of power.

Ministers, however, felt much irritated at the pertinacious resistance of the Assembly in Jamaica to their measures relative to the West Indies; and even if they had been otherwise disposed, the urban constituencies were so violently excited on the subject that it was probably impossible to delay any longer some very stringent measure of coercion. Mr. Labouchere, accordingly, on 9th April, 1839, brought forward the Government measure on the subject, which was nothing less than a suspension of the constitution of the island for five years, and vesting the government of it, in the mean time, in the Governor and Council, and three commissioners to be sent from England, to assist in the consideration of the topics to which their early consideration would be directed, particularly the improvement of the negroes, prison discipline, and the establishment of poor-laws. This bill was opposed by the whole strength of the Opposition; ¹ *Parl. Deb.* xvi. 1243; and the vote on it produced a crisis *Ann. Reg.* 1839, 97-99, which all but overturned the Administration.²

On the part of Government, it was argued by Mr. Labouchere, Sir George Grey, and Lord John Russell: "Previous to the act of emancipation, the state of prison discipline was of little importance, as all punishments were inflicted on the slaves by the domestic authority of the master, who was unwilling to lose the benefit of his services by sending him to jail. This state of things, however, ceased when slavery

came to an end; and in addition to that, the existing prison regulations terminated when the apprenticeship ceased, which rendered a new prison bill a matter of necessity. Nevertheless, it is a measure which was in vain sought to be enforced by five successive applications to the Colonial Assembly. In fact, from the passing of the celebrated resolutions of 1822 down to the present moment, not a single measure has been adopted in furtherance of these objects for the relief of the slaves, that has not been forced upon the House of Assembly by the Imperial Parliament, with the exception of the Emancipation Bill of 1838, purchased by the noble sacrifice of this country. Three distinct occasions had arisen since that period, on which our interference had been found necessary;—when we extended the duration of that Act for a year; when we carried the Apprenticeship Amendment Bill; when we passed the Prison Bill; and the present difference is only part of the controversy that had been so long in existence between the two Legislatures with regard to the treatment of the negro population.

"After five years' experience of the fruitlessness of all recommendations to the House of Assembly, Ministers had ^{129.} *Concluded.* felt bound, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of last session of Parliament, to ask for power to dismiss improper persons from offices which they had abused in the prisons,—a power absolutely necessary to the due discharge of the responsibility with which Government was intrusted. The act was not sought to be forced on the colony; on the contrary, its adoption was recommended only in the most conciliatory manner. All the customary formalities were studiously observed in bringing it forward; but when submitted, it was met at once with a decided negative. In addition to this, the violent and vituperative language of the Jamaica Assembly formed no inconsiderable argument for such a temporary suspension of its functions as might give them time to recover their temper, and enable them to discharge with propriety their legislative functions. If something of this sort was not done, the authority of Great Britain over its colonies would be speedily lost, and every little island that owed its existence to the protection afforded ¹ *Parl. Deb.* xvi. 247, by the Imperial Government, would ^{1263; Ann. Reg. 1839, 98-100, not scruple to set its power at defiance."¹}

On the other hand, it was maintained by Sir R. Peel, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Gladstone: ^{130.} "Without pretending to answer of the justify the violent language used *Conservatives.* by the Jamaica Assembly in May, yet it is doubtful whether the bill now under consideration is either justified by its antecedents, or recommended by its probable consequences. In a country which had been accustomed always to impose its own taxations, it is in contemplation to vest in a governor and council, and three commissioners appointed by the Crown, authority to levy taxes to the amount of £500,000 a year; and that too at the very time when Lord Durham, in his report on Canada, has recommended them to make the executive officers of that colony responsible, not to the Crown or the home Government, but to the Colonial Assembly. Is it likely that we shall advance the cause of no-

^{128.} *Argument of Ministers in support of the bill.*

gro emancipation throughout the world, and especially in the United States, by thus proclaiming that it is inconsistent with responsible government, and that the first thing which must be done after its adoption is to destroy the political rights of the state by which it has been adopted? Many considerations urge us to consider maturely whether no other alternative exists, in the present posture of affairs, than the entire abolition of the Jamaica constitution. The insolent language of the Assembly can not be justly pleaded in justification of such an extreme measure; for what popular government could be maintained for an hour if that ground were held justifiable? The Jamaica Assembly had no slight grounds of provocation. When it was proposed last year to remit the remaining term of apprenticeship, Ministers very properly met the demand with a refusal, alleging with truth that the national faith was pledged to its continuance for the entire term of seven years. Yet, in the very next year, Sir Lionel Smith, on the part of Government, urged on the Jamaica Assembly that they ought to terminate the apprenticeship themselves. Finding then the executive government combined with the influence of numbers at home, no option was left to them but to do what the Government at home had refused to sanction, and abolish the apprenticeship. This is the real cause of difference between the two Legislatures, and on this account the colonial Assembly is entitled to some little indulgence.

"There are," said Mr. Canning in 1824, "three possible modes in which the 131. Parliament might deal with the people of Jamaica. By the application of direct force we might crush them with a finger; we might harass them with penal regulations restraining their navigation; or we might pursue the slow and steady course of authoritative admonition. I am for trying first that which I have last mentioned; I hope we shall never be driven to the second. And with respect to the first, I trust that no feeling of wounded pride, no motive of questionable expedience—nothing short of real and demonstrable necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of Parliament over every dependency of the British Crown. That transcendental power is an arcanum of the empire, which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the constitution. It exists, but it should be veiled. It should not be produced in cases of petty refractoriness, nor indeed on any occasion short of the utmost extremity of the State.' Adopting the sentiments of this great statesman, are we prepared to assert that the occasion which has now occurred is one in which the necessity appears of bringing the transcendental power from the penetralia of the temple? Devoutly it is to be wished that the House may be made to perceive the probable consequences of the double precedent now about to be set, and the general uneasiness which will prevail. The violent step now under consideration is proposed to be applied to half the whole white population in the British colonies in the West Indies and South America. The whole public revenue of these dependencies is £540,000; that of Jamaica alone is £300,000. The value of our imports into these colonies in 1838 was (official) 132. "£6,000; that of Jamaica alone, £3,000,000.

The exports from our South American and West Indian colonies were laid at £9,932,000.

Such is the importance of the colonies into which it is now proposed to throw the fire-brand of discord, by at once stripping the most important of them of their whole rights as British citizens!" 1 Part. Deb. xlvii. 943, 967; Ann. Reg. 1839, 104-106.

The debate was protracted through several nights, and counsel were heard at great length against the bill. The division took place at five in the morning of 6th May, and although Ministers were supported by the whole of the Irish Catholic and Scotch Liberal members, which made up their usual majority, they had on this occasion only one of five, the numbers being 294 to 289. So small a majority upon a vital question necessarily drew after it a resignation by Ministers; for, deducting the members of the Cabinet who had a seat in the House, they were actually in a minority. It was a matter of no surprise, therefore, when Lord John Russell announced on the 7th May that Ministers had tendered their resignation, which had been accepted by her Majesty. The reasons assigned by him for this step were, that the vote which had passed must weaken the authority of the Crown in the colonies, by giving support to the contumacy of Jamaica, encourage others of them to follow the bad example of its Assembly, and render impossible the measures which they had in contemplation for the settlement of the affairs of Upper and Lower Canada." 1 Part. Deb. xlvii. 967, 973; An. Reg. 1839, 119, 120.

Although these reasons, thus publicly assigned, appeared abundantly sufficient to justify the step which had been taken, yet they were not real ones. Other and more pressing remained behind, which, perhaps with more candor than prudence, were on a subsequent night stated by Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords. "I should be exceedingly sorry if the accusation could be justly made against me of abandoning my post in circumstances of difficulty or danger. When I was removed from office in 1835, I stated in reply to various addresses presented to me, that disunions among its supporters had broken up the Administration, and that nothing but the most complete co-operation of all who in any degree thought with us could re-establish us in power, or maintain us there for any length of time, if re-established then. The union I advised has subsisted for a considerable length of time, but at length it has been broken up; and considering that there was so much discord among my supporters as to render it impossible for me to conduct the Government efficiently, and for the good of the country, I resigned my office. A great change has lately taken place in the constitution, which has excited considerable alarm in the minds of many who had great experience and knowledge in public affairs. One of the ablest and most experienced statesmen in Europe gave it as his opinion, with respect to these changes, 'They may do very well in times of peace, when there is no financial difficulty; but should we be involved in war, and feel the pressure of pecuniary difficulties, you will see how your new constitution will work.' 133. Real reasons of this step, as assigned by Lord Melbourne.

Unless there be a due regard to the dictates of common sense in the country, that difficulty will be hard to meet. I will not attempt to decide which of the parties which divide the country is the better fitted to govern it; but I will quote a remark of William III., a man of most prudent, simple, and sagacious mind. 'I do not know,' said he to Bishop Burnet, 'whether a monarchy or a republic be the better form of government; much may be said on either side; but I can tell you that which is the worst—a monarchy which has not the power to put in effect the measures necessary for the good of the people.'"¹

As a matter of course, the Queen, upon the resignation of Lord Melbourne, sent for the Duke of Wellington, the last premier of the party which had now displaced its adversaries; and he recommended to her Majesty to send for Sir R. Peel, upon the ground

that, situated as the constitution now was, the leader of the Government should be in the House of Commons. Sir Robert, accordingly, was sent for, and on entering the royal cabinet he was informed by her Majesty, who acted throughout the whole transaction in the most candid and honorable manner, "that she had parted with her late Ministers with great regret, as they had given her entire satisfaction." Yielding, however, to the conditions of a constitutional monarchy, she tendered to him the formation of a Cabinet, which he accepted, at the same time stating the difficulties which any new Ministry would have to encounter. He accordingly conferred with his immediate friends, and next day laid before her Majesty a list of persons whom he designed to form part of the new Cabinet, embracing the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. Goulburn. The Duke of Wellington desired a seat in the Cabinet and the lead in the House of Lords, without office; but the Queen wished that he should hold some important situation, to which wish his Grace would doubtless have at once acceded. Some progress had been made in filling up the principal offices, when the negotiation was abruptly brought to a close by a difficulty about certain ladies in her Majesty's household, which ended in reinstating the Whig Government in power.²

So little had the new premier anticipated any difficulty on this subject, that at the first conference with her Majesty he did not even mention it to her; and it was only on turning to the Bed Book, after conferring with some of his proposed colleagues, he found that the two ladies holding the highest situations in the Queen's household were the wife of Lord Normanby and the sister of Lord Morpeth, the noblemen most opposed to him in politics. Upon this he stated that he hoped these exalted ladies would resign, but that if they did not, he must propose their removal, in the necessity of which his colleagues acquiesced. When the subject, however, was brought before her Majesty on the following morning, she stated that she would consent to

no change in the ladies of her household, erroneously conceiving that what Sir Robert intended was the change of *all* the ladies in her household. Sir Robert, however, remained firm, conceiving, as he afterward stated in the House, that taking into view the difficulties of his position, having to contend with a hostile majority in the House of Commons, and very great embarrassment in Ireland and the colonies, he could not carry on the Government with advantage to the country, unless cordially supported, or at least not thwarted, by those who enjoyed her Majesty's confidence. The Queen's advisers, consisting of the late Cabinet, conceived that this was an unwonted and unjustifiable encroachment on the control, which naturally belonged to her, of the ladies of her own household, and accordingly, after written communications to this effect, drawn on the Queen's side by Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, had been interchanged, the negotiation broke off, Lord Melbourne was sent for, and the whole Whig Ministry were reinstated in power, in the situations they had respectively held before their resignations.^{1*}

* "BUCKINGHAM PALACE, May 10, 1839.—The Queen having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir R. Peel, to remove the Ladies of her Bedchamber, can not consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings."

To this communication Sir R. Peel, the same forenoon, returned the following answer: "Sir R. Peel presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has had the honor of receiving your Majesty's note of this morning. Sir R. Peel trusts that your Majesty will permit him to state to your Majesty his impression with respect to the circumstances which have led to the termination of his attempt to form an Administration for the conduct of your Majesty's service."

"In the interview with which your Majesty honored Sir R. Peel yesterday morning, after he had submitted to your Majesty the names of those he proposed to recommend to your Majesty for the principal executive appointments, he mentioned to your Majesty his earnest wish to be enabled, by your Majesty's sanction, so to constitute your Majesty's household that your Majesty's confidential servants might have the advantage of a public demonstration of your Majesty's full support and confidence; and at the same time, so far as possible consistently with such demonstration, each individual appointment in the household should be entirely acceptable to your Majesty's personal feelings. On your Majesty's expressing a desire that the Earl of Liverpool should hold an office in the household, Sir R. Peel immediately requested your Majesty's permission at once to confer on Lord Liverpool the office of Lord Steward, or any other office which he might prefer. Sir R. Peel then observed that he should have every wish to apply a similar principle to the chief appointments which are filled by the ladies of your Majesty's household; upon which your Majesty was pleased to remark, 'that you must retain the whole of these appointments, and that it was your Majesty's pleasure that the whole should continue as at present without any change.' The Duke of Wellington, in the interview to which your Majesty subsequently admitted him, understood also that this was your Majesty's determination, and concurred with Sir R. Peel in opinion, that considering the great difficulties of the present crisis, and the expediency of making every effort, in the first instance, to conduct the public business of the country with the aid of the present Parliament, it was essential to the success of the mission with which your Majesty had honored Sir R. Peel, that he should have such public proof of your Majesty's entire support and confidence, which would be afforded by the permission to make some changes on your Majesty's household, which your Majesty resolved on maintaining entirely without change. Having had the opportunity, through your Majesty's gracious consideration, of reflecting upon this point, he humbly submits to your Majesty that he is reluctantly compelled, by a sense of public duty, and of the interest of your Majesty's service, to adhere to the opinion which he ventured to express to your Majesty."

—*Parl. Deb.* xlvii. 985; and *Ann. Reg.* 1839, p. 191, 122.

^{134.}
Sir R. Peel is sent for, and forms the programme of a Government.

² Sir R. Peel's Statement, *Parl. Deb.* xlvii. 984; *Ann. Reg.* 1839, 190.

^{135.}
Difficulty about the household appointments, which causes the negotiation to fail.
May 20.

Parl. Deb. xlviii. 267, 268; *Ann. Reg.* 1839, 128-134.

From the failure of the attempt to construct a Ministry upon Conservative principles on a matter apparently so slight as the Ladies of the Bed-chamber, it is evident that Sir R. Peel was by no means sanguine as to the success of his mission, nor annoyed at the failure of the attempt to fulfill it. He himself said shortly afterward in Parliament, that "his difficulties were not Canada, they were not Jamaica; his difficulties were *Ireland*." Lord Melbourne observed in the House of Peers: "I frankly declare that I resume office unequivocally, and solely for this reason, that I will not abandon my Sovereign in a situation of difficulty and distress, and especially when a demand is made upon her Majesty with which I think she ought not to comply—a demand inconsistent with her personal honor, and which, if acquiesced in, would render her reign liable to all the changes and variations of political parties, and render her domestic life one constant scene of unhappiness and discomfort." And the Duke of Wellington said: "It is essential that the Minister should possess the entire confidence of her Majesty, and with that view should exercise the usual control permitted to the Minister by the Sovereign in the construction of the household. There is the greatest possible difference between the household of the Queen-consort and the household of the Queen-regnant; that of the former, who is

not a political personage, being comparatively of little importance."

The first trying question which awaited the Ministry after their resumption of office, was the election of a Speaker, in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Abercromby, who had held it for four years, on the ground of ill health. Two candidates, both unexceptionable in point of qualification, were proposed—Mr. Shaw Lefevre by the Ministry, Mr. Goulburn by the Opposition. The former was carried by a majority of 18, which might be considered as a fair test, at that period, of the comparative strength of parties in the House of Commons. Government, however, were not so fortunate in their next measure, which was a second Jamaica Bill. It was strongly opposed in the Commons by Sir R. Peel, and only carried by a majority of 10. In the Lords it was reduced to the shape for which Sir R. Peel had contended in the Lower House. As so amended, it allowed time to the Jamaica Assembly to re-enact the usual laws, without which the business of the island could not proceed, and invested the Governor and Council with power to re-enact these laws in the event of the Assembly separating without renewing them. In this form the bill passed the House of Lords, and was accepted by the Jamaica Assembly; "a measure," said Lord J. Russell, "in its present state, not nearly so effective as I could wish, and only better than none."

¹ Parl. Deb. xlviii. 987-989, and the household of the Queen-regnant; ¹ Parl. Deb. xlix. 83.

¹ Parl. Deb. xlix. 83.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ENGLAND FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE WHIG MINISTRY IN MAY, 1839, TO THEIR FALL IN AUGUST, 1841.

It is now time to resume the story of the personal life of the Sovereign, which, amidst the multiplied transactions—social, colonial, and parliamentary—of this period has been hitherto overlooked, but now came to exercise an important influence on public affairs. Ever since her accession to the throne, the youthful Queen had been the object of intense interest and affection to her subjects, and this increased in warmth as the period of her expected coronation approached. A graceful and accomplished horsewoman, the young Sovereign delighted in appearing before her admiring people, by whom she was always greeted with enthusiasm. No apprehensions of personal danger from the insane or disaffected for a moment deterred her from showing herself in this manner, though the event proved that such fears would have been too well founded. "Let my people see me," was her constant answer to those who suggested the possibility of such risk. This intrepid conduct met with its deserved reward; the Queen's popularity increased every day. The spectacle of a youthful and beautiful Queen appearing on horseback amidst her subjects, with no other guards but their loyalty and affection, was one which could not fail of speaking to the heart of a nation, in which the chivalrous feelings were still so strongly rooted as they were in the English people. One melancholy event, terminating in a mournful end, alone interrupted this cordial feeling; but its influence was of short duration; and even while it lasted—while the people lamented that their Sovereign should have been misled by erroneous information—yet they respected the motives by which she had been actuated, and saw in it only a proof of her earnest desire to uphold the purity of a court to which her sway had lent so much lustre.¹

The coronation took place on the 28th June, 1838, and though shorn of much of the quaint feudal splendor, which had now become antiquated, it was conducted on a scale of very great magnificence. So general was the interest excited by its approach, that it was calculated that, on the day when it took place, four hundred thousand strangers were added to the million and a half which already formed the population of the metropolis. The great change introduced was the substitution of a procession through the streets for the wonted banquet in Westminster Hall—a change suited to the altered temper of the times, and abundantly justified by the result; for instead of a limited assembly of nobles, the whole inhabitants of London were admitted to witness the ceremony. "The earth," says the contemporary annalist, "was alive with men; the habitations in the line of march cast forth their occupants to the

balconies and the house-tops. The windows were lifted out of their frames, and the asylum of private life, that sanctuary which our countrymen guard with such traditional jealousy, was on this occasion made accessible to the gaze of the entire world. The morning was dark and lowering, but the clouds rolled away with the firing of the guns from the Tower, and before the procession set out, the sun was shining with uncommon brilliancy. The procession moved from Buckingham Palace, up Constitution Hill, along Piccadilly, down St. James's Street, and thence along Pall Mall and Parliament Street to Westminster Abbey. The venerable pile was splendidly decorated in the interior for the occasion, and all the venerable usages, redolent of remote antiquity, religiously observed. The Queen's personal appearance and animated countenance were the admiration of every beholder. Among the numerous foreigners of distinction present, none attracted so much notice as Marshal Soult, who was sent as special ambassador from France to do honor to her Majesty. Thunders of applause shook Guildhall, when, at a splendid entertainment given by the Corporation of London to the illustrious stranger, he stood up beside his ancient antagonist in arms, the Duke of Wellington, to return thanks when their healths were jointly drank. The economical part of the nation was gratified by the lessened cost of the ceremony; for the entire expense was only £70,000, whereas that of George IV. had cost £248,000. A general illumination closed the festivities, the lights of which were not extinguished when the rays of the sun on the following morning shone on the metropolis.¹

A still more important event in the history of the Queen, which has been attended with the happiest consequences, took place in the following year. To Prince Albert Great anxiety had for some time prevailed in the country on the subject of her Majesty's marriage, both on account of her own deserved popularity, and from a sense of the importance, in the troubled times which were evidently approaching, of a direct succession to the throne. As the Marriage Act confined her Majesty's choice to foreign families, several young princes, attracted by the splendid prize, flocked to England, and shared in the magnificent hospitalities of Windsor; but for long the Queen's choice seemed undecided. Several surmises, however, at length were heard of a preference shown for a young prince of prepossessing figure and elegant manners; and universal satisfaction was diffused by the confirmation they received from her Majesty communicating to the Privy Council, assembled at Buckingham Palace on November 23, 1839, her intention of allying herself with PRINCE AL-

¹ Ann. Reg. 1838. Chron. 95, 96, 136, 137. Mart. II. 440.

² Her marriage to Prince Albert.

³ Her coronation. June 28, 1838.

Nov. 23, 1839.

have formed the basis of colonial administration ever since that time. It is only to be regretted that, combined with these just views of colonies and emigration, there was not introduced a wise and extensive system of transportation, which might not only have relieved the mother country of that prodigious accumulation of incorrigible offenders which has since been felt as so serious an evil, but, by providing a steady supply of forced labor for the formation of roads, bridges, and harbors in the colonies, have left individual free enterprise to devote itself to the cultivation of the separate properties, and thus rendered the increase of crime in the British Islands an additional source of prosperity and happiness to the whole empire.¹

Some very curious and important facts bearing on the great questions of emigration and colonization were brought out in the course of this debate. It was stated by Mr. Ward, that in the last forty-two years the American Government had realized by the sale of waste lands in the different States of the Union no less than £17,000,000 sterling, and yet these States, so far from having been retarded in their growth by so large a price being exacted for the purchase of lands, had made unprecedented progress in population, wealth, and industry. As a contrast to this, our own North American colonies, where vast tracts of land had been alienated to a few individuals incapable of improving them, remained comparatively waste and desolate, and not only made no progress, but brought in no revenue to lay the foundation of a better state of things. In the United States of America, no less than 140,000,000 of acres belonging to the State had been surveyed and mapped at an expense of no less than £500,000; and for the information of intended purchasers, a general land-office was established at Washington, and forty subordinate ones in different parts of the Union. The sum paid into the treasury since the system was introduced amounted to 84,000,000 dollars, by means of which the national debt had been paid off; and the annual sums paid into the treasury from this source, which in 1795 had been only 4886 dollars, had risen progressively, till in 1836 they amounted to 24,000,000 dollars.²

On the other hand, the adoption of the opposite system in most of the British colonies had been attended with the most disastrous results. In the case of the Swan River in Western Australia, no less than 500,000 acres were granted to Mr. Peel, who took out £50,000 to cultivate it; and the Governor got 100,000 acres: but these huge grants remained desolate, for the laborers taken out, not being attached to the soil by the bonds of property, all dispersed, and the colony went to ruin. In New South Wales, since the system of selling land had been introduced in 1832, though the price asked was the very inadequate one of 5s. an acre, no less than £240,091 had been realized in four years, which was a security for £1,000,000 of an emigration fund. In Canada, the system of large grants had been the most serious of all bars to improvement, and was the great cause of the acknowledged inferiority at that period (1839) of those provinces to the United States. In Upper Canada, out of 17,663,000 acres surveyed, only 1,697,000 remained unappropriated; in Lower Canada, only 1,669,968 out of 6,169,000; and in Nova Scotia, only 250,000 out of 6,000,000. In Prince Edward's Island 1,400,000 acres had been alienated in one day, in blocks of from 20,000 to 150,000 acres each. Of all this immense territory the greater part remained waste and uncultivated; not one-tenth of the alienated land had been rendered profitable, while the opposite shores of America were teeming with towns, villages, and inhabitants. On the other hand, since the opposite system had been wisely adopted in 1831, by Lord Howick, in South Australia, the most gratifying results had taken place. No less than 124,788 acres had been alienated from 1831 to 1839, for a price of £124,499; and the inhabitants who already had gone out in five years were no less than 10,000 souls, at a cost of £18 a head. Sir W. Molesworth at the same time mentioned the important fact, that the rapid progress of Australia was owing, not to the Government having provided the settlers with gratuitous lands, but "having furnished the combinable labor, which gave value to the soil, by means of convict slaves transported at the cost of the country, while the Government had further created an excellent market in the form of convict, civil, and military establishments for the manufactures of the country. They had granted away 7,000,000 acres, and transported in all 110,000 persons, of whom from 80,000 to 40,000 were now in private service."³

These valuable observations indicate the principles on which the new colonial administration of Great Britain has been founded, which, beyond all system of doubt, are in themselves just, and for introducing which the Whig Government, and in particular Lord Howick (now Earl Grey), who first reduced it to practice in 1831, deserve the highest credit. These principles are: 1. To alienate the crown lands only in moderate quantities to individuals, and at such prices as render the purchase of large tracts impossible by any one person; 2. Out of the price obtained for these lands to form a fund for the gratuitous removal of emigrants to aid in their cultivation; 3. To give to the local Legislature of the colonies such extensive powers as to render them, to all practical ends, self-governed. The latter object, which has now, though after a considerable lapse of time, been attained, by granting constitutions on the most liberal principles to all the colonies, was absolutely indispensable after the Reform Bill passed, and alone has held the colonial empire together since that momentous epoch. As the destruction of the nomination boroughs, by which the colonies had been formerly represented without the admission of any direct representation into the imperial Legislature, exposed the colonies without any shield to the rule of adverse interests in the heart of the empire, they must soon have broken off from British connection had they not been rendered practically self-governed, and thus retained in their allegiance by the firm and enduring bond of mutual interest.

The year 1839 is remarkable as being the first

¹ Parl. Deb. xlviii. 998, 1017; Ann. Reg. 1839, 229, 241.

² 10. Important facts connected with emigration and colonization brought out in this debate.

³ Parl. Deb. xlviii. 1042, 1049; Ann. Reg. 1839, 232.

11. Continued.

¹ Parl. Deb. xlviii. 1043, 1050; Ann. Reg. 1839, 223, 237.

¹² New colonial system of Endoubt, are in themselves just, and gland.

in which a body of emigrants landed from the British shores to establish a settlement in NEW ZEALAND. In October 13. First settle- ment of Brit- ish colonists in New Zea- land. of that year the "*Tory*" sailed from the Clyde with some hundred emigrants on board, bound for that distant and then almost unknown land.

It was known to be intersected by lofty mountains, which gave promise of mineral riches, abounding in grassy vales, watered by pure and perennial streams, and blessed by a genial climate, equally removed from the snows of the arctic or the heats of the torrid zone. But it was known also to be inhabited by a race of savages who had acquired an unenviable celebrity all over the world as cannibals, and to whose real dangers imagination for long had added visionary terrors. It required no small courage in a small body of men to make more than half the circuit of the globe to settle in this distant and phantom-peopled realm; but the spirit of adventure indigenous in the Anglo-Saxon race, and which then existed in peculiar vigor in the British Islands, was equal to the undertaking; and the hardy emigrants, amidst the tears and prayers of their relations and friends, took their departure from the banks of the Clyde.¹

¹ Personal knowledge.

Amidst the whirl of party politics and the struggle for political power, this event excited little attention in London. 14. Speech at Glasgow to the New Zealand emigrants. But it was otherwise in the provinces, where its importance was more clearly appreciated; and at a public dinner given in Glasgow to the emigrants

previous to their departure, a gentleman present thus addressed the assembly: "Let us no longer strain after the impracticable attempt to disarm the commercial jealousy of European states, but boldly looking our situation in the face, direct our main efforts to the strengthening, consolidating, and increasing our colonial empire. There are to be found the bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; there the true descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race; there the people who, already imbued with our tastes, our habits, our artificial wants, must be chained for centuries to agricultural or pastoral employments, and can only obtain from the mother country the immense amount of manufacturing produce which their wealth and numbers must require. There is no one circumstance in the present condition of Great Britain—not even those which are justly considered as pregnant with danger and alarm—that may not be converted into a source of blessing, if a decided and manly course is taken by the nation and its Government in regard to its colonial interests. Indeed, so clearly does this appear, that one is almost tempted to believe that the manifold political and social evils of our present condition are the scourges intended by Providence to bring us back, by necessity and a sense of our own interests, to those great national duties from which we have so long and unaccountably swerved. Are we oppressed with a numerous and redundant population, and justly apprehensive that a mass of human beings, already consisting of twenty-five millions, and increasing at the rate of a thousand a day, will ere long be unable to find employment within the narrow space of these islands? Let us turn to the colonies, and there we shall find bound-

less regions capable of maintaining ten times our present population in contentment and affluence, and which require only the surplus arms and mouths of the parent State to be converted into gigantic empires, which may, before a century has elapsed, overshadow the greatness even of European renown.

"Are we justly fearful that the increasing manufacturing skill and growing commercial jealousy of the Continental states may gradually shut us out from the European market, and that our millions of manufacturers may find their sources of foreign subsistence fail at a time when all home employments are filled up? Let us turn to the colonies, and there we shall see empires of gigantic strength rapidly rising to maturity, in which manufacturing establishments can not for a very long period take root, and in which the taste for British manufactures and the habits of British comfort are indelibly implanted in the British race. Are we overburdened with the weight and the multitude of our paupers, and trembling under the effect of the deep-rooted discontent produced in the attempt to withdraw public support from the starving but able-bodied laborers? Let us find the means of transporting these robust laborers to our colonial settlements, and we shall confer as great a blessing upon them as we shall give relief to the parent State. Are we disquieted by the rapid progress of corruption in our great towns, and the enormous mass of female profligacy which now infests those great marts of pleasure and opulence? Let us look to the colonies, and there we shall find states in which the great evil experienced is the undue preponderance of the male sex; and all that is wanting to right the principle of increase is the transfer of part of the female population which now encumbers the British Isles. Are the means to transport these numerous and indigent classes to those distant regions awaiting? and has individual emigration hitherto been liable to the reproach that it removes the better class of citizens, who could do for themselves, and leaves the poorest a burden on the community? The British navy lies between; and means exist of transporting, at a trifling cost to the parent State, all that can be required of our working population from that part of the empire which they overburden, to that where they would prove a blessing.

"Powerful as these considerations are, drawn from private interest or public advantage, there are yet greater things than these; there are higher duties with which man is intrusted than those connected with kindred or country; and if their due discharge is to be ascertained by statistical details, it is those which measure the growth of moral and religious improvement rather than those which measure the increase of commerce and opulence. What said the Most High, in that auspicious moment when the eagle first sported in the returning sunbeam, when the dove brought back the olive-branch to a guilty and expiring world, and the 'robe of beams was woven in the sky which first spoke peace to man?' 'God shall increase Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.' God has multiplied Japhet, and well and nobly has he performed his destiny. After conquer-

15. Continued.

16. Continued.

ing in the Roman legions the ancient world, after humanizing the barbarism of antiquity by the power of the Roman sway and the influence of the Roman law, the 'audax Japeti genus' has transmitted to modern times the far more glorious inheritance of European freedom. After having conquered in the British navy the empire of the seas, it has extended to the utmost verge of the earth the influence of humanized manners, and bequeathed to future ages the far more glorious inheritance of British colonization. But mark the difference in the action of the descendants of Japhet—the European race—upon the fortunes of mankind, from the influence of that religion to which the Roman empire was only the mighty pioneer. The Roman legions conquered only by the sword; fire and bloodshed attended their steps. It was said by our own ancestors on the hills of Caledonia, that they gave peace only by establishing a solitude: 'Ubi solitudinem fecerunt pacem adpellant.'

"The British colonists now set out with the olive-branch, not the sword, in their hands—with the cross, not the eagle, on their banners; they bring not war and devastation, but peace and civilization, around their banners, and the track of their chariot-wheels is followed, not by the signs of a captive, but the blessings of a liberated world. 'He shall dwell,' says the prophecy, 'in the tents of Shem.' Till these times that prophecy has not been accomplished. The descendants of Shem—the Arabic race—still held the fairest portions of the earth, and the march of civilization, like the path of the sun, has hitherto been from east to west. From the plains of Shinar to the isles of Greece, from the isles of Greece to the hills of Rome, from the hills of Rome to the shores of Britain, from the shores of Britain to the wilds of America, the march of civilization has been steadily in one direction, and it has never reverted to the land of its birth. Is, then, this progress of civilization destined to be perpetual? Is the tide of civilization to roll only to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and is the sun of knowledge to set at last in the waves of the Pacific? No, the mighty day of four thousand years is drawing to its close; the sun of humanity has performed its destined course; but long ere its setting beams are extinguished in the West, its ascending rays have glittered on the isles of the Eastern seas. We stand on the verge of the great revolution of Time; the descendants of Japhet are about to dwell in the tents of Shem; civilization is returning to the land of its birth; and another day and another race are beginning to shed their influence upon the human species. Already the British arms in India have given herald of its approach, and spread into the heart of Asia the terrors of the English name and the justice of the English rule.

And now we see the race of Japhet setting out to people the isles of the Eastern seas, and the seeds of another Europe and a second England sown in the regions of the sun."¹

Less momentous in its ultimate consequences than this all-important subject of colonial emigration, but far more interesting at the time to the inhabitants of the dominant islands, the topic of POST-OFFICE REFORM at this period

awakened a large portion of public attention. Mr. Rowland Hill was the principal author of the great change which was ere long adopted by Government, and he found a zealous coadjutor in Parliament in Mr. Wallace of Kelly, the member for Greenock. His plan consisted in at once reducing the postage of all letters, which at that period were variously charged, for inland distance, from 2d. to 1s. 2d., to 1d. for every distance. The probable increase in the number of letters transmitted from this great reduction would, he contended, ere long compensate to the exchequer the consequences of the reduction of rates; and even if it should prove otherwise, the facilities given to mercantile communication, and the vast advantages of a great increase in friendly and domestic intercourse, were well worth purchasing at the cost of an inconsiderable diminution of revenue. It was truly said, that if Government were to lay a tax of sixpence on every person *speaking* to their children, the injustice of the tax would be so universally felt that it would not stand twenty-four hours; yet what difference is there when parents are prohibited from writing to their children, or children to their parents, unless they pay that tax in the shape of postage? That the postage of letters is too high, is decisively proved by the fact that, between the years 1815 and 1835, the Post-office revenue, instead of increasing, had remained stationary; whereas, from the mere augmentation of population, it should have increased £507,500. There was much force in these considerations: and such was the enthusiasm which they excited among the mercantile classes, and the pressure they exerted upon the Legislature, that, after much opposition, the scheme was at length adopted by Government, by a bill introduced into the Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on July 5, 1839, which became law on 17th August thereafter. The majority for its adoption was no less than 102. A fourpenny rate office Reform, was at first adopted for a few weeks; but the reduced rate of a penny for each half-ounce came into operation on the 10th January, 1840.²

Seventeen years have now elapsed since this great change was adopted, and experience has amply tested its results. In one point of view they have been satisfactory, in another the reverse. By a return presented to the House of Commons in 1849, it appeared that the number of letters had quadrupled since the introduction of the new system in 1840.* So far there is every reason for congratulation; for so great an increase in internal communication could not have taken place without a vast addition to human happiness, and no small strengthening of domestic love, the strongest safeguard of human virtue. But if the effects of this change upon the revenue are considered, and the ultimate results to the general taxation of the empire, a very different conclusion must be formed. The net revenue from the Post-office of the United

* LETTERS PASSING THROUGH THE POST-OFFICE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

1839	51,400,516	1847	323,146,941
1840	108,708,244	1848	328,839,185
1844	242,001,685	1849	337,065,167

—*Parl. Returns*, July, 1850; and PORTER, p. 711.

¹ Speech of Mr. Alison, Oct. 15, 1839; Collected Essays, iii. 473.

² Post-office reform. Mr. Hill's plan.

Kingdom before the change was £1,648,000; and in 1850, after ten years' operation,* it was only £738,000—it having sunk the year after the introduction of the change to £410,000, since which there has been a progressive advance. These figures appear in some degree to justify the expectations held out as to the increase in the number of letters posted coming at length to compensate the reduction in the rates of postage; but they prove to be altogether illusory, and to lead to a directly opposite conclusion, when a fact, carefully concealed by the Liberals, but which has since been extracted from Lord John Russell, in a debate on the navy estimates, is taken into consideration. This is, that when the penny postage was introduced, the whole expense of the packet service, which formerly had been borne by the Post-office, amounting to £784,000 a year, was thrown upon the navy. If this large sum were replaced as a charge on the Post-office, which it should be to make the comparison fair, it would more than absorb the whole present surplus revenue derived from that establishment; so that, literally speaking, it is *not now self-supporting*. The reason is, that the expense of the establishment, even without the packet service, has been so much increased by the change; before 1850 it had doubled, having risen from £670,000 to £1,320,000, while the gross receipts had declined from £2,500,000 to £2,165,000. The failure of the scheme, in a financial point of view, appears still more clearly when it is recollected that the foreign and colonial postage, especially to America and the colonies, is still charged at the old heavy rates, though, to keep up the illusion, it forms part of the British penny-postage returns; and that a considerable addition has since the change been made to this branch of revenue, by making the Post-office the vehicle, which it the Nation, was not before, for the cheap conveyance of books and parcels.[†]

The truth is, that the penny postage has broken down, so far as raising any surplus received from this source is concerned, from a very obvious cause, and which, in recent times, has occasioned the ruin of many other branches of revenue, and is one main cause of the disappearance of the sinking-fund, and constant financial embarrassment in which the country has since been involved. This is, that the reduction, however expedient and proper to a certain extent, was carried much too far. It is the greatest possible mistake to assert, as

is so often done by the cheapening party, that you can never lower duties too much, and that the only secure foundation for a large revenue is an evanescent taxation. Under such a system it will very soon disappear altogether. Had a 8d. or 2d. postage for all letters been introduced, it would have been hailed as a great boon by the nation, and would soon have yielded a surplus revenue, in the first case, of £1,500,000, in the last of £800,000 a year; whereas, under the penny system, it in reality does not pay its own expense, if the packet-service expenses, the cost of which was formerly paid by the Post-office, are brought to its debit. The effects of this great mistake have been very serious, and are now, it is to be feared, irremediable. Coupled with the general failure of the revenue in other departments at this period from the monetary crisis, the great deficit of £1,500,000 a year from the Post-office occasioned such a chasm in the revenue that a great effort to replace it became indispensable; and recourse was necessarily had to what Sir R. Peel had shortly before justly called "the dire scourge of direct taxation." This rash and excessive change in the Post-office is thus to be regarded as the parent of the income-tax, now imposed as a lasting burden on a small portion of the nation; and a part of the general system, since so extensively carried out, of taking the weight of direct taxation entirely off the shoulders of the dominant multitude, and laying it on a few hundred thousands of the community.

Another matter seriously occupied the attention of the House of Commons and Parliament in this year, arising out of the perhaps imprudent exercise of the privilege of Parliament. The origin of the dispute was this: In the year 1836, Lord Chief-Justice Denman declared from the bench that the authority of the House of Commons could not justify the publication of a libel, while the House maintained that what was printed and published under the direction or by the authority of the House could not be questioned in any court of law, not even the highest. A committee of the House of Commons, to whom the matter was referred, reported to this effect on 30th May, 1837, and the House resolved in the same terms, declaring any attempt to question this a violation of the privileges of Parliament.[†] Meanwhile Messrs. Hansard, the par-

† The resolutions of the House of Commons were as follows:

"I. That the power of publishing such of its reports,

* RETURNS AND CHARGES OF THE POST-OFFICE FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Year ending 5th January.	Gross Receipts.	Expense of Management.	Net Revenue.	Real Net Revenue, inclusive of Charges on Government Departments.
1830	£2,467,315	£860,756	£1,676,523	....
1840	2,523,494	741,076	1,641,068	....
New System.				
1841	1,350,466	858,677	800,789	£410,028
1842	1,499,418	938,168	561,349	447,993
1843	1,578,145	977,104	600,541	478,479
1844	1,020,867	980,650	640,317	523,714
1845	1,705,087	965,110	719,957	610,730
1846	1,887,576	1,125,594	761,982	660,791
1847	1,923,837	1,128,745	825,113	794,757
1848	2,181,016	1,106,990	954,406	863,306
1849	2,143,679	1,403,250	740,429	694,526
1850	2,165,349	1,324,502	840,787	733,863

—FORSTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 714, 3d edit.

liamentary printers and publishers, had published in the parliamentary proceedings certain reports on prisons, in one of which a book, published by Messrs. J. and J. Stockdale, found in a prison, was severely animadverted upon. Upon this Stockdale prosecuted the Hansards for libel, who in their turn pleaded the authority and privilege of Parliament. Lord Denman overruled the defense.* The Hansards declined to plead to the court as incompetent, and the result was that judgment went by default, and the damages were assessed at £600 by the jury in the sheriff court. Stockdale pressed for instant execution, and the Sheriffs of London, Messrs. William Evans and John Wheelton, having in vain petitioned for delay, were compelled to assess and levy the damages, which was done by an execution in the Hansards' premises, on 12th November.¹

¹ *Parl. Deb.* ii. 101, iii. 190, 202, 203; *Ann. Reg.* 1840, 19-21.

The Sheriffs, anxious to gain time in the hope that some mode of escaping the dilemma in which they were placed might be discovered, delayed, after the execution, paying the money to the Messrs. Stockdale. Upon this the Court of Queen's Bench granted a rule calling on the Sheriffs to show cause why they did not pay the money to the Messrs. Stockdale, and at the same time the House of Commons ordered them to the bar of the house to answer for breach of privilege in not paying back the money to the Messrs. Hansard. The Sheriffs then could not avoid either commitment by the Court of Queen's Bench for disobedience of its orders, or by the House of Commons for breach of privilege. They preferred, like intrepid men, doing the duty to which they were sworn as executors of the law; and having appeared in their scarlet robes of office at the bar of the house, and declined saying any thing in defense of their performance of their duty as officers of the Court of Queen's Bench, they were, on the motion of Lord John Russell, committed for contempt of court. When taken, under a writ of Habeas Corpus, a few days after, to the Court of Queen's Bench, they were loudly cheered in the Court, the whole bar standing; and while they remained in custody they were visited by a large and not the least respectable portion of both Houses of Parliament. The sensation in the country was very great, and the press generally applauded the courageous conduct of the officers who as-
proceedings, and votes as it shall deem necessary and conducive to the public interests is an essential incident to the constitutional freedom of Parliament, more especially of this House as the representative portion of it.

"II. That by the law and privileges of Parliament this House has the sole and exclusive jurisdiction to determine upon the existence and extent of its privileges, and that the institution or prosecution of any action, suit, or other proceedings, for the purpose of bringing them into discussion or decision before any court elsewhere than a Parliament, is a high breach of such privilege, and renders all parties concerned therein amenable to its just displeasure, and to the punishment consequent thereon."—Resolutions of the House of Commons, May 30, 1837; *Parl. Deb.* xlv. 961, and xlix. 1101.

* Lord Denman said, "I entirely disagree from the law laid down by the learned counsel for the defendants. My direction to you, subject to a question hereafter, is, that the fact of the House of Commons having directed Messrs. Hansard to publish all their parliamentary reports is no justification for them, or for any bookseller who publishes a parliamentary report containing a libel against any man."
—*Ann. Reg.* 1840, p. 17.

serted the supremacy of law against what was almost universally considered an unconstitutional stretch of the House of Commons. They remained in custody till April 15, when they were discharged, by order of the House, in consequence of a bill having become law adjusting this delicate and painful matter in future.¹*

In this distressing collision between the Legislature and the highest court of law in the kingdom, it would appear that the House of Commons was right in the main point for which they contended, and wrong in the mode of attaining it which they adopted. As freedom of debate is indispensable to a legislative assembly, so the same immunity must be extended to all its reports and proceedings; and if the House itself enjoys that privilege, it is impossible to hold that their publication can be made the foundation of punishment or damages; for of what value in a free community is free discussion in the Legislature, if its publication is prevented to the country? On this account, without questioning the decision of the Queen's Bench in point of law, it may well be doubted whether it had either justice, reason, or expedience for its support. In the object for which they contended, therefore, the House of Commons was clearly in the right, and it was an object essential to the utility and due discharge of its functions by a legislative and deliberative assembly. But, on the other hand, they seem to have been equally wrong in the mode in which they attempted to enforce it, especially against the Sheriffs. The Court of Queen's Bench having determined that the privilege of parliament was no defense against the publication of a libel, neither the plaintiff, in an action founded on such publication, nor the Sheriffs who carried the judgment for damages into execution, were the fit objects of the censure or punishment of the House of Commons.

In particular, to proceed against the Sheriffs, who merely did their duty as executors of the law they were sworn to obey, and for disobedience of which they were liable to commitment, was a stretch of power clearly contrary to justice, and which, it is to be hoped, will never be repeated. If any party was liable, it was Lord Denman and the judges of the Queen's Bench, who pronounced the judgment which the Sheriffs only executed as officers of the law. The remedy, without trenching on private right, was in their own hands, and consisted in yielding obedience to the decision of the law in the mean time, and passing an act which should render such invasion of the privilege of Parliament impossible in future. This accordingly was done by an act brought in by Lord John Russell, which received the royal assent on 14th April, 1840, whereby all actions founded on proceedings in Parliament printed by order of either House of Parliament, were protected from prosecution. This bill put the matter on its right footing, which, it is to be hoped, will never again be disturbed. And without imputing any improper or tyrannical motives to the

* Mr. Sheriff Wheelton had been previously discharged on account of ill health.—*Ann. Reg.* 1840, p. 40.

majority in the House of Commons which supported Ministers in these proceedings, it may, without hesitation, be affirmed that their end was right, but their means were wrong, and that Mr. Evans and Mr. Wheelton, who, in such trying circumstances, asserted the supremacy of the law, deserve a place in the glorious pantheon of British patriots.

Ireland, during the years 1839 and 1840, remained in the same state, as to agrarian outrage, in which it had so long been, although, from the alliance which had now been contracted between the Romish leaders and the government, it was no longer directed to political objects. The former began with an ominous event; for on the 1st January, 1839, Lord Norbury was mortally wounded by the ball of an assassin, within sight almost of his own home, and not more than a few hundred yards from the church-yard of Durrrow, where thirty or forty persons were attending a funeral, who, as usual, made no attempt either to arrest or pursue the criminal. The earl lingered till the 3d in extreme agony, when he expired, leaving behind him the regrets of every one who knew him, for a more kind-hearted, benevolent man, both in private life and as a landlord, never existed. This tragic incident produced, as well it might, a great sensation throughout the United Kingdom, and led to motions for production of papers relative to Irish crime, and animated debates in both Houses of Parliament on the subject, which threw great light on the social state of that ill-starred country.¹

From the facts elicited in these debates, it appeared that agrarian outrages had considerably increased in the course of the years 1836 and 1837.* In 1836 and 1837, no less than 519 rewards for murders were published, but only nineteen were claimed. In 1836 the whole police of Ireland were put under the direction of the central office in Dublin; and the effects of this improved system appeared in a great increase in the number of convictions, both for serious crimes and minor offenses; but the returns exhibited an awful picture of the extent to which violence and bloodshed had come to pervade the rural districts of the country. In 1825 the committals for serious crimes in all Ireland were 15,515;† in 1838 they had

¹ Ann. Reg. 1839, 38, 41.

26. Statistics of Irish crime in 1837, '38, and '39.

* AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.

First six months of 1836	843
Last six months of 1836	904
First six months of 1837	1086

—Ann. Reg. 1839, p. 42.

† COMMITTALS FOR SERIOUS CRIMES IN IRELAND.

1825	15,515	1833	17,819
1826	16,318	1834	21,381
1827	18,631	1835	21,305
1828	14,683	1836	23,891
1829	15,271	1837	27,340
1830	15,794	1838	25,443
1831	14,193	1839	26,392
1832	16,056	1840	22,833

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 666.

According to the returns of the Clerk of the Peace and Crown, the Police returns for the years 1836 and 1837 were 14,804 and 15,723 respectively, which was an obvious mistake, from the police, who in these years made the returns, then for the first time introduced, not understanding the English system. Lord Morpeth, in the debate on Irish crime in the House of Commons (*Parl. Deb.* xvii. 322, 7th March, 1839), quoted the Clerk of the

risen to 25,443, though the inhabitants, during the same period, had not increased more than a fifth. The convictions for minor offenses had increased in a similar proportion, and at the close of the period still more rapidly; in the last eighteen months prior to December, 1838, they were no less than 86,000!* But the most melancholy fact was one brought forward by Mr. Stanley, that in the year 1838, in eleven counties of Ireland, exclusive of Tipperary, there were 277 committals for murder, and only three convictions! Among so many deplorable and melancholy facts, it was consoling to find that there were some gleams of reviving prosperity, indicating what might be anticipated if a suitable system of government were permanently established in the country. The proportion of convictions to committals had steadily increased of late years, and came to be about 71 per cent. of the whole—being nearly the same proportion as in England; and the price of land had risen in most counties from twenty to twenty-three, and even twenty-five years' purchase—being nearly as high as in England or Scotland.¹

But though the rural districts were thus disturbed and stained with blood, the violence of the people was not directed against the Government; and this constituted an essential difference between the agitation at this time and what it had been on previous occasions. The *Precursor Association*, which had been set on foot by Mr. O'Connell, on the proclaiming down of the Catholic Association by the Lord Lieutenant, had now, since the alliance of Lord Melbourne's Administration and the Roman Catholics, come to be entirely devoted to the support of Government, and was, in fact, their main-stay against the increasing hostility of the English county members. On March 6, 1839, Mr. O'Connell said, at a meeting of the *Precursor Association* in Dublin, "What am I here for? To call upon all Ireland to rally round the Ministry; to call for my 2,000,000 of Precursors; to call on the inhabitants of all the counties, towns, boroughs, cities, and villages in Ireland to meet at once, and second me in my undertaking. Do not speak of that Irishman that does not become a Precursor. Let Sunday week be the day, and on that day let every parish meet and adopt petitions on the subject. We want no packed juries, no dishonest judges; we want only equality: refuse us this, and then, in the day of your weak-

Peace's returns as the true ones. The difference, which sorely perplexed the members of both Houses who spoke on the subject, is easily explained without supposing inaccuracy in either return, and is quite apparent to any one practically acquainted with the subject. It arises from the different class of cases included in the returns, whether they include any of the summary convictions or not. The Irish police, in 1837 and 1838, excluded many of the committals reported by the Clerks of the Peace from their returns, from regarding them as police cases, though reported by the Clerks of the Peace as grave offenses tried at the assizes, which was erroneous, contrary to the practice in England and Scotland, and avoided in subsequent years.

* SUMMARY CONVICTIONS.

July to December, 1837	74,236
January to June, 1838	74,539
June to December, 1838	86,615

—Ann. Reg. 1839, p. 42.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1839, 45, 47, 81; Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 668; *Parl. Deb.* xxxvi. 240, xxxix. 262, 263.

27. Alliance of the Government with O'Connell.

ness, dare to go to war with the most insignificant of the powers in Europe." And at a meeting held in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, on April 11, with the Duke of Leinster in the chair, and all the Whig nobility in attendance, he said, "The shout that this day emanates from the Theatre will be heard in St. Stephen's, and it will cheer the heart of the Queen in St. James's. Let her Majesty be menaced by the ferocious despots of the Northern desert; let France, a country in which the King and the people seem affected with a periodical insanity, break her fetters again; but let her be governed as she has been by Normanby, and as she would be by Lord Fortescue, and if any hostile step dared to tread upon the Queen's dominions, the foe to the throne shall either surrender, or be dashed into the sea."¹

The great circumstance which had rendered the Government of Lord Normanby so popular with the populace in Ireland was the wholesale liberation of criminals, which, in spite of all the complaints on the subject in the British Parliament, had continued throughout all his Administration. The subject was brought under the notice of the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, in an eloquent speech, in which, amidst some of his habitual exaggeration, there was, it is to be feared, too much truth. He thus described the manner in which these jail-deliveries were conducted: "His Excellency came to a certain town, and was immediately attended by the populace to the jail. He entered the prison, a certain proportion of the prisoners were paraded before him, and those who were recommended by the jailer, often on the spot, were liberated without further inquiry. At Clonmel, lately, fifty-seven prisoners were drawn up in the yard and received their pardon, while two hundred remained within the walls, who were not so exhibited; so that every thing depended on the jailer, and the man who had been oftener in jail would find most favor in his eyes. The wild bird would flap his wings against the cage, while that which had been hatched in slavery would never assail the wires with a feather of his pinions. Every where there was exhibited the same want of caution. In the summer of 1836, two hundred and forty prisoners were discharged by the Lord Lieutenant by verbal orders, during a progress through part of Ireland. It is absolutely necessary to bring the matter before Parliament; for not only has it been sanctioned by a narrow majority of the House of Commons, but it has been approved by a letter written, the day after the last dissolution of Parliament, by Lord John Russell, then Home Secretary. If no step be taken, and that promptly, to express an opinion upon the true method in which the prerogative of the Crown is to be exercised in these high and paramount duties, you will again see many an instance of that which Ireland has so lately exhibited—of mercy, now no longer a solemn duty, but transformed into an empty pageant; a pageant which exhibits justice and mercy in altered places—mercy blessed while justice weeps."² Lord Brougham's resolution, condemning Lord Normanby's Administration in this particu-

lar, was carried by a majority of 84—the numbers being 86 to 52.

It is humiliating to find that, in the midst of all these multiplied evils—social, economical, and administrative—under which Ireland labored, the only remedy which the Government had to propose was the extension of the municipal franchise to every occupant of a subject worth five pounds a year; and the only remedy of the Conservatives to raise it to ten pounds, at which it was finally fixed! Poor-laws, to a certain extent, had been already introduced—in 1837; but there was no attempt to establish railways or manufactures, to extend industry in any way in a country where the wages of labor were sixpence a day, or to promote emigration in one where above two millions were in a state of pauperism! To bleed the plethoric patient was obviously the only remedy when he was laboring under apoplectic symptoms; but whenever any thing of the kind was proposed in the House of Commons, the matter was adjourned till next session, or the House was counted out. The emigration during the years of intense suffering—from 1838 to 1842—was inconceivably small, when it is recollected what it has since become. In 1838 it was only 33,222 from the whole empire! Much of this unfortunate blindness is no doubt to be ascribed to the unfortunate dogma of the political economists, then so generally received, that emigration was worse than useless, because it only made those who remained at home increase the faster. "Our present radical evil," said Lord Jeffrey, "is the excess of our productive powers, the want of demand for our manufactures and industry, or, in other words, the excess of our population. And for this, I am afraid, there is no radical cure but *starving out the surplus*, horrible as it is. *Emigration can do Life of Jeffrey, ii. 189. comparatively nothing.*"³ It is a curious commentary on these opinions, which for a quarter of a century entirely governed the country, that in ten years prior to 1856, no less than 2,080,000 emigrants left Ireland alone, and that in consequence the workhouses were deserted, and the wages of labor, for the first time in the memory of man, in the Emerald Isle, rose to a level with those in Great Britain.⁴

But much also of the extraordinary blindness of all parties to the real cause of the misery of Ireland is to be ascribed to the circumstance of its having become, from an unforeseen consequence of the Reform Bill, the great battle-field for the parties which contended for the mastery in the country. Ministers having come to depend on a majority of 15 to 20 in the House of Commons, composed entirely of Irish Roman Catholic members, it became vital to the one party to secure their support—to the other to diminish their numbers. Hence the battle of parties was fought in Ireland; and the main thing attended to in any measures relating to that country was, not the good of its inhabitants, or the alleviation of its suffering, but the adoption of measures which might gratify the Romish priesthood, and secure or extend their influence in the elections.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1839, 61, 62.

² Lord Normanby's wholesale liberation of offenders. Aug. 6.

³ Cockburn's Life of Jeffrey, ii. 189.

⁴ Census Commission-ers' Report, vi. 37, 42.

The project to take £100,000 a year from the Protestant Church, and to give every starving peasant worth £5 a year a municipal vote, had not the slightest tendency to remove the real causes of Irish distress, but a very great one to secure the support of the Roman Catholic priesthood and their nominees in the House of Commons. Thus Ireland was worse than neglected—it was misunderstood; and though its concerns were continually brought before the Legislature, they were so in relation to projects which, by endangering a fierce party-strife, and occasioning a prolonged struggle between the two Houses of Parliament, rendered the nation every day more insensible to the only measures which could by possibility administer to it any relief.

But pressing as the state of Ireland was, it and all other considerations yielded 31. Deploable to a still more urgent matter, and that state of the was the state of the FINANCES. Under the combined effect of five bad seasons in succession, and the contraction of the currency, which, under the existing system, was the inevitable result of the import of grain and export of gold which they occasioned, the revenue had declined to such a degree that all the efforts to effect retrenchment in every department made by the Government—and they were great and many—had been unable to prevent a great and growing deficit. The national income, which in 1836 had been £48,591,000, had sunk in 1840 to £47,567,000; while the national expenditure, in spite of every effort at economy, had increased from £48,098,196 in the former, to £49,169,000 in the latter. In this state of matters, the desperate plunge in quest of popularity made by the Government in adopting the penny postage, brought matters to a crisis; for it at once cut £1,780,000 off the revenue—viz., £1,000,000 in direct and admitted loss of income from the Post-office, and £780,000 additional charge imposed on the navy after the change, for the packet service. The result was, in 1841, a deficit of above £2,100,000; a state of things, in a period of Continental peace, so disastrous that it struck universal consternation into the country.* Sir R. Peel, who had the best access to correct reports of income, stated the amount of the deficits when he came into office in the end of 1841, for the five preceding years, at the enormous sum of £10,000,000 sterling.† This state of things was the more alarming that it was evident that the limits of indi-

rect taxation had been reached; for the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in May, 1840, imposed 5 per cent. additional on Customs and Excise, and 10 per cent. on assessed taxes, and the result had been in the highest degree illustrative of the real state of the country, and causes of the embarrassments of the Treasury. For the estimated increase on the Customs and Excise was £1,895,000; whereas the actual increase was only £206,000—being, instead of 5 per cent., but little more than one-half per cent.; whereas the increase on the assessed taxes was £811,857, being 11½ per cent.—considerably more than had been expected. It was evident, therefore, that the limits of indirect taxation, for the time at least, had been reached, and that nothing remained, in Sir Robert Peel's words, but the "dire scourge of direct taxation."¹*

This state of things was the more alarming, that while the chief sources of revenue were thus visibly failing, or 32. Increased per- had reached their extreme limit, the of the coun- the public necessities, owing to the try in various state of the national affairs in many quarters. parts of the world, loudly called for a great increase in the national armaments by sea and land. Affairs were so imminent in the Levant that a collision between the English and French fleets in that quarter might be hourly expected. Canada had recently before been in open rebellion; the West Indies were only hindered by weakness from following its example; a great and costly war, fraught with imminent danger, had been waged in Afghanistan; hostilities were going on on a great scale with the Chinese empire; and at home an insurrection from the Chartists had recently taken place, and was again threatened. On all sides the Government was assailed with applications for ships, men, and money; yet where to find them, with a growing deficit in the revenue, which had come now to exceed two millions a year, and in a country where the limits of indirect taxation had evidently been reached, seemed an impossibility.

The country distinctly perceived their perilous circumstances, and they generally ascribed them to the imbecility and 33. Injustice of want of business habits in the Government, which was almost entirely opinion on composed of the Whig nobility. The opinion, in consequence, had become general in all ranks, excepting their own immediate dependents, that an entire change of government had become necessary to face the public necessities, that the administration of public affairs by a few Whig families was out of date, and that a large infusion of the commercial interests of the country into the Cabinet had become indispensable. The opinion, in particular, was all

* INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE NATION FROM 1836 TO 1841.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.
1836.....	£48,591,180	£48,098,196
1837.....	46,476,194	49,116,839
1838.....	47,333,480	47,686,183
1839.....	47,844,899	49,357,691
1840.....	47,567,565	49,169,552
1841.....	48,084,360	50,185,729

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., 475.

† Viz.

Years.	Deficiency in Years ending January 5.	Ending April 1.
1838.....	£555,760	£1,428,534
1839.....	945,298	430,325
1840.....	1,512,792	1,457,223
1841.....	1,595,970	1,851,997
1842.....	2,101,260	2,334,559
	£6,309,119	£7,502,636
Certain deficit in 1843.....		£2,570,000
		£10,072,636

—SIR R. PEELE'S *Statement*, March 8, 1842; *Parl. Deb.*; DOUBLEDAY, II. 343.

* Produce of Customs and Excise, 1839, was £37,911,506
Estimated produce of increase of 5 per cent. 1,895,573

Actual produce.....	£39,807,081
Real increase.....	38,118,421
Being, not 5 per cent., but little more than ½ per cent.	£206,755
Assessed taxes, 1840.....	£2,758,590
Produce of the same, 1841.....	3,069,947
	£811,357

Being 11½ per cent.—not 10 per cent., as expected.
—Ann. Reg. 1840, 136; DOUBLEDAY, II. 344.

but universal, that they were especially deficient in knowledge of finances, and that to that the deplorable state of the Exchequer was to be ascribed. There can be no doubt that there was much injustice in these judgments. The Whig Ministry was by no means responsible for the disastrous state of the finances—at least, not in a greater degree than their opponents had been. They had carried retrenchment and reduction of the national armaments by sea and land to the most extreme point, and increased neither till the public necessities rendered it absolutely indispensable. They had given in, it is true, to the desperate plunge of the penny postage; but in so doing the House of Commons had cordially supported them, and the magnitude of the general distress probably at that period rendered some alleviating measure indispensable. The true cause of the penury of the Exchequer, as of the suffering of the nation, was the establishment of a monetary system entirely dependent on the retention of gold, which, in seasons of scarcity, it was impossible to retain; but that, though by far the greatest mistake of the age, and the parent of boundless disasters, was not in a peculiar manner the fault of the Government, but was shared with them by the greater part of the House of Commons and a decided majority of the Conservative Opposition.

The alarming state of the country after the riots at Birmingham and Newport, and the incessant demands for additional troops to Canada, the West Indies, and India, from the important events of which they had become the theatre,

led the Government to propose a slight increase of 5000 men to the military force of the country, by raising the strength of each regiment of infantry from 739 to 800 men. Small as this addition was, and evident as was the necessity under which it was proposed, it was strongly opposed by Mr. Hume and the Radical party. The effect of this vote was to raise the military force of the country, including India, to 109,818, of whom 27,000 were charged on the revenues of the latter country, leaving 82,000 to be provided for by Great Britain. This force was, in March 1840, increased to 121,112 men, of whom 28,218 were employed in India, and charged on its finances, leaving 92,899 for whose maintenance the country at home was to provide.

Mr. Hume strongly objected to this increase, and moved that it should be reduced to 81,098, 1100; 81,819 men; but the larger number was carried by a majority of 92, the numbers being 100 to 8.¹

Small as this force was for a country involved in a desperate conflict in India and China, and

threatened with an immediate rupture with France, which had 300,000 disposable men under arms, the state of the navy at the same period was still weakness more alarming. Lord Colchester brought this important subject under the notice of the House on 6th February, 1840, and referring to the Admiralty reports just published, he stated that our whole force on the home station consisted of three guard-ships, manned by a third of their complement, and therefore incapable of putting to sea; one frigate of 36 guns, and some schooners. There were two sail of the line at Lisbon, twelve in the Mediterranean, and one or two in other quarters of the globe—in all only twenty. On the other hand, the official reports proved that the Russians had 28 sail of the line, 18 frigates, and 39 smaller vessels, carrying in all 3672 guns and 30,087 men, in the Baltic, and 18 sail of the line, 11 frigates, and 17 smaller vessels in the Black Sea, carrying 1956 guns and 14,800 men. France at the same period had 34,000 seamen in the royal service, being only 1000 less than the number in this country, and 40 sail of the line ready for sea, of which 20 were afloat and fully manned, besides 12 frigates, 20 steamers, and 90 smaller vessels. Thus France, which had no colonial dependency except Algiers, had as large a naval force as Great Britain, whose fleets were necessarily scattered over the globe, in defense of her immense colonial possessions. Lord Minto, the First Lord of the Admiralty, admitted, in his place in Parliament, "that we had not ships enough in commission to cope with the whole Russian fleet, if that fleet were also in commission, and prepared to take the seas against us; but it was not necessary that we should be in such a situation at this moment." What rendered this state of things peculiarly alarming was, that the naval establishment, in every one particular, was less at this time than it had been in 1792, when the population was not a half, nor its resources a fourth, of what they had since become, while our colonial dependencies, requiring defense in every quarter of the globe, had more than doubled since the former period; and so far from being at peace, we were engaged in a serious war with the greatest power in Asia, and on the verge of one with the greatest in Europe. It has been truly said, that on looking back to the extraordinary infatuation of these times, and the enormous perils with which it was attended, we feel as if reflecting on the movements of a somnambulist on the edge of a precipice, whom a single false step might at any moment have precipitated into the abyss.^{1*}

* COMPARATIVE STATE OF THE NAVY, POPULATION, EXPORTS, AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1792 AND 1838 RESPECTIVELY.

L—NAVY.							
Years.	Line in Commission.	Ordinary and Building.	Frigates in Commission.	Frigates Building.	Total Line.	Total Frigates.	Total.
1792.....	26	124	52	63	153	115	411
1838.....	31	70	9	84	91	93	363
II—NATIONAL RESOURCES.							
Years.	Population of Great Britain and Ireland.	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Shipping.			
1792.....	12,680,000	£24,904,000	£19,659,358	Tonn.		1,540,145	
1838.....	27,300,000	105,170,549	61,368,320			2,785,367	

¹ James's Naval History, ii. 404; BARROW's Anson, App. 494; PORTER's Parl. Tables for 1838.

Serious as these considerations were, and pregnant, to the prophetic eye, with disaster in future times, they were, in those days of pacific occupation and severe distress, less generally interesting than such topics as promised, however remotely, relief to the universal suffering. Of these agitations, the cry for the abolition of the Corn Laws had now become the loudest and most threatening, both from the quarters in which it was heard and the privations in which it originated. It is very evident now to what cause the extreme vehemence of the outcry on this subject had been owing. It arose from the extraordinary and heretofore unprecedented combination of extremely high prices of provisions of all sorts, in consequence of four bad seasons having succeeded each other without intermission, with ruinously low wages of labor in consequence of the contraction of the currency, and stoppage of credit originating with a monetary system dependent on the retention of gold, in the drain of the precious metals occasioned by the consequent import of foreign grain. It may safely be affirmed that this extraordinary combination produced an amount of distress which never before had been witnessed in British, or even in modern history; and it was decisively proved by the extraordinary fact already mentioned, that *one-seventh* of the entire population of the two islands had become paupers. It fell with much more severity on the urban and manufacturing than the rural and agricultural population; for to the former the high price of necessaries was in some degree compensated by the high price of agricultural produce, but to the latter it was aggravated by the low price of manufactures. The people in towns saw this, and writhed under its severity; but they were ignorant of the cause to which it was owing, and lent a willing ear to the agitators, who ascribed it all, not to the monetary system, but to the monopoly of grain, which was enriching the landlords and farmers in the midst of the general ruin. The suffering being universal among the working classes in the towns and manufacturing districts, and the remedy proposed for it in the free importation of foreign grain such as was on a level with every capacity, it obtained universal credit among these classes, and being skillfully improved by Cobden, Bright, and the whole orators of the Anti-Corn-Law League, became so powerful as to portend important changes in the commercial policy of the nation at no distant period.

Encouraged by these favorable appearances, Mr. Villiers, on 7th February, 1839, brought forward a motion to take evidence on the operation of the Corn Laws. But the attempt was premature; the landed influence of the great Whig magnates who formed the Cabinet was not sufficiently weakened to admit of such a concession to the commercial interests, and the motion was resisted by the Ministers. Such as it was, however, the result of the motion evinced the indecision of Government on the subject, and was hailed by the Anti-Corn-Law League as the harbinger of coming triumphs. Lord John Russell had declared to his constituents at Stroud that the Corn Laws were indefensible on principle, and that

the time had come for a change; but in answer to Mr. Villiers in the House, he said, "The impression on my mind is, that it is my duty to oppose the motion to hear evidence at the bar. I have not as yet found sufficient precedents to induce me to adopt such a course. At the same time, as there will be a great deal of discussion relating to facts, when a mode is proposed by which these facts can be ascertained which is conformable to precedent, and not inconvenient to the house, I shall be willing, though not ready to propose it myself, to support such an inquiry." The whole Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Poulett Thomson, including Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Howick, and Mr. Spring Rice, voted against inquiry. The motion was negatived by a majority of 181; the numbers being 361 to 172. So Feb. 18, 1839.

strongly intrenched were the Corn Laws in the Legislature on the very eve of their fall. In the House of Peers a similar motion was negatived without a division, Lord Melbourne declaring that "the repeal of the Corn Laws would be the *most insane proposition that ever entered into the human head.*" ¹ *Parl. Deb.* xlv. 156, 691.

The Anti-Corn-Law delegates were rather encouraged than the reverse by this result, and the general excitement on the subject was much increased by what had passed in Parliament, and the evident division in the Cabinet on the subject. "There was no cause for despondence; they were the representatives of three millions of people; they were the evidence that the great towns had banded themselves together; and their alliance would be a Hanseatic League against their feudal Corn-Law plunderers. The castles which crowned the rocks along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Elbe, had once been the stronghold of feudal oppression, but they had been dismantled by a league, and they now only adorned the landscape as picturesque memorials of the past, while the people below had lost all fear of plunder, and tilled their vineyards in peace." ² The delegates left, but only to meet again in Manchester, when fresh modes of agitation were devised, whereby it was to be carried into every village and hamlet of the realm. The "Anti-Corn-Law Rhymes" made their appearance at this period, and by expressing exactly the feeling of the urban multitude on the subject, soon acquired great popularity, and powerfully contributed to advance the cause. There was much ability in many of the publications issued, and thorough knowledge of the means of moving the multitude in the practical leaders by whom they were directed; but the great cause of the rapid progress and ultimate success of the movement was the coincidence of high prices of provisions, the result of five bad seasons in succession, with low prices of manufacturing produce, the result of the consequent contraction of the currency—a state of things so anomalous and distressing to the inhabitants of towns that it rendered them ready to embrace with ardor any project which held out the prospect even of bringing it to a termination.

It is the ordinary effect of such periods of general and long-continued distress, to engender a feeling of irritation at those in authority, which often leads the Queen.

36.
Outcry for
the abolition
of the
Corn Laws.

37.
Mr. Villiers'
motion for the
repeal of the
Corn Laws
lost.

30.
Attack on
those in authority, which often leads the Queen.

to attempts at assassination. The great and affluent can in reality do nothing so well calculated to assuage the public distress, so far as their means go, as engaging in festivities which occasion an expenditure of money, for it is the want of such expenditure which occasions the worst part of the distress. It is grating to the feelings, however, to see one class reveling in luxury while another is pining in indigence, and reflection on the beneficial effects of the expenditure comes only to those who immediately experience its benefits. The Queen's popularity from this cause, and from no error on the part of her Majesty, sensibly declined in the melancholy years 1839 and 1840; and the sore feeling in the last of these years appeared in attempts at assassination, which, though unconnected with any political association, and the acts of isolated individuals, were suggested by the general soreness and irritation which pervaded the public mind. The first of these was the act of a wrong-headed youth named Oxford, who, on 10th June, 1840, fired two loaded pistols at the Queen as she was ascending Constitution Hill in the Park, in her phaeton. Happily neither shot took effect; the criminal was immediately seized; and by the mistaken lenity of the authorities, instead of being hanged, he was considered a lunatic, and sentenced to confinement in an asylum for life. He himself afterward said, if he had been hanged, there would have been no more firing at the Queen; but instead of meeting with his deserts, he became a hero with the fine ladies of London, "even members of Parliament applying for locks of his hair." The consequence was, that several other half-crazy youths, desirous of notoriety, sought it by further attempts, or feigned attempts, to assassinate her Majesty, until the abominable practice was stopped by an Act passed in 1841, which declared any such attempts punishable, in addition to transportation, by *three private whippings in jail*. This was a disagreeable result of a longing for notoriety, and accordingly it put an effectual stop to these disgraceful acts. Yet how alarming soever, while they continued they were attended with this good effect, that on every occasion on which they occurred they drew forth expressions of the loyalty of the people and the personal courage and humanity of the Sovereign.¹

The session of 1841, which was opened by the Queen in person on 26th January, took place amidst the general conviction that the Whig Ministry could not get through it. The balance of parties had been so even during the preceding session of Parliament, that it had been barren of legislative results. Nothing of real importance was either proposed or thought of, and Government seemed to cling to office rather than the instinctive desire of Britons not to be beaten, or a chivalrous feeling of devotion toward the Sovereign, than from any real sense that they had strength enough to discharge the duties of Government. The penny postage had given universal satisfaction, as every remission of taxation *generally felt* never fails to do; but it had made an alarming chasm of £1,700,000 a year in the revenue, and brought up the deficit to £2,500,000, which Government apparently had not the means of replacing. Indirect taxes on ar-

ticles of luxury consumed had been found by experience to have reached its limit; any increase had ceased to be productive. If attempted, it would at once raise such a storm among the urban consumers as would prove fatal to any administration. Direct taxation still remained, but it had been pronounced by Sir R. Peel to be a "dire scourge," and it was more than doubtful whether his whole party, three hundred strong, would not at once resist any attempt to introduce it. An universal feeling in consequence had come to pervade the community, that an entire change of Administration had become indispensable; the Tories openly exerted at the prospect of a speedy accession to power, and even their cautious leader did not hesitate to affirm on several occasions, that a united party, led by three hundred independent members of Parliament, could not long remain excluded from office.¹

Such was the weakness of Ministers that they were obliged to temporize with various measures which they had very recently denounced in the most unmeasured terms. Lord Melbourne had declared in Parliament that the project of repealing the Union was little better than high treason, and the idea of repealing the Corn-Laws absolute insanity; but with both measures Ministers, to avoid ruin, were obliged to temporize. To conciliate O'Connell and the Irish Catholic members, who composed the majority which retained them in power, they brought forward a bill for the registration of voters in Ireland, the purport of which was, under the name of a mere regulation, to introduce a new Reform Bill, greatly extending the constituency, by making a rating at *five pounds* to the poor rate confer the Parliamentary suffrage. This was in effect a new Reform Bill *reducing the suffrage one-half*, and as such it threatened the most dangerous consequences, especially in a country agitated by the cry for repeal of the Union. Accordingly it was resisted by Sir R. Peel with the whole strength of the Conservative party. The result was, that it was carried in the Commons only by a majority of *five*, the numbers being 299 to 294. This small majority was justly considered as fatal to the bill; and the final fate of the measure proved that it was scarcely less so to the Administration. In committee, Ministers were obliged to agree to an amendment proposed by Lord Howick which raised the qualification to £8, "a change which," Sir R. Peel observed, "disentitled them to the confidence of the House or the country." In effect, Ministers lost credit essentially by the conduct pursued in regard to this bill with both parties—with the one side of the House by bringing it in, with the other for substantially abandoning it when introduced.²

It was now evident to all the world that the Whig Ministry were doomed, and that it was only a question of time when their tenure of office should come to an end. As a last resource, Lord John Russell gave notice that on the 31st May he would move for a committee of the whole House to consider the acts of Parliament relating to the importation of grain—the very thing

¹ Doubleday, ii. 296-298; Mart. ii. 438; Ann. Reg. 1841, 5-7.

^{41.} New Reform Bill for Ireland, and its fate.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1840, 245; Law Cases, Mart. ii. 417.

^{40.} Extreme difficulties of Ministers.

² Ann. Reg. 1841, 54-59; Doubleday, ii. 302, 303; Parl. Deb. vii. 1072, 1223.

^{42.} The Whig budget, May 18, 1841.

which, in the preceding session, he had opposed, and which Lord Melbourne had declared to be the greatest insanity which could enter into the human head. The discussion of this motion, however, and the development of the grounds on which it was now to be supported by Government, was prevented by the turn which Parliament took before the day originally fixed for its discussion came on. The state of the finances had become so pressing, from the serious chasm occasioned by the penny postage and the decline of several branches of the revenue from the general distress, that it was indispensable, at all hazards, to make an attempt to fill it up. Yet was this no easy matter; for how ready soever all parties might be to repeal taxes, it was more than doubtful whether any of them would consent to lay them on again. At the same time, any increase to the direct taxes was sure to be to the last degree unpopular, and resisted with the utmost obstinacy, especially by the Conservative party. Pressed by so many difficulties, the Government endeavored to steer a middle course, which, as usual in such cases, displeased all parties and conciliated none. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in opening the budget, admitted that the deficit for the ensuing year would amount to £2,421,000; and this deficit he proposed to make up by reverting to the principles of the former Whig budget which had been so unceremoniously disposed of in 1831. His proposal was to raise the duty on colonial timber from 10s. to 20s. a load, and reduce that on Baltic timber from 55s. a load to 50s.; and to leave the duty on colonial sugar at its present amount of 24s. a cwt., but to lower the duty on foreign sugar from 63s. to 36s. From these sources, owing to the increased consumption, he calculated on an increase of revenue to the extent of £1,800,000. The balance of the deficiency was to be made up by a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter on foreign wheat; rye, 6s.; barley, 4s. 6d.; and oats, 3s. 6d.; while the deficiency of £1,800,000 in the last year was to be provided for by the issue of exchequer bills to the extent of £800,000, and appropriating, on the responsibility of Government, £750,000 invested in the public securities in the name of the trustees of savings' banks.¹

¹ Parl. Deb. lvi. 1293, 1307; Ann. Reg. 1841, 90, 93, 97.

It may well be conceived what a sensation the announcement of this budget, which is lost so eminently favorable to foreign and injurious to domestic industry, produced in the House and the country. The interests thus threatened were too strong, and had too long been protected by the Legislature, to yield without a violent struggle. It began, accordingly, the moment the budget was announced, and soon convulsed the country from end to end. The West India merchants and proprietors met in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow; the Canadian timber-merchants, in Bristol and Liverpool; the landed interest, in their several county towns. Universally the budget was condemned in the most unmeasured terms; and such was the clamor raised that before the vote was taken it was evident that Ministers would be in a minority.² Yet was the result even more decisive than had been anticipated; for on a division on the proposed reduc-

² Parl. Deb. lvi. 667; Ann. Reg. 1841, 107, 115

tion of the duties on sugar, which was first taken after the debate had lasted eight nights, they were left in a minority of 36, the numbers being 817 to 281.

The arguments on this all-important question, being the same as those of which a summary will be given in the great debate on Free Trade in a subsequent chapter, need not be here recapitulated. But some observations which fell from the Conservative leaders, who both then and afterward took so important a part in that question, deserve to be recorded. Sir R. Peel said: "Even though no questions of timber or corn had been mixed with that of sugar, I would have voted against the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the English market, not upon the abstract ground that conscience would forbid all commerce in the produce of slave labor, but upon a consideration of the social and moral condition of the West India people under the experiment now in progress. If the personal interests of the planters alone were taken into consideration, the House might possibly expect them to sacrifice those interests to the public advantage. But much higher interests were at stake in the moral and social condition of the people in that part of the empire where we had recently made the most hazardous, and, I rejoice to admit, the most successful experiment in the annals of the world. But it is impossible to foretell what may be the consequences of that step, if we take the new step of introducing sugar made by slave labor into the market of this country. A sufficient quantity of sugar for home consumption may be obtained from the East and West Indies and the Mauritius, without resorting to the slave colonies. New articles of remittance should be encouraged from India, for its inhabitants have suffered severely from the unrestricted admission of English manufactures."

After such fearful examples, I am unable to perceive the paramount obligations of those free-trade doctrines which now demand a preference to the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil over the free industry of the East Indies. The great experiment of the extinction of slavery should be fully and fairly tried; but this can never be done unless we give the free labor of our own colonies the exclusive preference over the slave establishments of other states.

"The principle of Free Trade announced on the other side is, that, without reference to any other considerations, we should go to the cheapest market. If that is to be acted upon as a universal rule, without reference to time and circumstances, I can only say *I can not concur in it*. Without contesting the principle in reference to countries—if it were possible to conceive such—in which no previous relations existed, in a country of such complicated relations as this, of such extensive empire and immense trade, the rigid application of such a principle would involve us in inextricable confusion. Consistently with this principle, we should go to the cheapest market for corn and timber, and every other commodity. How is this reconcilable with the duty of 8s. a quarter, still proposed to be levied on imported wheat, and 20s. a load on imported foreign timber? The propriety of the change on the timber duties can not be judged of till the details are fur-

^{44.} Sir R. Peel's argument against the budget.

^{45.} Continued.

nished from Canada. The principles I now maintain are those of Mr. Huskisson, and on which I and my colleagues, when in office, have always proceeded.*

"Notwithstanding the forcible combination which has been formed against the
46. Continued. Corn Laws—notwithstanding the declarations, that either the total repeal

or the substitution of a fixed duty for the present scale is the inevitable result of the agitation which is now going forward—I do not hesitate to adhere to the opinion which I expressed last year, and now again declare, that my preference is decidedly in favor of a graduated scale to any fixed duty. I prefer the principle of a graduated sliding duty to a fixed one. I do not pledge myself to any rigid details; I reserve to myself the opportunity of considering them. I bind myself to the principle of a graduated scale in preference to a fixed one, but not to any details. The noble lord will propose the adoption of a fixed duty: I will offer my opposition to it on the ground that it can not be permanent; it must be abandoned under the pressure of general distress in seasons of scarcity.

"Government talk of a great commercial crisis; they are themselves mainly responsible for it. They have come
47. Concluded. down to the House year after year complaining of a deficiency, and now they boast themselves the martyrs of Free Trade, and apply to me for a budget. I am by no means surprised at the confidence of your opponents to do what you have shown you yourselves can not do. During the period when the Administration of which I formed a part had held office, they had reduced the public debt by £20,000,000, and the annual charge upon that debt by above £1,000,000, and yet they left a clear surplus of income above expenditure of £1,600,000 when they went out of office in 1830. What has come of that surplus now? It has turned, on your own showing, into a deficit of £2,400,000. And this has happened when we were impeded by all the difficulties of an unreformed Parliament, and you have had all the advantages of a reformed one—when you have had your own way for eleven years, during which you have enjoyed all the advantages of cheap government. This evil has occurred, not from any particular cause, but from general mismanagement—from the circumstance of Ministers clinging to office when they no longer enjoyed the confidence of this House or the country, and were unable to carry through the measures which they deem essential to the public good of the country. It is not for the interest of representative government and constitutional monarchy that such a system should continue; Ministers, in so retaining power, are violating the first principles of the constitution which they gave me credit for yielding to in 1835. Even measures in themselves beneficial

lose their good effects by being brought forward by a party holding office under such circumstances. They are looked upon, not as springing from the deliberate will of its leaders—not in consequence of the settled convictions of their minds—but merely for the purpose of propping up a falling cause, and conciliating the goodwill of a particular party to whose support it looks. I will not be tempted to fall into the snare laid for me; I will not offer my budget in competition with
1841, Reg. 1841, 108-111. yours; my vote this evening is upon a question of confidence."¹

To these powerful and sarcastic observations it was replied by Lord Palmerston:

"The question which is this night Lord Palmerston's reply. before the House, which should be answered openly and explicitly, is, When a deficiency exists, do you approve of making it up in the way which we intend, or do you propose to lay on new taxes? The right honorable baronet has not done this; he has objected to our proposed duties on sugar, timber, and corn, but he has not told us what he would substitute in their room. And yet that some additional imposts must be laid on is self-evident; and where shall we find any to which objections equally plausible may not be stated? The question to be decided to-night is not a question of confidence; it is the adoption or rejection of a great principle; that principle is Free Trade, the opposite principle is Monopoly. The Opposition have shrunk from grappling with this great issue, and endeavored, instead, to narrow the discussion to one collateral point, and to mislead the House and the country by pretending an unbounded zeal for the negroes. I distrust the sincerity of this new-born anxiety on the part of those who have so long been a party to the sufferings of these very negroes. We decline to take slave-grown sugar ourselves on pretense of humanity, but we do not hesitate to assist the slave-owners by transporting their produce to other countries, or refining it. Is not the pretense of conscience, under these circumstances, a gross hypocrisy? The true, the only way to exterminate the slave-trade is to increase the vigilance and activity of our own cruisers, and the stringency of our treaties with foreign Governments to effect its abolition. Were we to assert, as the Opposition now do, that free labor can not compete with slave labor, we should be supplying the advocates of slavery with the best of all arguments against their complying with our demand for the abolition of the slave-trade, and falsifying all that we had said as to the advantages of freedom.

"The proposed budget retains duties on foreign produce solely for the purposes of revenue. We do not wish to see
49. Continued. the principles of Free Trade suddenly and universally applied, to the derangement of established interests, and the ruin of great numbers of individuals; we desire only to go on as quickly as circumstances will admit. All must admit that it is for the interest of Great Britain to extend our foreign exports; but how is this to be done, if, by prohibiting duties, we virtually exclude theirs in return? It will not do to urge a more liberal commercial policy on foreign nations, telling them that competition is the light and life of trade, while we keep up our own

* Mr. Huskisson said in 1838: "An honorable gentleman had spoken in favor of a fixed duty on grain: abstractly that might look well in theory; but when we regard the circumstances of the country and the wants of the people, we must see the impossibility of adopting such a principle. If a high permanent duty were imposed, then in seasons of scarcity the poor would be exposed to sufferings, the infliction of which no claim to protection on the part of the corn-growers would ever justify. I said in 1815, and I say again, that nothing can be more dangerous than a reliance of this country on foreign nations for food."
—*Parl. Deb.* xlviii. 685.

restrictive system at home. It is our doing so which has so long deterred other nations from adopting a more liberal commercial policy. This is, in particular, the case with Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Russia, Mexico, and the United States. Foreign countries listen with polite incredulity to our representations, and point from our theories, pressed upon them, to our practice embraced by ourselves. It is difficult to see what reply can be made, under our present restrictive system, to such answers.

“Protection, in the sense in which it is now used by those who oppose the plan of
 50. Government, is a tax levied upon the industry and skill of the mass of the community, to enable a few to remain indolent and unskillful. Such protection is not only erroneous in principle, but utterly useless to those for whose particular benefit it is maintained. Show me a trade that is free, by which I mean open to fair competition, and I will show you a trade carried on with intelligence, enterprise, and success. Show me a trade that is highly protected, and I will show you a set of men, supine, unimproving, and probably laboring under perpetual embarrassment. But the evil does not stop here. Not only does this excessive protection paralyze the very interests it is intended to invigorate, but it operates most injuriously upon the country in relation to our commercial intercourse with foreign nations. For protection is a game which two can play at. It is impossible that a great country like England should go on protecting, as it is called, its various interests, and that other nations should not follow our example. They have all accordingly done or are doing so. The Commercial Union of Northern Germany, which is in reality a protective union, has just renewed itself by treaty from 1842. Russia and Sweden are doing the same. France, which ought to be the great market for our commodities, being so populous and so near us, has a tariff which excludes the greater portion of our manufactures. The United States and Mexico have the same. When we preach to these foreign nations the absurdity of such practices, they reply: It is all very well; but we observe that England has grown wealthy and great by these means, and it is only now, when other nations are following her example, that she has discovered that this system is an absurd one: when we shall have attained the same pitch of commercial prosperity which England has reached, it will then be time enough to abandon a system which perhaps then may no longer be necessary. It is in vain to tell them that England has grown great and prosperous, not in consequence of the protective system, but in spite of it. Till we prove by our practice that we are serious in our doctrines, neither France nor Belgium, nor any other country, will relax their prohibitory laws.

“Symptoms of the most dangerous kind are already visible in our trade, the con-
 51. sequences of the protective system, which may well arrest the attention of the nation. Every year a smaller portion of those manufactures consists of articles in the making of which much labor and skill are employed. Every year a greater proportion of our exports consists of articles of an elementary nature, which are not destined for inward con-

sumption, but are to serve as materials to the foreign manufacturers. For instance, the exportation of cotton goods does not increase in the same proportion as the exportation of cotton yarn. Our artisans and capitalists are leaving the country. Every year the protective system is rising up against us, raising in other parts of the world manufacturing competitors, and every year British skill and capital are transferring themselves abroad, to render the competition of foreign countries more and more formidable. We are thus ourselves assisting to exclude our own commerce from the markets of other countries. If this system is persevered in, we shall at last come to that spendthrift industry which is to consist in exporting machinery as well as the elements of manufactures; and when our exports consist of capital, skill, machinery, and materials, we shall, no doubt, see how it happens that we are no longer able to compete with other nations in the markets of the world.

“These, then, are the principles on which we stand; our plan is simple, plain, and intelligible. The whole history of
 52. Parliamentary legislation for a number of years past has been nothing but the destruction of monopolies. The Test and Corporation Acts, the Protestant monopoly in Parliament, the boroughmongers' monopoly, have successively fallen. The monopolies of corporators, and that of the East India Company, have also gone down. We are now pursuing monopoly into its last stronghold—we are assailing the monopoly of trade. Our opponents have not spoken out equally explicitly: they have not told us what they propose to do; but I will venture to say that before these discussions are brought to a close they will be obliged to speak out. It is due to themselves, to us, and to the country, that their opinions on these important matters should no longer be shrouded in mysterious silence, or concealed by evasive declarations. We have a right to call upon them, not to give us a new budget—for that we do not want, and would not accept if offered us—but to tell us, ay or no, whether they will adopt the principles on which we have founded our budget, and of which the country has unequivocally expressed its approbation. But I will venture to predict, that although they may resist those measures to-night for the sake of obtaining a majority in the division, yet if they should come into office, these are the measures which a just regard for the finances and commerce
 1 Parl. Deb. of the country will compel them them-
 1741. 643, selves to propose to carry.”
 663.

Memorable in many respects as the harbinger of the fall of the great party which
 53. for eleven years, with the intermis- Reflections sion of a few months, had governed on this de- bate. the country, this debate is still more remarkable as the first unqualified declaration of the principles of Free Trade; and never, certainly, were they more ably and manfully stated than by Lord Palmerston on this occasion. Equally remarkable was the prophecy, so soon destined to be fulfilled, that if Sir R. Peel and his party themselves came into power, they would be compelled themselves to embrace and adopt these principles. Nor is the debate less worthy of attention as exhibiting the rhetorical skill

of these two great masters of the art of oratory. On the one hand, Sir R. Peel, carefully avoiding committing himself to any general principles, excepting the maintenance of the sliding-scale and the protective duties on sugar, was seeking to run the debate into a censure of the plans proposed by Ministers, and sarcastic remarks on the deficit in which they had landed the nation; on the other hand, Lord Palmerston carefully eschewed these unfavorable topics, and intrenched himself in the principles of Free Trade, which his practiced eye already told him would ere long obtain the ascendancy in the country.

Every one saw that the decisive majority of 86 against Ministers on this vital question had numbered the days of the Government, and it was generally expected that they would announce their resignations next evening in Parliament. Contrary to expectation, however, this was not done; on the contrary, Lord John Russell contented himself with announcing that on the Monday following he should move the annual sugar duties, and on the 4th June bring forward the question of the Corn Laws. It was now evident that Government meant to evade the question of the budget, and, anticipating a deficit on the corn duties, would dissolve with a view to raising the cry of cheap bread. The skillful leader of the Opposition took his measures accordingly. When the question of the sugar-tax came on, he seconded the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion that the existing duties should be continued for a year, and gave notice of a motion of want of confidence in Ministers, to come on on the 31st May.* It came on accordingly, and, after a debate of four nights, was carried against Ministers by a majority of one. It is remarkable how many decisive votes, both in France and England, have been carried by the same slender majority. The vote which ushered in the French Revolution in 1789, that which introduced the Reform Bill in 1832, England in 1831, and that which finally displaced the Whig Ministry, were all carried by a majority of one.¹

Upon this Ministers very properly agreed to evade all further discussion on the Dissolution of Corn Laws, to take a vote of supply for a few months, and then to appeal at once to the nation, which was finally to determine between them and their antagonists. This proposal was immediately agreed to by the Opposition. The remaining business of the session, which was chiefly of a formal nature, was rapidly hurried over, all measures of importance being dropped on both sides. The House quickly emptied, every one hurrying to the country to canvass his constituents; and on the 23d June, Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person.

On the 29th of the same month it was dissolved by royal proclamation, and a new Parliament issued, returnable on the 19th August.¹

* "That her Majesty's Ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the home measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the constitution."—*Parl. Deb.* lviii. 1241.

Immense was the excitement which followed in the country upon this appeal from the Sovereign to the people. Every one saw that the fate of the Ministry would depend upon the result of the contest, and this, more than the measures to be pursued by Government, or any abstract questions of commercial or social policy, was the issue upon which the rival parties went to the nation. It is true, the Conservatives, or "Protectionists," as they now began to be called, loudly declaimed, on the hustings and in the press, on the injury to native industry, both at home and in the colonies, which would ensue from the proposed reduction in the duties on foreign corn, sugar, and timber, and opposed to the cry of "cheap bread," which was loudly sounded on the other side, the cry of "low wages," held out as the inevitable consequence of any considerable reduction in the price of corn. Free Trade was the staple of the Whigs on this occasion; they stigmatized their opponents every where as monopolists; and whatever may be the real merits of that question, or its ultimate effects, to them belongs the credit of having first and most manfully asserted it. But though they wisely, and with just foresight, endeavored to run the contest into one of Free Trade or Protection, the people could not be brought to regard it generally in that light. They persisted in regarding it as a question of men, not measures; not whether the Liberal movement was or was not to be carried on, but whether Sir R. Peel or Lord Melbourne were to direct it. The majority of the nation were against them on that question. They were alarmed at the distress which had so long pervaded the country, and the serious deficit which had of late years appeared in the finances; they doubted the ability of the Whig Ministry to fill it up, from a conviction that they were not men of business habits or acquirements; and they distrusted the sincerity of the recent declarations of the Cabinet in favor of Free Trade, when the Premier had so lately pronounced the repeal of the Corn Laws the most insane project that ever entered the human head, and Lord John Russell had declared it to be absurd, mischievous, and impracticable. These were the views which divided and broke down the Liberal majority in the boroughs. In the counties the case was different. The contest was more taken up as one between low and high prices; paid and unpaid rents; and the agricultural interest stood shoulder to shoulder in a contest in which they considered their means of existence and that of their families was at stake.¹

The elections began as soon as the writs reached the several returning officers; and the result soon showed how great a change the four last disastrous years had wrought in the public mind, especially in the larger boroughs and manufacturing districts. London, as usual, was the first in which elections took place; and the issue of the contest was ominous of the general return, and of the fate of the Administration. Four Conservative candidates there appeared to contest the representation with the four Liberals, including Lord John Russell, who had held it ever since the Reform Bill passed;

¹ Ann. Reg. 1841, 143.
² 1844, Mart. ii. 471, 472.

and the result was that two of them were returned, a Conservative (Mr. Masterman) being at the head of the poll, and Lord John at its foot. In the counties, a large majority generally appeared for the Conservatives: in the English counties the majority was so great, that, excepting in a few places where the hereditary influence of a few old Whig families was not to be overcome, it may be said to have been overwhelming. Even Lord Morpeth was defeated in the West Riding of Yorkshire by a majority of 1100, by an opponent whom at the last election he had worsted by a similar majority, although he made a speech on his overthrow so eloquent and full of generous feeling that every one who heard it declared he never would be in a minority again.* Lord Howick was worsted in Northumberland, Mr. O'Connell in Dublin, for which city two Conservatives were returned. Even in Westminster, the stronghold of the Liberal party in the metropolis, Sir De Lacy Evans, a staunch Radical, was compelled to yield to Captain Rous, a decided Tory. The result of the contest was more favorable to the Conservatives than their most sanguine supporters had anticipated, for it showed a majority in the whole United Kingdom of 76 in favor of Sir R. Peel. In England the Conservative majority was 104; which was reduced to 76 by a Liberal majority of 9 in Scotland, and 19 in Ireland! A striking proof how much greater and more lasting had been the change worked 147; Mart. in the two latter countries by the Reform Bill than the former.†

Parliament met on the 19th August, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre was elected Speaker without a

division. The trial of strength, to which the country looked with such anxiety, came on upon the amendment to the Address, which was moved by Mr. Stuart Wortley, which was: "That the House most respectfully express their regret at the recent increase of expenditure, its determination to provide for that increase, and its earnest desire to promote the welfare of her Majesty's subjects, and respectfully represent to her Majesty the necessity that her Ministers should enjoy the confidence of the country, which the present Administration did not possess." The debate lasted four nights, and turned chiefly on the weakness of the Government, their manifold tergiversations, and the want of any settled principle in their administration, both foreign and domestic. Sir R. Peel, whose speech was loudly cheered, declared his determination to adopt a system entirely opposite. "If I exercise power," said he, "it shall be upon my conception, perhaps imperfect, perhaps mistaken, but my sincere conception of public duty. That power I will not hold unless I can hold it conscientiously, in consistence with the maintenance of my opinions; and that power I will relinquish the moment I am satisfied that I am not supported in the maintenance of them by the confidence of this house and the people of this country." "I am convinced that if this country," said Lord John Russell, in reply, "is governed by enlarged and liberal counsels, that its power and might will spread and increase, and its influence become greater and greater, and that Liberal principles will prevail, and civilization will be spread to all parts of the globe, and you will bless millions by your acts, and mankind by your union." Ministers were supported by O'Connell and the whole strength of the Irish Catholic members, as well as the Liberal majority in Scotland. But such was their unpopularity in England, that upon a division which took place on the fourth night of the debate, they were left in a minority of 91, the numbers be-

* NUMBERS AT ELECTIONS OF 1837 AND 1841 FOR THE WEST RIDING.

Election 1837.	Election 1841.
Lord Morpeth ... 12,576	Hon. S. Wortley. 13,165
Sir G. Strickland. 11,692	Mr. Denison ... 12,780
Hon. S. Wortley. 11,469	Lord Morpeth ... 12,080
	Lord Milton 12,031

This change was the more remarkable, that the West Riding was one of the greatest manufacturing districts in England.—Ann. Reg. 1841, p. 146.

† THE RETURNS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

DIVIDED INTO COUNTRIES.				
	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Liberal Majority.	Conservative Majority.
England and Wales	199	305	...	104
Scotland	81	22	9	...
Ireland	62	43	19	...
Total	292	368	28	104
DIVIDED INTO CITIES AND COUNTIES.				
	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Liberal Majority.	Conservative Majority.
English Counties	23	136	...	113
English Universities .....	...	4	...	4
English Cities and Boroughs	176	163	13	...
Scotch Counties	10	20	...	10
Scotch Burghs	21	2	19	...
Irish Counties	39	25	14	...
Irish University .....	...	2	...	2
Irish Boroughs	23	16	7	...
Total	292	368	53	129
PROFIT AND LOSS FROM THE FORMER RETURN.				
	Conservative Gain.		Liberal Gain.	
English Cities and Boroughs	28		31	
English Counties	23		1	
Scotch Burghs	2		1	
Scotch Counties	5		2	
Irish Cities and Boroughs	6		1	
Irish Counties	4		1	
Total	78		38	

ing 360 to 269 in a house of 629—the largest upon record. The majority in the House of Lords was 72, the numbers being 168 to 96. After this decisive expression of the opinion of both Houses, but one course remained to Ministers; and, accordingly, in answer to the Address, the Queen said, “Ever anxious to listen to the advice of my Parliament, I will take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration.” And on 30th August, Lord Melbourne announced in the Lords, and Lord John Russell in the Commons, that Ministers only held office till their successors were appointed, and both Houses immediately after adjourned. The resignation

¹ *Parl. Deb.* of Ministers was of course accepted, *ibid.* 8, 16, 476, and the Queen sent for Sir R. 483, *An. Reg.* Peel to form a new Administration.¹ 1841, 160, 193.

Thus fell the Government of the Whigs, and fell never again to rise. The Liberal or movement party have been the fall of the Whigs. in power, indeed, for the greater part of the subsequent period, and to all appearance they are destined for a long period to hold the reins. But the Liberal is very different from the old Whig party—much more opposed to it than ever the Tory had been. These two rival parties, which so long divided the empire, were, after the termination of the contest with the Stuarts, and till the advent of the French Revolution, divided on no great questions of social or national policy; they were merely opposite competitors for power. But the case is very different with the Liberals, who, since the fall of the Whigs, have succeeded them in the administration of affairs. The proof of this is decisive; it is to be found in their legislative acts. They have been obliged to substitute favor to the Roman Catholics for the stern hostility of the Revolution; Free Trade for the protective system, which for a century and a half had regulated their policy; and unrestricted admission of foreign shipping for the Navigation Laws, the bequest of Cromwell, and which they had so long held forth as the palladium of the empire. They have been compelled to exchange concession to the great towns for the aristocratic rule of the great families. Nor have they, in doing so, yielded merely to that change of policy which every party, even the most consistent, must adopt from the changes of times and circumstances. The alteration has been so great, and has affected so deeply their private interests, that it has evidently been the result, not of change of views, but of necessity; for they have been compelled to abandon the Corn Laws, which in the long-run, when the effect of the gold discoveries has ceased, will halve their incomes, and accept, without any reduction of the twelve millions of direct taxation exclusively affecting the land, the succession-tax, which in a few generations will double their debts.

It was commonly said at the time that this fall was entirely owing to the incapacity and vacillation of the Cabinet which then directed the affairs of the nation, and the want of business habits, which arose from their high birth and connections. But a very little consideration must be sufficient to convince every one that this was by no means the cause of

the catastrophe. The Whig Cabinet, when it was overturned, contained many able and eloquent men, and they had sustained themselves with credit and talent against the most formidable Opposition, both in point of numbers and capacity, of which mention is made in parliamentary annals. True, their measures were vacillating, often contradictory, and sometimes little consistent with the dignity of a party really ruling the State; but the reason of that was that they did not really rule the State. After the election of 1835 their majority was so small, seldom exceeding, on a vital question, fifteen or twenty in the House of Commons, that they could never be sure of carrying any thing; and like a ship contending at sea against an adverse wind, they were obliged to trim their sails, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, in order to secure any, even the smallest, progress in headway. The deficit in the revenue which weighed so heavily upon them, and was the immediate cause of their fall, arose indeed from the monetary system, for which they had been the first to contend, but which had been latterly cordially accepted by their opponents, and sanctioned by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons. The real cause of their overthrow is to be found in the constitution of Parliament which they themselves had forced upon the Sovereign, and the fatal mistake committed by Earl Grey in supposing that the boroughs, returning three-fifths of the entire representation of the United Kingdom, would fall under the dominion of the territorial magnates in their vicinity, because the nomination boroughs had hitherto done so. The result of the elections in 1841, when 220 borough members in the United Kingdom were on the Liberal side, and only 181 on the Conservative, while in the counties 181 were on the Conservative, and only 72 on the Liberal, proves how completely he was mistaken in his anticipations, and how utterly erroneous was his opinion that the change was aristocratic in its tendency. The result proves that the Whigs put themselves into schedule A. as completely by the Reform Bill, as they fondly flattered themselves they had put their opponents.

But this is not all. Not only has the glory departed from the old Whig families from the effects of the change they introduced into the constitution, but, what is still more extraordinary, and certainly was not intended, *the ruling power has departed from the realm of England.* Strange as this result is, and little as it was anticipated from a change which the great majority of the English so vehemently supported, there is nothing more certain than that it has taken place. Ever since Sir R. Peel's dissolution in 1835, a decided majority in the House of Commons has been obtained from the Scotch and Irish members, and *them alone.* If the power had been vested in the English alone, a Conservative Ministry would have been in power, and a Conservative policy pursued by the Government, from that day to this. Even in the election of 1841, when the Conservatives for a period obtained the majority, it was by the aid of a majority of 58 in Ireland and Scotland that the Liberals were enabled to make head at all against the majority of 129 against them in England; and

51.
The supremacy of England was destroyed by the Reform Bill.

60.
The fall of the Whigs was owing to the Reform Bill.

since that time the majority of the Liberals has been entirely composed of Irish and Scotch members; and that of the 21 which overthrew Lord Derby's Administration in 1852, was entirely drawn from the representatives of these two nations. Nothing but this extraneous power, joined to that of the English manufacturing towns, has forced upon the English aristocracy the income-tax, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the succession-tax, now felt by them as so sore a burden. And thus, by the effect of its own act, has the mighty realm of England, which boasted of having conquered Ireland by the force of its arms, and won Scotland by the seductions of its power, fallen practically under the government of these two comparatively weak and powerless neighbors! Time will show whether their rule will be as steady, consistent, and glorious as that of the English aristocracy, which Earl Grey destroyed, had been.

This extraordinary result of a movement which originated in, and was supported mainly by, the Liberals of England, is to be ascribed in Ireland without doubt to the ascendancy of the Catholic priesthood, which, exercising an absolute sway over their flocks and their representatives, has uniformly arrayed them in opposition to the English aristocracy, justly regarded as its most formidable enemy. In Scotland it has been owing to a different cause. It has arisen from the love of independence and aspiring

tendency which are inherent features in the national character, which led to the long and obstinate wars that were waged with England, and which, since the auspicious union of the two kingdoms, has sent forth its sons in quest of fortune into every quarter of the globe, and has so often raised them to power and affluence in distant realms. This aspiring and persevering disposition is closely connected with, and is in fact the main element in, the desire for self-government; and hence the Scotch burghs, twenty-three in number, have, since the passing of the Reform Bill, with one or two exceptions, produced by powerful local influence, returned the Liberal members who have, with the Irish Catholics, kept the Liberal ministers in power. Whether this aspiring and democratic tendency will in Scotland, as it has done in so many other countries, give way to the return to Conservatism, which is the result of extended information, or the weariness and distrust which are too often the bitter lessons of experience, or the love of gain, which is not less inherent in the Scottish character, remains yet to be proved. But in the mean time it may with certainty be affirmed that these peculiarities in the Scottish character have produced important effects upon the fortunes of the empire in recent times, and given to its inhabitants an unobserved importance beyond what could have been anticipated from their numbers, wealth, or apparent influence in the realm.

CHAPTER XXXIX

INDIA FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE MAHARATTA WAR IN 1802, TO THE FALL OF BHURTPORE IN 1820.

If there is any instinct more strongly than another implanted in the universal heart of man, it is that which leads him to repel foreign aggression and dread external subjugation. Other national feelings are partial in their operation or temporary in their effects: the lust of conquest or other violent passion is extinguished by success; the fervor of democracy wears itself out in a few years; the love of personal freedom is seen only among some particular races of men, and, even where it is most strong, can not be relied on as likely to endure for any great length of time. But the love of country, the desire for its independence, are universal among men. These passions burn with even greater strength in the earlier than in the later stages of society; they actuate alike the savage and the sage; they are coeval with the first dawn of civilization; and when they become weakened, it may with certainty be concluded that the career of the country is drawing to a close. No memory is ever so fondly cherished among men as that of the patriot who has died in defense of his native land—none so execrated as he who has leagued with the stranger against it.

It is not without reason that nature has implanted this universal feeling among men, for the preservation of national independence is beyond all doubt the first of public blessings. So general is selfishness in mankind, that conquest is hardly ever undertaken but for the purposes of rapacity—power seldom acquired without being immediately turned to effect spoliation. In rude ages this is done by military power and the ruthless grasp of war; in later times, it is more commonly effected under the pacific guise of legislative change. But in either case the result is the same; the property and industry of the conquered state are sacrificed to the selfish ambition of the conquering, and the interest of the subject territory is forgotten in the ceaseless aggrandizement of the ruling. So generally has experience proved this to be the case, that foreign subjugation and internal ruin are generally considered as synonymous; and the very word *conquest* indicates in its derivation the lamentation with which the transference of power to foreign hands has been attended. The only exceptions to this rule are in those cases comparatively rare—such as that of Rome in ancient, or Russia in modern times—when the advancing empire permanently incorporates the conquered territory with its original dominions, and the inhabitants of the latter are in some degree protected from the oppression of their conquerors by becoming part of their lasting possession. Yet even there the advantages consequent on conquest scarcely ever compensate its evils; the main-spring of general progress is

weakened when the power of separate direction is taken away; the peace and order which theegis of a powerful empire confers are found to be dearly purchased by its attendant burdens; and the nation which swells the train or supplies the army of a mighty conqueror, often in secret mourns its chains, and prays for the defeat of the very standards to which its own fortunes seem to be indissolubly attached.

The BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA appears at first sight to form an exception to this general rule. The plains of Hindostan have, from the very earliest times, been desolated by the arms, and held up as the reward of conquest; more even than the Italian, their inhabitants have had to lament the fatal gift of beauty. The riches of the south have never ceased to attract the cupidity of the north to the regions of the sun. The Himalaya snows have been found a feeble barrier to its resistless fury. Devastated by successive irruptions of the Tartars and other invaders, the meek and pacific inhabitants of Hindostan have drained to the very dregs the cup of humiliation and misery from the conquerors of the north. So complete has been their prostration, so great the multitude of savage warriors who in successive irruptions have poured into their plains, that their descendants have become mixed in vast numbers with those of the vanquished people; and the present inability of India to make head against foreign invasion is mainly owing to the diversity of races, religions, and tongues with which it is crowded, and the impossibility of uniting such a heterogeneous mass in any durable league for the maintenance of their common independence. To a people so situated, the conquest of the English seemed, contrary to the usual case, an unmixed blessing, and the steady rule of a powerful Christian and civilized government a happy change after the savage inroads of Mogul conquerors, or the devastating strife of independent chiefs.

In many respects the exchange of European for Asiatic government has undoubtedly been an advantage to the people of India. How great soever were the abilities, how splendid the achievements, how great even the passing benefits of their Asiatic conquerors, they never were able to establish a powerful government or found a lasting dynasty. With the death of the mighty conqueror who had founded the empire, the huge fabric soon became weakened and fell to pieces: the seductions of the seraglio, the corruptions of the throne, proved fatal to the rude energy of the north, and out of the ruins of the empire arose a multitude of independent rajahs, who contended for its spoils, and, leaving to the meek sultan the phantom of royalty, secured to themselves its substantial advantages.

1.
Universal
feeling of
mankind to
repel foreign
aggression.

2.
Reasons of
this universal
feeling.

3.
Apparent ex-
ception to this
rule in British
India.

4.
Advantages
of the English
government.

To an empire so situated there can be no doubt that the conquest of the entire country by the English opened, in the first instance, immense advantages. It removed, in a great degree, over the whole of its vast extent, the evils of internal war, stopped the devastation of one rajah's territories by another, closed the eternal pillage of the ryots by the intermediate officers of the government, and established the inappreciable advantages of internal peace and unrestricted interior communication. So great are these advantages, so real those blessings, that they have overcome, in a large part of the people, one of the strongest of human desires—that of national independence—and caused their incorporation with the British dominions to be hailed, in the first instance at least, with joy by the greater part of the sable inhabitants of Hindostan.

But all this notwithstanding, a considerable portion of the people would willingly exchange the deathlike stillness of British protection for the stormy animation of their native governments. The former is a peaceful arena, in which, by them, nothing but the humblest prizes are to be gained; the latter a warlike theatre, in which principalities and power are the rewards of the victorious soldier. It is not in human nature that the last should not be preferred by those by whom its prizes may be drawn, whatever it may be by those by whom its burdens are to be borne. Although, accordingly, the inhabitants of the British dominions are in general in a state of tranquillity, and bow the neck to a foreign yoke, which they deem the decree of fate, yet they are in reality very far indeed from being contented with their lot. They will doubtless endeavor to achieve their independence as soon as a favorable opportunity occurs for doing so; and the first great defeat on the plains of Hindostan will be the signal for a general insurrection of the native powers against the British rule.

The progress of the British in India has been nothing but one series of conquests, interrupted, but not stopped, by a terrible defeat beyond its mountain barrier, which seemed to forebode that the lords of Hindostan were not destined to extend their dominion into Central Asia. The Mahratta States—Gwalior, parts of Burmah and Nepal, Pegu, Scinde, Lahore, Oude—have been successively acquired; neither the mountain fastnesses of the Ghoorhas, nor the death-bestedrodden jungles of Arracan, nor the far-famed bastions of Bhurtpore, nor the swift horsemen of the Pindarees, nor the disciplined battalions of the Sikhs, have been able to withstand its irresistible progress. The show even of resistance is at an end; independence is unknown over the vast extent of the Indian Peninsula. The empire thus formed constitutes, with the tributary states, which in fact form part of it, the greatest compact dominion on the face of the earth. From the Himalaya snows to Cape Comorin, from the mouths of the Indus to the Straits of Penang, it forms a vast peninsula, estimated as containing 1,385,000 square miles, or nearly ten times the area of France, of which more than one-half is subject to the direct do-

minion of Great Britain. The total boundary by sea and land of this immense region is 11,200 miles, of which 4500 are formed by the ocean and the remainder by the vast range of mountains which, with its extended branches, stretches all round it on the north and east, from the frontiers of Gedrosia to the extreme southern point of Cochin China. The inhabitants of this empire, subject to the direct government of England, are now, since the incorporation of Oude, about 120,000,000; the protected or tributary states are 41,000,000 more. Great as these numbers are, they are inconsiderable in proportion to the extent of the country they inhabit. In the British provinces the inhabitants are 157 to the square mile, in the native states 74—numbers respectively not one-half of the densely or thinly peopled countries of Europe. About a third of the whole territories of the Company are still in a state of nature, and they might maintain in ease and affluence double their present inhabitants.¹

One material source of discontent and cause of impoverishment to India, so common with all conquered states, is, that a large proportion of its wealth is annually drawn away and spent in the ruling state. About £2,500,000 is every year paid away in England from Indian revenue to holders of East India stock, civil servants of the Company, or military charges paid at home. At least an equal sum is probably annually remitted to this country from the fortunes brought home by its civil and military officers, or the mercantile profits made by the numerous and enterprising traders who, since the throwing open of the trade, have succeeded to its lucrative traffic. Such a sum, annually drawn off and spent abroad, would be a severe drain upon the resources of any country, but it becomes doubly so when the value of the money thus abstracted is taken into consideration. The wages of labor are usually 2½d. or 3d. a day in Hindostan, so that £5,000,000 a year is fully equal to £35,000,000 in this country. We know what a serious burden the interest of the national debt is to this country, which is nearly of the same amount, though it is for the most part spent at home, and of course not lost to its industry; but what would it be if it were annually drawn away and expended in ministering to the luxury of the Hindoo rajahs, or swelling the gorgeous establishments of Calcutta?²

Unfelt by the ryots, whose wants seldom extend beyond the cultivation of their humble allotments, the monopoly of all situations of trust or importance by the British is a most galling and disheartening circumstance to the native higher classes in India. It is felt as peculiarly so by the Mohammedans, because their fathers were the last conquerors of the country, and but for the subsequent disasters they have experienced, they would have been in the possession of all the situations of dignity and emolument. They form a numerous body, amounting to 15,000,000 souls, but still more important from the elevated class in society to which many of them formerly be-

Evils of the English government which have subsequently appeared.

6. Extent of the British empire in India.

1 Montgomery Martin's Britain, 2, 3 (Introduction).

7. Great payments drawn from India and spent in England.

2. Warren, l'Inde Anglaise, iii. 257.

8. Exclusion of the natives from situations of trust or emolument.

longed. With the exception of that part of them which is enrolled in the army, the great majority of this class is in a state of sullen discontent, and ready to take advantage of the first opportunity which may occur to dispossess the English, and place themselves in all the situations which they at present hold. None but Europeans can hold a higher situation than that of lieutenant in the army, or a very subordinate collector or other functionary in the civil service.* We have only to ask ourselves what would be our feelings if the whole situations of dignity and importance in the British Islands were monopolized by thirty or forty thousand intruders from Hindostan, who carried back the wealth made on the banks of the Thames to be spent on those of the Ganges, to be able to appreciate the feeling of the people of India in the corresponding circumstances in which they are actually placed.

It is another circumstance of no small moment in considering the position of the British in India, and the chances they have of easily maintaining their ascendancy in it, that hitherto at least few of the commercial advantages which might reasonably have been expected from a union with Great Britain have been experienced by the inhabitants of Hindostan.† The export trade of Great Britain to India, indeed, has been very considerable of late years, and now amounts to above £9,000,000 a year; but this has by no means been attended by a corresponding increase of Indian exports to Great Britain. On the contrary, the exports of India to England had been either stationary or declining for a number of years back prior to the great change in the tariff

by Sir R. Peel in 1842. The reason is, that in our intercourse with India we have thought only of the interests of our own merchants and manufacturers, not of those of our distant and ~~unrepresented~~ Eastern possessions. We boasted of the extraordinary fact that the manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow can undersell those of Hindostan in the manufacture of cotton goods from the raw material grown on the banks of the Ganges; but we forgot at what price to the artisans of India this advantage has been gained to those of this country. Every bale of cotton goods sent out from Great Britain to India deprives several manufacturers in Hindostan of bread. British manufactures are admitted into India at a merely nominal duty; but Indian manufactures coming to this country were, till very recently, for the most part burdened with the usual heavy import-duties, which even at present are 25 or 30 per cent., and before Sir R. Peel's reduction of tariffs, were in many cases 150, and even 200 per cent.* It is not surprising that in such circumstances, with *reciprocity all on one side*, the industry of India should not have reaped the advantages which might have been expected from its connection with Great Britain. If Calcutta had been the seat of government, and England the distant conquered possession, it is probable the relative scale of duties would have been reversed, and we should have had little cause to congratulate ourselves on our commercial intercourse with the East. The proportion which our export trade to India bears to the amount of its population is only £9,000,000 to 150,000,000 people—*little more than fifteen pence a head*; while to Canada the proportion is £1 15s. a head; to the West Indies £1 18s. a head; to America 17s. a head; and to Australia, on an average of years before the extraordinary start of the 1 Martin's gold digging, not less than £7 or British India, £8.†

The great cause of this extreme poverty of the inhabitants of India, is to be found in the heat of the climate, and the importance, in many places, of *works of irrigation* to keep in exist-

* "Quels sont les plus hauts rangs offerts à l'ambition des hautes classes? Dans l'armée un grade de Subedar-Major, qui équivaut à peu-près à celui d'adjudant sous-officier en France; dans l'administration, quelques places d'huissiers et de courtiers. Quand sous l'administration de Lord William Bentinck la Cour des Directeurs avait eu l'idée de donner un 'Writership,' c'est-à-dire, une place dans le service civil, au fils du célèbre Ram-Mohun-Roy, qui avait reçu une éducation Européenne, et était certainement supérieur en intelligence à un grand nombre de ces employés, cette proposition souleva une telle tempête parmi les bénéficiaires qu'il fallut y renoncer. Toutes les carrières, tous les emplois honorables, leur étant ainsi fermés, il s'ensuit que les fortunes aisées et les classes moyennes disparaissent successivement sans se remplacer, jusqu'à ce que dans un temps donné il n'existera plus qu'une *égalité de misère*, qui nivellera cinquante millions d'individus. D'inculte cette fois les vases vases, qui viendront se dissoudre dans le même creuset. L'Angleterre, comme le vampire féroce, aura tout absorbé; il ne restera aucune somme pour s'élever au-dessus des masses, parmi lesquelles on ne comptera plus que l'artisan, le cultivateur, le manoeuvre, et le gendarme: rien qu'un peuple de serfs, jouissant d'une liberté nominale annulée par le besoin, et n'ayant d'autre alternative que de travailler pour le profit exclusif de ses maîtres."—WALTON, *l'Inde Anglaise*, liv. 259, 258.

† "For many years great commercial injustice was done by England to British India. High, indeed prohibitory, duties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee, &c., to favor similar products grown in the West Indies. Still worse, we compelled the Hindoos to receive cotton and other manufactures from England at merely nominal duties (2½ per cent.); while at the very same time 50 per cent. was demanded here on any attempt to introduce the cotton goods of India."—*Commons' Paper*, No. 237, April, 1846. The same principle was adopted with regard to silk and other articles. The result was the destruction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plea of Strafford in Ireland during the reign of Charles I., namely, the founding of the linen trade as a substitute for that of woolen, which was to be extinguished in order to appease the English weaver."—M. MARTIN'S *British India*, p. 543.

* "Pour protéger le fermier qui émigre au Canada, le bled de l'Inde se voit frappé d'une droit de 30 pour 100. Pour satisfaire à l'avarice et gorger les colons Anglais des Antilles, le café, le coton, la laine, le teck, la graine de lin, la soie, la cochenille de Calcutta, de Madras, et de Bombay, doivent payer 100, 200, 300 pour 100. C'est-à-dire, pendant qu'on oblige l'Indien à nourrir l'industrie Anglaise, on refuse tout débouché à la sienne. C'est un habile ouvrier, un patient agriculteur, un tisserand consommé, auquel on interdit le travail, et qui n'ayant pas d'autres ressources, se voit condamné à mourir de faim."—WALTON, liv. 93, 94.

† The true principle on the subject was adopted by the East India Company on 11th May, 1842, on the motion of Sir Charles Forbes, aided by the able and indefatigable friend of the colonies, Mr. Montgomery Martin—viz., "That, in the opinion of this Court, the territories under the government of the East India Company ought to be treated as integral portions of the British empire; and that as a revision of the British tariff is taking place, this Court, in fulfillment of its duty to their fellow-subjects in India, do again petition both Houses of Parliament, praying for a complete *reciprocity of trade* between India and England, which, if fully and fairly established, will confer mutual and extensive benefits on both countries, and materially contribute to the security and permanence of the British power and influence in the Eastern hemisphere."—See *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1842.

These principles were in great part carried into practice by Sir R. Peel, in his tariff of 1842, by which the duties on Indian goods of all sorts were lowered most materially—with what effect on the industry of British India may be judged of by the table on the opposite page.

ence agricultural industry. Unlike the temperate regions of the globe, which are copiously watered by the perennial rains of heaven, the soil of India is for five months in the year deluged by frightful floods, and for the other seven parched up by excessive drought. In these circumstances irrigation, or the artificial supply of water by means of tanks during the dry season, is in most places an indispensable condition both of animal and vegetable life: it is to the territory of India what the floods of the Nile are to that of Egypt. But for it the whole soil turns in a single season into a wilderness. The immense floods which overspread the earth during the rainy season furnish water in abundance for the artificial supply of the land and the inhabitants during the dry period; but the tanks and canals, by which alone it can be preserved or distributed over the country, not only require a considerable expenditure of capital in the first instance, but a constant application of labor to keep them up. But for this they would turn into blowing sand during the dry season, or be washed away by the floods during the rainy. As an artificial supply of water, accordingly, is indispensable to cultivation in most parts of India, so the ceaseless efforts of industry are required to render perennial the prolific stream; and whenever, either from external violence or internal neglect, it has been suffered to fail, and the dykes and mounds essential to its continuance to fall into decay, population disappears, industry ceases, the jungle springs up, and the tiger

10.
Causes of the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of India.

¹ Warren, or the rhinoceros becomes again the lord of creation.¹

If nature has rendered India dependent on irrigation for the means of cultivation and the development of agricultural industry, she has been bountiful beyond example in furnishing the means of affording it to the inhabitants. Snowy mountains in every part of the torrid zone furnish the only reservoirs for perennial supplies of water; and it is for this purpose that the stony circle of the globe has been placed in these regions. But in addition to the vast snowy range of the Himalaya, which shuts in the Indian peninsula over its whole extent to the north, and, by the innumerable streams which flow into the Indus, the Ganges, and the Barampooter, furnishes a perennial

11.
Vast means of irrigation furnished by nature.

supply of water to the Punjaub and the whole valley of the Ganges in the north of the peninsula, another boon has been given by nature to southern India, which is peculiar to that portion of the globe. The monsoon, which blows for six months in the year over the Indian Ocean, strikes on the Ghats, or range of precipitous mountains which, like the Andes in America, form its western boundary, and from whence many of the chief rivers of central and southern India flow in long and devious courses to the Eastern Ocean. The periods when the rivers, fed by the monsoon rains, are swollen, are those when the reservoirs of the Himalaya are not unlocked by the rays of a vertical sun; and when the streams flowing from the snowy mountains begin, like the waters of the Nile, to rise, the moisture of the monsoon ceases to swell those rivers which are nourished by it. Thus northern and southern India is, each in its season, provided with the means of irrigation; and the skill and energy of man may, by means of tanks and canals, carry the fertilizing stream into every field and garden of Hindostan.

India, though a great continent, is essentially a maritime country; and the power which has the command of the ocean is sure, in the long-run, to have that of the land also. From the mouth of the Indus to the extreme point of the promontory of Arracan is a distance, in a direct line, of 4000 miles; and each coast of India stretches 2000 miles from Cape Comorin to the mouth of the Indus on one side, and to that of the Ganges on the other. So important is this great extent of sea-coast, and so vast the advantages which it offers to whichever power enjoys it, that it may be considered as decisive of any serious war in Hindostan. Alexander was foiled because he did not, England has succeeded because she did, enjoy it. The interior of the peninsula is intersected by numerous mountain-ranges, lofty plateaus, arid deserts, and deep rivers, which render internal communication always difficult, often impossible. Until a vast system of canals and railroads is established throughout every part of India, which would require a century and immense funds for its completion, nothing can compensate the want of a command of the sea-coast. If the Russians ever attempt the conquest of India, the greatest difficulty with which they will have to contend will be, neither the arid mountains of

12.
Great extent of the sea-coast of India.

Years.	IMPORTS TO INDIA.		INDIAN EXPORTS.		INDIAN EXPORTS TO BRITAIN.
	Merchandise.	Treasure.	Merchandise.	Treasure.	
	Rupess.	Rupess.	Rupess.	Rupess.	Rupess.
1824-25	4,30,11,005	1,89,30,233	7,99,34,203	19,47,407	3,05,69,730
1825-26	4,78,18,475	2,14,69,651	11,10,64,955	10,81,093	3,97,53,038
1826-27	5,53,69,902	2,03,61,672	13,34,01,632	26,39,340	4,91,54,702
1827-28	5,03,24,711	2,64,01,013	11,24,27,801	24,06,563	4,35,28,221
1828-29	5,24,06,736	3,01,09,195	11,77,47,693	24,79,058	4,51,31,593
1829-30	5,63,12,368	1,94,52,642	10,86,27,456	47,05,221	5,06,99,519
1830-31	8,41,59,405	1,78,62,533	13,45,55,842	24,64,869	7,05,43,681
1831-32	7,75,85,563	1,84,13,353	13,18,52,176	51,50,757	7,12,07,484
1832-33	7,60,36,029	2,44,32,916	15,55,18,246	21,57,996	5,89,09,658
1833-34	8,81,79,974	4,79,46,781	17,35,34,772	74,60,763	7,76,01,223
1834-35	10,75,40,659	2,75,34,718	16,69,02,124	1,10,68,402	7,24,06,177
1835-36	9,08,74,794	2,49,59,536	17,02,86,734	81,60,224	6,68,80,433
1836-37	8,89,66,646	2,93,99,224	15,35,54,375	7,11,38,696	6,56,16,965
1837-38	8,52,76,150	1,97,33,914	13,31,22,970	1,42,60,380	5,68,38,267
1838-39	8,34,48,042	4,20,40,033	16,08,85,018	2,23,97,425	6,19,19,523
1839-40	10,29,98,886	3,29,68,074	17,31,22,993	97,12,441	7,02,64,706
1840-41	11,55,87,888	3,81,18,068	18,16,41,496	54,12,891	8,10,40,164
1841-42	12,24,54,908	5,05,20,590	19,87,92,537	91,90,889	7,13,68,884
1842-43	10,07,08,616	6,83,13,776	20,46,46,230	1,05,52,299	7,37,78,248

Afghanistan, nor the terrors of the Bamian and Khyber Pass, by which alone access can be obtained to Hindostan, nor the dense and disciplined battalions which will await them when they reach the passage of the Indus at Attock: it will be the fact that those battalions will be close to their own resources, drawn from the rich plains of India and the encircling ocean, the true basis of British military operations; while those of the invaders will have to be painfully brought over mountain-paths a thousand miles in length. The siege of Sebastopol tells us what is the result of such a disparity in the means of obtaining the supplies of war.

It is only within these few years, however, that such beneficent public works, creative of wealth, essential to existence, have been constructed by the modern rulers of the country. Wherever you see vestiges of a magnificent canal, a splendid aqueduct, a life-teeming tank, you may be sure you are gazing on the work of some Hindoo or Mohammedan sovereign, or some of their successors. Almost all of these beneficent public works had fallen into decay before the career of British conquest, and with them disappeared nearly the whole population which had been nourished by their fertilizing streams. They have not absolutely perished, but migrated in sorrow and poverty to some of the great towns or other districts where nature has been more bountiful. The Company, however, had, even before Lord Dalhousie's administration, which began a new era in these respects, done something for internal improvement. Between 1817 and 1843 they had expended £500,000 to the west of the Jumna, and £200,000 to the east of that river, in works of irrigation. But these works were trifling compared to the necessities of the country. The extent to which the evil has gone, from the long-continued neglect on the part of the British Government to carry into execution the great public works which are essential to industry and cultivation, would be deemed incredible, if not proved by incontestible evidence. Lord Ellenborough recently said in his place in Parliament, that in the course of one of his official journeys from Calcutta to Delhi, his progress was delayed by having to cross in ferry-boats *fifty-six rivers*, the bridges of which had been broken down, without any prospect of their being repaired. In the year 1827, no fewer than eleven hundred tanks burst in the district of North Arcot alone, and consequently the means of cultivating the country were wholly lost, although it had been for a quarter of a century under British protection. The rich alluvial plains of the Doab, once fertilized by the canals of the Mogul emperors, have in great part become a wilderness. Clumps of mango-trees, planted around the former deserted abodes, alone indicate, at distant intervals, as the solitary ash-trees around what was once a garden in the Highland valley, where the abode of happy and industrious man had been. The magnificent fabric of irrigation formerly established, and which rendered the country a perfect garden, went to ruin in the days of the last Mogul princes, and has not as yet been restored by the Company: the banks are dried up, the mounds broken down or destroyed; and a few hollows

filled with brushwood, and tenanted by wild beasts or serpents, alone indicate where the fertilizing streams had formerly flowed. At the distance of a few miles from Delhi the country is entirely deserted; you meet only ruined temples, fallen pillars, and the mounds which tell where habitations had been; and if you ask the Mussulman whence this devastation has come, and whither the power of his fathers has fled, he replies with a sigh, that all efforts are vain against the decree of fate.¹

In justice to the British Government, it must be added that this neglect of the public works, upon which the prosperity of Asiatic communities is entirely dependent, has been owing to the most potent of all causes—namely, necessity. It is well known in the East that public assistance is indispensable to general prosperity, and that money expended on useful undertakings yields sixty, and even a hundred-fold. A policy purely selfish would have made such outlay for its own sake. The real reason was, that, in consequence of the peculiar position of the British power in India, every farthing that could be spared or saved required to be reserved for warlike operations. Conquest to it was not the result of ambition, it is the price of existence. In a country peopled by 150,000,000 souls, and which is to be really kept in subjection by less than 50,000 British soldiers, 8000 miles from their own country, it may readily be understood that the power of Government must rest upon opinion. It is by the prestige of irresistible force that not only is additional strength to be gained, but that already acquired is to be preserved. Toward the maintenance of this moral influence one thing is indispensably necessary, and that is *unbroken success*. Situated as the Company is, it can never be for its interest to engage in foreign wars, for that is to incur certain expense and probable risk for remote and contingent advantage. But from the obviously precarious nature of its position, and the great distance of the centre of its resources, it is constantly exposed to attack; and when assailed, it has no chance of salvation but in immediate and decisive victory. Protracted warfare is perilous, early defeat would be fatal to it. The misfortunes of Colonel Monson's division in 1804 exposed it to danger; the Afghanistan disaster in 1842 brought it to the verge of ruin. Thus it is indispensable that it should be at all times in a state of full military preparation, not only to repel aggression, but quickly to destroy the assailant; and intermission for a single year in this state of costly watchfulness might at any time expose it to destruction. It is a clear proof of what was the real cause of the long-continued indifference of the Company's government to public improvements, that from the time that the British power was thoroughly established in India, and its authority was paramount from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, the former niggardly system in regard to public grants was abandoned, and in the latter years of Lord Dalhousie's administration, from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 annually has been devoted to the construction of great public works, which will surpass, when completed, the fabled days of Mogul magnificence.

13. Great public works which formerly existed in India.

14. Difficulties of the British Government as regards public works.

1. Warren, III. 247; Parl. Deb. March 18, 1854.

One serious and widespread cause of injury, in a part of British India, has been the *Zemindar system*; and its partial failure affords a signal instance of the danger of attempting to extend the institutions which have proved most successful in one part of the world to another differently situated, and inhabited by a different race of men. When Lord Cornwallis first introduced this system into these conquered provinces, nothing, according to European ideas, could afford a fairer prospect of success, for it proposed to fix at a moderate rate the *perpetual* settlement of the ryots' quit-rent; and in the collectors of districts, styled the zemindars, it was hoped, would be laid the foundation of a feudal aristocracy which, without oppressing the people, the usual source of Asiatic grandeur, might be bound to the Government by the strong bond of mutual interest. But the result has in some measure disappointed these expectations; and the only effect of the system has been, in many cases, to ruin the zemindars, and impoverish the people. The reason is, that the quit-rent, though light in comparison of that which had been previously imposed and *nominally* required, was often much more than, under existing circumstances, could be *actually* and regularly paid. The Mogul princes required three-fifths of the produce, but the weakness of their government precluded them from levying it: the British required only two-fifths, but the collectors were compelled to pay it entire, and payment of all arrears was enforced with rigid exactitude. Many of these zemindars could not pay their rent to the treasury, or if they did so, it was only by extorting it with merciless rigor from the unhappy cultivators. Thus the result of this system, so well conceived in principle, so plausible in appearance, has often been, in practice, to ruin the permanent collectors, who, it was hoped, would form a middle class attached to the Government, and depress the cultivators, from whose labors not only the chief part of the national wealth, but two-thirds of the national revenue, was derived. Yet is there another side of the question; and results on a great scale demonstrate that, in spite of the many evils to the zemindars which this system has introduced, it has, upon the whole, been beneficial to the ryots. Periodical famines, which, before the perpetual settlement, were the scourge of the province of Bengal, have been unknown since its introduction; and while the other provinces of India, in general, exhibit a deficit, that of

Bengal, out of a land-rent of £14,000,000, exhibits a surplus of £2,800,000.* And sorely as the ill effects of the system have been experienced, it has never been deemed possible to alter it; for to do so would be to do away with what was justly held out as its chief recommendation—namely, its *permanent* character—and expose Government to endless applications for remission, both from the zemindars and their impoverished subjects.¹

The zemindar system is not universally established in India. In the northern provinces the old *Village system* is still preserved—a system so thoroughly adapted to the circumstances and wants of the country, and so associated with the habits of its inhabitants, that it has existed from the earliest times, survived all the changes of dynasty or conquest, and formed the nucleus round which society has perpetually been re-formed, when all but destroyed by the successive inroads of northern conquerors. According to it, each village forms a little community, governed by elders chosen on the most democratic principles, and with its adjacent territory composes a little world within itself, independent, if left alone, of any external appliances. The land-tax which it pays to Government is received by its collectors from the elected rulers of the village, and they apportion out the burden with the most scrupulous care and perfect fairness among the different inhabitants. In this little community the professions are all hereditary. The tailors, the shoemakers, the bakers, the soldiers, succeed to their fathers' avocations: no one either thinks of leaving his, or can do so. So deeply rooted is this system over all India, as indeed generally in the East, that it survives all the convulsions of time. In vain does the storm of war roll over the little society; in vain does the torch of the Mogul or the Afghan consume their dwellings; in vain are they dispersed and driven into the abodes of the jackal or the tiger. When the tempest ceases, the little community again rises from its ashes, the scattered flock return to their former dwellings, "rebuild with haste their fallen walls, and exult to see the smoke ascend from their native village."

It is not to be supposed, from this long catalogue of omissions, that the English government in India has been a source of unmixed evil to the inhabitants of the country. It has been in many respects a decided

Years.	BENGAL.			MADRAS.			BOMBAY.		
	Revenue.	Charges.	Surplus.	Revenue.	Charges.	Deficit.	Revenue.	Charges.	Deficit.
1839	9,561,444	8,437,736	1,123,708	3,535,575	3,581,406	...	1,445,290	2,083,223	637,933
1840	9,741,240	8,943,099	798,141	3,563,343	3,252,075	311,268	1,627,923	1,996,360	138,436
1841	10,437,861	9,367,408	1,070,453	3,593,910	3,356,993	236,917	1,750,884	1,995,078	244,194
1842	10,829,614	9,934,751	894,863	3,628,949	3,380,783	248,166	1,960,663	1,991,530	30,867
1843	11,523,933	10,122,149	1,401,784	3,601,997	3,342,573	259,424	2,046,725	2,204,121	157,393
1844	11,863,933	9,575,638	2,288,295	3,512,417	3,479,560	32,857	1,918,607	2,496,173	577,566
1845	12,174,338	10,170,320	2,004,018	3,589,313	3,323,598	65,615	2,047,380	2,500,910	453,530
1846	12,900,254	10,445,969	2,454,285	3,631,923	3,449,618	182,304	2,120,824	2,692,100	571,276
1847	11,947,924	10,546,089	1,401,835	3,636,589	3,373,445	263,144	1,990,395	2,553,286	562,891
1848	12,063,936	10,536,367	1,527,569	3,667,325	3,321,495	445,830	2,475,894	2,989,589	453,696
1849	14,243,511	11,033,855	3,209,656	3,543,074	3,128,378	404,696	2,486,346	2,909,119	609,773
1850	13,879,966	10,818,439	3,061,527	3,625,015	3,212,415	412,600	2,744,951	3,066,460	341,519
1851	12,467,681	10,970,180	2,516,661	3,744,373	3,344,598	499,774	3,178,777	3,151,870	26,907
1852	14,015,120	11,269,370	2,775,750	3,766,150	3,307,192	458,958	3,166,157	3,379,115	112,951

Independent of the home charges at each presidency.

—MONTGOMERY MARTIN'S *British India*, p. 540.

benefit, as is decisively proved by the fact that the produce of the whole country is estimated by the most competent statisticians to be now seventy per cent. more than it was a quarter of a century ago.¹ This proves that, although numerous and serious calamities have resulted from the country being subjected to the dominion of a power so far distant, and in many respects so different from that of India, yet, viewed in its entire effects, it has proved a benefit, and that the substitution of the steady administration of a Christian and civilized, instead of the fitful oppression of a Mogul or Mohammedan ruling power, has, upon the whole, been advantageous. And this important fact encourages the hope that, if the British dominion in India endures long enough to permit the great improvements undertaken during Lord Dalhousie's administration to produce their natural effects, the public revenue, as well as the industrial resources of the country, will be more than doubled. If the public works which are indispensable to the development of private industry, and which in the East must be undertaken by the Government, are once executed, no limit can be assigned to the impulse which, under an Administration that forcibly retains the peninsula in peace, may be given to its population, riches, and revenue.

Toward this object, however, there is one indispensable requisite, and that is, that the commercial policy of England toward India should be settled on a footing of **REAL RECIPROCITY**. The way to do this is obvious: admit Indian produce of every description into the British Islands on the same terms as British produce is admitted into Hindostan. Seek no advantage in commercial intercourse with our Indian empire that you are not willing to concede to it in return. Act as you would wish it to do if Calcutta was the seat of government, and Great Britain the subject and distant province. Different opinions may be entertained on the point how far the natives of India can with safety be admitted to any considerable part of the offices of trust and emolument which are at present engrossed by the English: it may be unhappily true that they are disqualified by nature and habit from exercising any of the rights of freemen; but that they are eminently laborious, and fitted to take advantage of every opening which can be afforded to their industry, is universally admitted. What a boundless field for Indian enterprise would be afforded by the immense wealth and vast manufacturing acquirements of Great Britain, if the produce of Hindostan was admitted on the just terms of entire reciprocity, and that vast region were really treated as a distant province of the empire! Under such a system, coupled with a parental administration in regard to grants to public works, such as have honorably distinguished Lord Dalhousie's Administration, it is not unreasonable to expect that in twenty years our exports to India may amount to £30,000,000 a year; still not more than 4s. a head for the entire population. Nor would such just and generous conduct to an unrepresented, though vast empire, be less expedient and beneficial to the immediate commercial interests of the ruling State; for toward a great sale of our man-

ufactures in India one thing is indispensable, and that is, the means of purchasing them to its inhabitants; and how is that to be conferred, unless an adequate market is afforded to their own industry?

In one particular of vital importance to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, its neglect of the agricultural interests of India has been dia as a cotton-producing country. India is a great cotton-growing country; England is a great cotton-consuming country, but from defect of climate can not grow an ounce of it. Is it possible to conceive a combination of circumstances in which entire freedom of trade might be introduced with more effect, and produce more beneficial results to the British empire, on both sides of the ocean? On the one side, a boundless market for an important article of agricultural produce; on the other, certainty of supply of the essential article of a great manufacture, from within the empire itself. Yet, strange to say, this obvious and reciprocal advantage has been entirely overlooked, and England has been content to be dependent on America, a jealous and sometimes hostile State, for the supply of this vital material for its manufacturing industry! The secret of this strange anomaly is to be found in the interested and selfish policy of the British Government, which, pressed by important manufacturing interests at home, has sacrificed the present welfare of its Indian possessions, and the future independence of the whole empire, to the desire of getting the raw material of the cotton fabrics at the cheapest possible rates. Nature has not conferred upon the Indian peninsula the immense advantages of which she has been so prodigal to the basin of the Mississippi. No vast network of navigable streams, such as pour into the great artery of that noble river, brings the means of transporting cotton by water to every man's door. To supply this defect, and enable the cotton-growing districts of India to compete with those of America, it was indispensable, by means of railroads and canals, to confer those advantages upon them which nature had denied them, or by protecting duties to compensate for the want of the natural modes of transport enjoyed by America. The first cost money, and therefore was not to be thought of; the second was deemed objectionable by our manufacturers at home, who looked only to purchasing their raw material in the cheapest market, albeit that of an enemy. Hence the neglect of a branch of cultivation in India in which the English markets, had they been permitted to reap the benefit, would have doubled the agricultural riches of the country, and the continued dependence of the most important branch of our manufactures at home upon a jealous foreign State, by whom it may at any moment be cut, and ruin brought upon hundreds of thousands of our industrious workmen.

There is one peculiarity of Indian society which is very important, and singularly augments the difficulty of meeting by extraordinary taxation any serious extra expense in the public administration. This is the impossibility of making any material addition

18. Effects of a real reciprocity, if established, with India.

19. Neglect of India as a cotton-producing country.

20. Impossibility of augmenting indirect taxes in India.

to the *indirect* taxes. Strange to say, the people who submit without a murmur to the payment of two, or even three-fifths of their rude produce to Government, could not by any effort be brought to acquiesce in any considerable addition to the tax on salt, opium, or any article of consumption. The reason is, that they are accustomed to the first, which from the earliest ages has formed the main source of revenue in all the Oriental states; but they are not accustomed to the last, which has sprung up with the wide diffusion of comfort in the middle class, from the stability of government and comparative freedom of Europe. Indirect taxation is, comparatively speaking, unknown in the East, except in regard to salt and opium, the chief articles of consumption beyond the necessities of life, not because the sultans lack inclination to exact it, but because their subjects have not the means of paying it. They regard indirect taxation as an unjustifiable and insupportable invasion upon their rights, and it is well understood that any considerable addition to the tax on salt or opium would produce a rebellion which might endanger the government. In fact, it would be not more impolitic to attempt, than impossible to carry into execution, any such innovation; for such is the poverty of the people, and the limited extent of their artificial wants, that they could not purchase articles, the price of which was enhanced in any sensible degree by taxation—so that the tax would defeat itself. But this circumstance constitutes a most serious difficulty in Indian government, which in European is comparatively unknown, and goes far to explain the stationary condition of the Indian revenue, notwithstanding the vast addition to the territories of the Company during the last forty years.

The revenue of India has increased with the vast increase of its territorial acquisitions ofquisitions of late years, but by no means in the proportion that might have been expected from their magnitude, and still less in proportion to the necessary expenses which have been attendant on their acquisition. The net revenue at present is about £26,000,000 a year, but the expenditure is £28,000,000, leaving a deficit of £2,000,000. Twenty years ago, the income was only £20,800,000;* but the

* MEAN REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF INDIA.

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1832, 1833, 1834.....	£20,537,000	£19,751,000
1840, 1841, 1842.....	21,239,000	22,363,000
1853, 1854, 1855.....	24,789,000	25,343,000

PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA, 1834 TO 1853.

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1834.....	£35,463,483	£37,629,829
1835.....	33,964,654	36,627,934
1836.....	29,662,299	36,962,734
1837.....	30,406,240	41,766,057
1838.....	30,249,693	45,063,363
1839.....	30,231,162	44,204,060
1840.....	30,703,778	46,966,064
1841.....	32,051,068	47,999,627
1842.....	34,378,269	48,014,244
1843.....	36,322,619	49,043,586

—MARTIN'S *British India*, p. 341; and *Parl. Deb.*, May, 1856.

expenditure was little more than £19,750,000, showing a surplus of above £1,000,000. This is a very remarkable circumstance, and but for the explanation of its causes, already given, would appear incredible.* There is every reason to hope that, if peace is preserved in India, and the great works set on foot by Lord Dalhousie are carried into complete execution, the surplus will again be restored, and the Government be enabled to undertake those still greater improvements which are alone required to develop fully the immense industrial and agricultural resources of the country.

It is not surprising that so much difficulty has been experienced in making the revenue of India keep pace with the extension of its territory, and the consequent increase of its necessary expenditure; for such have been the effects of the jealous commercial policy of the British Government, that so far from the manufacturing industry of the country having increased under its administration—at least as indicated by the returns of exports and imports—it has signally declined. In 1805, the Company possessed only 88,000,000 subjects in the territory directly subject to their government, and the exports of these were under 25,000,000 of rupees; in 1835 their subjects were above 100,000,000, but their entire exports were only 22,500,000 rupees.† The details of this extraordinary defalcation are still more instructive, for if the exports of cotton goods, shawls, and silk in 1825 are compared with those of 1835, there is a decline of 11,900,000 rupees (£1,400,000); and even taking into view the great increase of the export of opium to China, which was no less than 20,000,000 ru-

* RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF INDIA IN THE YEAR 1853.

Receipts.

Land-tax.....	£15,366,000
Stamps on land and spirits.....	1,185,000
Opium monopoly.....	5,088,000
Customs.....	1,430,000
Stamps.....	491,000
House-tax.....	118,000
Post-office.....	200,000
Mint.....	150,000
Tobacco.....	63,000
Tribute.....	571,000
Miscellaneous.....	1,523,000

Total gross.....£28,610,000

Expenditure.

Interest of debt.....	£3,503,000
Dividends.....	650,000
Half-pay, etc., in England.....	2,697,000
Army.....	9,803,000
Judicial establishments.....	2,235,000
Collection of taxes.....	2,040,000
Civil establishments.....	1,928,000
Costs of opium production.....	1,370,000
Salt-tax.....	350,000
Marine taxes.....	376,000
Post-office.....	213,000
Custom-house costs.....	169,000
Mint.....	60,000
Stamps.....	32,000
Public works.....	4,223,000

Total.....£37,977,000

—MARTIN'S *British India*, p. 541.

	1805. Rupees.	1835. Rupees.	Population.
† Native rude produce exported.....	13,047,968	18,061,647	38,000,000
Manufactured.....	11,849,670	4,503,363	100,000,000
Total.....	24,897,638	22,565,010	

The opium and indigo raised by English colonists, and with English capital, are in both cases excluded from the statement, which is meant to show the progress of native industry.—MONTGOMERY MARTIN'S *British India*, 541.

pees (£2,500,000) in the period of comparison, there was a decline of the total exports of no less than 3,000,000 rupees, or £450,000.* In a word, the steam-engine of England has well-nigh destroyed the looms of India; and when we boast of the great growth of our export of manufactures to Hindostan, we forget the price at which that advantage has been purchased in the ruin of our distant and unrepresented Asiatic subjects.

The greater part of the revenue of the British Government in India is derived 22. from the land-tax, levied in the whole of the Indian province of Bengal under the zemindar system; in the northern provinces, and all the recent acquisitions, according to the old village system. There is a third system, called the Ryotwar, established in a large part of the presidency of Madras, comprising nearly a third of the Indian dominions. Under this system, a maximum is fixed for the rent of land, which is paid directly by the ryot or cultivator to the Government, he retaining all the surplus for his own advantage. Of course, every thing here depends on the moderation with which the rent is originally fixed; for, once imposed, it is in general rigorously exacted by the collectors, and often proves, in seasons of excessive drought, so oppressive as to land the cultivators in total ruin. The territorial revenues of the India Company have not increased so much as might have been expected, from the great additions which conquest and incorporation have made to their dominions; they have only risen from £13,481,000, on an average of three years ending in 1884, to £16,280,000 on a similar average ending in 1842, and to £21,847,000 in 1856. Considering that during this time the territorial surface of the British dominions has been augmented by 800,000 square miles, and its population by above 50,000,000

Montgomery souls, this increase must be regarded as small, and indicating 24. some essential defect still pervading our Indian administration.[†]

The next considerable source of revenue which the Company enjoys is derived from monopolies, especially of opium and salt; the latter an odious and unjust mode of levying an income, but alleged to be the only resource left, as the land-tax has been every where raised to the highest level which the people can bear, and their habits ren-

der the imposition of indirect taxes impossible.* It is not of British introduction; the same necessity had led to its establishment under the native powers. It is a very productive impost: in 1840 it produced £1,450,000 in the province of Bengal alone; but this advantage is dearly purchased by the extreme privations to which the high price of this article, which is one of necessity, reduces the poorer class of cultivators. The profit derived from the monopoly of opium is still more considerable; it had become, before the Chinese war broke out, no less than £2,000,000 sterling, being 50 per cent on £4,000,000, the exported value of that precious drug sent to Canton alone.† These form the chief items of Indian revenue; for the custom-house duties are very inconsiderable, owing partly to the impossibility of rendering such taxes productive in India, partly to the interested legislation of Great Britain, which insisted on admitting British manufactures at a merely nominal duty of 2 or 3 per cent. into all the British possessions in the East.

The British empire in India is essentially a military power: it was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword. The military establishment, therefore, is a matter of vital importance to its existence; and the greatest dangers it has ever encountered have arisen from the hasty and ill-considered adoption by its government of the economical maxims which, during the peace, were so much in vogue in Great Britain. It has undergone great changes at different times; and the fortune of war, as will immediately appear, underwent a similar mutation. In 1826, immediately after the termination of the first Burmese war, it was stated by Lord Hardinge in Parliament to amount to 302,700 men, of whom 45,000 were British, and 258,000 natives.‡ This immense force, however,

* "On doit aux Anglais la conséquence forcée du malheureux arrangement par laquelle la majeure partie des terres a été affermée à perpétuité en-dessous de sa valeur, et par suite de laquelle l'État voit tarir la source la plus légitime des recettes nationales. Il est impossible, disent-ils, de suppléer à ce déficit par aucun impôt indirect; car, c'est un fait singulier, les fermiers se laisseront emprisonner, ruiner; les paysans se laisseront dépouiller de leur dernier sac de grain, réduire à la famine sans murmurer, tandis qu'on ne réclamera d'eux que la rente de la terre, parceque cette rente se trouve dans leurs idées recues de temps immémorial. Mais si le Gouvernement essayait d'établir un impôt indirect nouveau, il éprouverait immédiatement une résistance armée. Le premier pas dans cette voie conduirait à la destruction."—WARREN, iii. 84, 85.

† The progress of the opium trade to China has been very remarkable since its first introduction in 1817.

	1822-1826. Rupees.	1822-1826. Rupees.
* Cotton goods exported...	867,685	52,181
Shawls	818,846	76,698
Indigo	24,370,499	19,443,909
Silk	15,670,509	11,034,047
Total.....	41,127,439	30,636,785
	or £5,900,000	or £3,800,000

—MONTGOMERY MARTIN'S *British India*.

	Value of Opium exported.
1817.....	£737,775
1819.....	1,008,250
1820.....	1,116,000
1826.....	2,443,639
1827.....	2,810,870
1839.....	4,000,000

‡ The exact numbers, without deducting the sick and non-effective, were:

English (King's) troops.....	21,934
English (Company's) troops.....	3,600
English Artillery (Company's).....	15,782
Engineers.....	4,575
Total English.....	45,891
Native irregular horse.....	26,064
Infantry.....	230,842
Total.....	302,877

—SIR H. HARDINGE'S *Statements*, Mar. 18, 1839; *Parl. Deb.*

underwent a great diminution, and in 1837 it consisted only of 186,000 men, of whom 80,000 were Europeans. This reduction, which continued for some years, occasioned a considerable diminution of expenditure, and enabled the Government, as already noticed, to accumulate a reserve treasure, before the commencement of the Afghanistan and Chinese wars, of £10,000,000; but it brought the empire to the very verge of destruction, both by the internal discontent which it occasioned and the external disasters which it induced. To carry on those gigantic conflicts, the army was again raised to 267,000 men, of whom no less than 47,000 were native British, either royal troops or in the service of the Company.* But though the English soldiers were admirable, the new battalions of sepoys were far from being equally efficient. Brought into action, and exposed to the most serious hardships and dangers, without having acquired the steadiness or confidence in their officers of old soldiers, they were far from sustaining their ancient reputation in the wars which ensued; and their frequent failures brought the empire into the most serious dangers, and added another to the innumerable proofs which history affords, that of all economy, in a military State, the most costly is that which diminishes the ranks of its

old soldiers.* It has now come to be generally understood that the strength of our army in India mainly depends upon the proportion of Europeans who are employed in it; and between the Queen's troops and those in the service of the Company they now amount to nearly 50,000—about a fifth of the native troops.

Great as the military establishment of India is, it is by no means disproportioned to its necessities or resources. A force of 280,000 men, of whom 49,000 are English soldiers, can not be considered as excessive for a country of such vast extent, inhabited by 160,000,000 people, many of them of a warlike character, and all accustomed to internal feuds and warfare. In fact, it is nothing to the proportion of armed men to the whole population in the military monarchies of Europe; for it is only 1 soldier to every 500 inhabitants; whereas in France the proportion is 1 to 70, in Austria 1 to 72, in Russia 1 to 60, in Prussia 1 to 56. In most of the old civilized countries of Europe, the proportion of the soldiers to the inhabitants is nearly ten times that which obtains in India. The garrison in and around Paris, in a period of the most profound peace, exceeds the whole European troops in India. When it is recollected that India was won by the sword, and must be retained by it, its military establishment, so far from being regarded as excessive, must be considered as very moderate, or rather surprisingly small, and certainly not a third of what it was when the whole country was in the hands of the jarring and independent native powers.¹

It is recorded by Arrian, that, after his conquest of Persia, Alexander the Great formed corps of united Asiatic and European troops, which were invariably blended in the proportion of two of the former to one of the latter. After the battles of Delhi and Laswaree, Lord Lake wrote to the Directors of the East India Company that success could not be relied on in Indian warfare if the proportion of British to native troops was less than 1 to 6.† Lord Clive said that “the em-

* MILITARY FORCE OF INDIA, NATIVE AND EUROPEAN, FROM 1817 TO 1851.

Years.	Native.	European.	Total.
1817.....	195,434	31,056	226,490
1818.....	211,079	32,161	243,240
1819.....	215,878	29,494	245,372
1820.....	228,690	28,645	257,335
1821.....	228,068	29,914	257,982
1822.....	216,173	29,065	245,238
1823.....	206,700	30,923	237,623
1824.....	212,842	30,585	243,427
1825.....	246,125	30,493	276,618
1826.....	260,373	30,672	291,045
1827.....	240,949	32,673	273,622
1828.....	224,471	34,557	259,028
1829.....	207,662	35,786	243,448
1830.....	187,167	36,409	223,576
1831.....	161,967	35,011	196,978
1832.....	158,201	34,767	192,968
1833.....	156,331	33,785	190,116
1834.....	145,554	32,310	177,864
1835.....	152,938	30,822	183,760
1836.....	153,306	32,783	186,089
1837.....	154,029	32,608	186,637
1838.....	153,780	31,526	185,306
1839.....	176,006	31,132	207,138
1840.....	199,839	35,604	235,443
1841.....	212,616	35,406	248,022
1842.....	212,694	42,112	254,806
1843.....	220,967	46,726	267,693
1844.....	216,580	46,940	263,520
1845.....	240,310	46,111	286,421
1846.....	240,733	44,014	284,747
1847.....	247,742	44,222	291,964
1848.....	220,691	44,270	264,961
1849.....	229,130	47,593	276,723
1850.....	228,448	49,220	277,668
1851.....	240,121	49,408	289,529

—MONTGOMERY MARTIN'S *British India*, xii. App.

* The war expenses in India alone, independent of China, amounted in 1842 to £14,000,000 sterling.—WARREN, iii. 195.

† “I can not avoid saying, in the most confidential manner, that in the event of a foreign foe coming into this country, without a very great addition of men in Europeans, the consequences will be fatal, as there ought always to be at least one European battalion to four native ones. This I think necessary. I have seen a great deal of these people lately, and am quite convinced that without king's troops very little is to be expected. In short, the infantry of this army, as well as the cavalry, should be remodelled.”—*Secret Dispatches*, LORD LAKE to LORD WELLESLEY, September 12, 1803 (the day after the victory of Delhi); WELLESLEY'S *Dispatches*, iii. 212. “If they do not in England think it necessary to send British troops in the proportion of one to three sepoy regiments—which is, in

In 1854 the Land Forces, Native and European, stood thus:

	European Officers.	European Rank and File.	Native Officers and Rank and File.	Total.
Queen's Company, English & Natives.....	806 588 2644	25,930 14,061 3,122	..... 233,699	26,826 14,649 240,463
Subsidiary Police.....	5128 86 25	43,113 36	233,699 30,922 24,015	281,940 31,104 24,050
Total.....	5240	43,140	288,566	336,904

—Commons' Return, 17th April, 1855.

pire of India would rest with the power which could bring into the field the greatest number of *European troops*." The opinions of these great Asiatic conquerors deserve all attention, and should never be absent from the thoughts of those to whom, directly or indirectly, the direction of our Indian empire is intrusted. Whether it is from difference of constitutional energy, or the debilitating effect of a warm climate, or the successive oppression of hordes of Tartar conquerors, from which, owing to their greater distance from Central Asia, the states of Europe have been exempt, it is now perfectly ascertained that the native soldiers of India, whether Hindoos or Mussulmans, are far from being equal to the Europeans, and that, unless supported by an adequate number of British troops, and led by British officers, no reliance can be placed on their steadiness in the day of battle. Occasionally they fight most gallantly, and instances have even occurred where they have confronted dangers from which British recoiled. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. Generally speaking, they will not bear a comparison with English soldiers, and, unless well supported, are almost sure to melt away under the first severe fire. This is a painful admission to make, for the native troops have many most valuable qualities, and without their aid our Indian empire could not be maintained for an hour. But it is better to be aware of the truth than to have it burst unawares; and by being sensible what they can do, and what not, disappointment is less likely to ensue, and the disaster consequent on misapprehension more likely to be avoided. The Indian army is very expensive, for the pay and allowances of the troops, both native and European, are on the most liberal scale; and the heat of the climate is such that much which in Europe would savor of luxury is there a matter of absolute necessity. It has been so, for the same reason, from the earliest ages, and will be so to the end of time. Punks to keep the air cool, regimental libraries to divert the soldiers, large barracks, comfortable bedding, and cold baths, are provided in most of the stations for the European soldiers. The enlistment of the sepoy is for fifteen years; no bounty is paid, and conscription is unknown, the service being so popular that there are commonly several candidates for each vacant situation. These accommodations, so different from the utter penury of their native dwellings, insure the popularity of the army as a profession, but they immensely increase the expense with which it is attended, and greatly encumber military operations; for the proportion of camp-followers to fighting men is seldom less than three to one—¹ Thornton's British India, so that for an army of 80,000 soldiers 279; Martin, provision must be made, for feeding or moving, for 120,000 months.¹

The system which should be pursued in a distant military empire such as that of India is abundantly plain. It is that which gave and so long retained in the hands of the Romans the empire of the world. It must be founded on military strength; the prestige of victory, the

moral influence of irresistible strength must play around its bayonets. The British Government there must always be considered as reposing in presence of a hostile population, which will take advantage of the first serious reverse to avenge upon it the loss of its independence. Any considerable reduction of military force, and, above all, *large disbanding of old soldiers*, must be considered as in the highest degree dangerous. But, on the other hand, the maintenance of such a large military establishment is very expensive; it will soon be felt as burdensome, and, if not compensated by other advantages, it may become impossible to keep it up. The only way in which it is possible to combine these different objects is to maintain a powerful standing army, such as may at any moment be adequate to any emergency, but to accompany this with liberal grants for the encouragement of industry and the improvement of the country, and the most entirely just and even indulgent system of commercial intercourse. It is at all times an easy matter in India to procure a supply of soldiers to any amount by voluntary enlistment, for the pay of a common soldier is more than double that of a common laborer; the real difficulty is to find funds to pay the large establishment which is requisite to preserve the command of the country. This is only to be done by liberal grants of public money to restore the aqueous communications of its fields, and the most enlarged and indulgent commercial policy, such as may give the inhabitants at once the means of paying the imposts, and secure their attachment to the Government which imposes them. Lord Dalhousie's administration afforded a brilliant example of the first, Sir R. Peel's tariff of 1842 was the commencement of the second.

The JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENT of India is on a large scale, and undoubtedly is a very great improvement on the Judicial establishments of the native princes. Justice is administered in cases of small value in the native courts, from the decisions of which there is an appeal to a higher court, either native or European, at the option of the appellant. The native and European are put on the same level in these courts; but there is an appeal from them both to superior courts, of which that of the Suddu-Adawlut at Calcutta is the highest, from which, in cases above £1000, there is an appeal to the Queen in council. The proportion of reversals to adherences, though considerably greater than is usual in European courts [See Table A on the opposite page], is not more than might be expected, considering that the law to be applied is a strange medley of Hindoo, Mohammedan, and British institutions. It speaks volumes as to the integrity of British administration, and the confidence of the natives in it.¹

One circumstance is very remarkable in India, and without a proper understanding of the causes to which it is owing, it would appear altogether inconceivable. This is the miserable condition and rapid decline of the *protected States*, which is invariable, and ere long becomes so excessive that they become

fact, one to six in actual numbers, from the superior strength of the native battalions—they will stand a good chance of losing India if a French force once gets a footing there.—LORD LAKE to LORD WELLESLEY, October 16, 1803 (the day after the battle of Agra), *ibid.* iii. 396.

28. True policy to be pursued in regard to India by the British Government.

29. Judicial establishments of India.

¹ Thornton's British India; Martin, 534.

30. The protected States, and their rapid decline.

incapable of supporting themselves, and, as a matter of necessity, are absorbed by the all-conquering power. The offer of the protection of the British Government presents almost irresistible temptations to an Indian potentate. The basis of it is the conclusion of an alliance offensive and defensive, which secures to the weaker State the guarantee of the stronger, and is accompanied only, in the first instance, by the requisition of supplies and pay for two or three battalions stationed as a subsidiary force in the capital of the protected State. So far nothing can appear more advantageous, and the smaller States are too happy in general to secure the ægis of a power capable alike of shielding them from insult and protecting them from injury. But all this notwithstanding, independence is the first of national as of individual blessings; and so it is soon found, alike by nations and private persons who have lost it. Ere long the evils of dependence, the bitterness of protection, are experienced. All persons, whether in power or subject to authority, come to be convinced by a little experience that the state of weakness and thralldom in which the government is placed can not long continue, and that things are only arranged for a time. A feeling of insecurity, a conviction of brevity of existence, comes to pervade all classes; and when once this idea has taken possession of a nation, unbounded calamities await them all. The tax-collectors exact the last farthing from the cultivators, from a conviction that every season may be their last; the Government are equally rigorous with the collectors, from the effects of the same belief. Expenditure on public works or private undertakings there is little or none—hoarding, on the contrary, generally prevails; for every one is looking for the advent of the period, too certainly approaching, when the protecting Government will at once take possession of the State, and an entire new set of functionaries will be established. Under the effects of this belief, cultivation and production rapidly decline; this only renders the condition of those

who still carry it on more distressing, for they can look for no indulgence from the collectors. At length matters come to such a point that the revenue in great part fails; the troops, as the only means of keeping them quiet, are quartered upon the inhabitants; and in the end, with the cordial approbation of all classes, the protected State is incorporated with its protector, and under a reduced rent, and greater regularity of administration, the people hope at least that they have entered upon a ¹Warren, i. 156, 172. better order of things.¹

There is no country in which the want of an extensive paper circulation is more ^{31.} strongly felt than in India, for Great want of there is none in which the capacity of the people for industry is ^{31.} more fettered by the want of adequate capital to carry it on. Previous to its conquest by the English, such was the distracted state of India that wealth was generally hoarded instead of being spent; and it was the propensity to do this which caused the drain of the precious metals to the East which has been observed from the earliest period of commercial history. Since it has fallen under British dominion, the annual abstraction of capital to this country has caused India to be constantly destitute of the wealth requisite to put in motion its industry, especially in a country where a great outlay for the purposes of internal communication or irrigation is essential to its first efforts. To a country so situated, an extensive paper circulation, founded on a secure basis, would be the first of blessings; what the want of it has proved may be judged of by what in America its presence has occasioned. Yet, strange to say, there are very few banks in India, and such as exist have been established within a very recent period.* They are only twelve in number, and their notes in circulation amount only to the trifling sum of £8,700,000, being not 8d. a head to each inhabitant; whereas in Great Britain the proportion is £1 8s., and in the United States of America £1 18s. Nothing more is required to explain

A SUITS DECIDED IN NATIVE COURTS, APPEALS, AND PROPORTION OF REVERSALS, FROM 1843 TO 1849.

Year.	Average Suits decided by Native Judges.	Appeals to European Judges.	Appeals to Native Judges.	Reverend.	Proportion of Reversals to Suits.
1843	39,181	4505	3063	2301	Per cent.
1844	40,813	4397	3002	2020	54
1845	40,579	3080	2800	1805	5
1846	41,775	3901	2392	1076	44
1847	43,109	3008	2559	1073	4
1848	41,340	3977	3016	1736	34
1849	44,933	3802	3670	2402	4

—M. MARTIN, p. 534.

* BANKS IN INDIA, WITH THE DATE OF THEIR ESTABLISHMENT, THEIR CAPITAL, AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION, AND BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT.

Banks.	Date of Establishment.	Capital paid up.	Notes in Circulation.	Bills under Discount.
1. Bank of Bengal	1809	£1,070,000	£1,714,771	£125,351
2. Bank of Madras	1843	300,000	128,719	59,671
3. Bank of Bombay	1840	522,500	571,089	195,636
4. Oriental Bank	1851	1,215,000	199,279	2,918,399
5. Agra Bank	1853	700,000	.....	.....
6. N. W. Bank	1844	230,000	.....	.....
7. London and Eastern Bank	1854	250,000	325,000	.....
8. Commercial Bank	1845	456,000	.....	.....
9. Delhi Bank	1844	180,000	.....	.....
10. Simla Bank	1844	63,850	.....	.....
11. Decca Bank	1846	.....	777,156	109,547
12. Mercantile Bank	1846	236,636
Total	£5,306,176	£3,711,314	3,406,004

—MONTGOMERY MARTIN; Appendix, xii.

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the stationary condition of industry in great part of India, or the extreme difficulty experienced of making the revenue keep pace with the necessities of the Government.

This consideration is of vital importance, not merely to the inhabitants of India,

32. but to the monetary interests of the British Empire. Since the heavy import duties on Indian produce have been lowered by Sir R. Peel's tariff, Great Britain had experienced the usual fate of a rich and prosperous in connection with a comparatively poor and uncultivated country—that of being able to consume more than the state from which it imports the objects of consumption. The result of this is, that an extended commercial intercourse between the two soon runs into a *huge balance of imports over exports*, which requires to be adjusted by a great export of gold and silver to the poor agricultural state. That its inhabitants are always glad to take to any amount; but articles of manufacture are only taken off to a considerable extent when comfort has been long enjoyed, and artificial wants acquired among them. This effect has already taken place to such an extent, since the commercial intercourse with India has become so considerable, that the balance paid by Great Britain in specie has come (1835) to exceed £5,000,000 annually, and in 1836 amounted to £7,000,000; a severe drain upon her metallic resources at any time, but which, in the event of its coinciding with a foreign war, or bad harvest in Great Britain, may at once induce a monetary crisis of the severest kind. In point of fact, it largely contributed, with the necessities of the war in the Levant, to the severe drain upon the Bank in the end of 1855 and first four months of 1856, which reduced its stock of bullion to £9,875,000, and would have rendered a suspension of cash payments unavoidable, but for the supplies from Australia and the termination of the war. A large extension of the paper circulation of India, therefore, is loudly required, not merely to carry through its great and growing public works, and sustain the industry of its inhabitants, but to lessen the perpetual danger, under our present commercial and monetary systems, of a serious crisis in the mother country.*

To narrate the successive steps by which this great empire has been formed since the period when Lord Wellesley sheathed the sword of conquest and retired from India in 1803, after having added so much to the fame and the dominions of the English in it, would require a separate work not less voluminous and detailed than the present, and few historical compositions will be able to boast of a wider or a nobler field of narrative and description. A brief analysis of this splendid subject can alone be here attempted, which may perhaps, from the interest of the matter involved, tempt other readers to adventure upon it, and lead, in the hands of another, to a work second to none in modern Europe in interest and importance.

Lord Wellesley's administration was based on that clear perception of the perils which at that period environed our Indian empire, and that resolution in facing them, which form the characteristics of a great statesman. It was attended, accordingly, with the success which it deserved, but that very success proved fatal to its author. The East India Directors at home were far from being as thoroughly impressed as their able and intrepid viceroy with the necessity of "conquest to existence," as real to the British in India as it had been to Napoleon in Europe. They deemed, on the contrary, the career of conquest just concluded as not only extremely expensive in the outset, but eminently dangerous in the end, and therefore the instructions given to the new Governor-General were of the most positive kind to conciliate rather than overawe, and, above all things, reduce the public expenditure within the limits of the income. Lord Cornwallis, who was now advanced in years, was compelled to yield to these urgent representations, and set himself in good earnest to carry them into execution. In pursuance of this system, Scindia and Holkar were gratified, not merely by the surrender of part of dearly purchased conquests, but by the renunciation of the alliance with the Rajpoot and other states which had taken part against the ambitious Mahdrat-
tas in the late crisis.^{34.}

This discreditable treaty proved to the last degree prejudicial to British interests in India. Scindia had permitted the English Residency to be attacked and plundered by a body of Pindarrees, and had himself detained the Resident, Mr. Jenkins; but no reparation was demanded for this outrage. The territories of Holkar had been solemnly promised as the reward of conquest to the allied states, but they were all restored to the defeated chief. Not content with this, the English gave up the strong fortress of Gwalior and territory of Gohud, which they had promised to include in the protected states, to Scindia; "an act," as the Governor-General wrote to the Directors, "entirely gratuitous on our part." The rajahs and lesser powers on the other side of the Jumna, who had been in alliance with England during the war, were all abandoned, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances on the part of Lord Lake, who contended that the bare "tak-

35. Discreditable terms of the treaty to the English Government.

33. Splendor of the period when Lord Wellesley sheathed the sword of conquest and retired from India in 1803, after having added so much to the fame and the dominions of the English in it, would require a separate work not less voluminous and detailed than the present, and few historical compositions will be able to boast of a wider or a nobler field of narrative and description. A brief an-

* Colonel Sykes, whose intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs is well known, has unfolded the extent of this danger in a very interesting paper published in the *Statistical Journal*. The results of his researches, which were very numerous and elaborate, are thus given:

Years ending 30th April.	Imports of India, including Bullion.	Exports.	Import of Bullion.	Excess of Exports, deducting Bullion.	Final Balance in favor of India.
1840-50	£10,300,000	£17,312,000	£2,425,000	£4,587,000	£1,651,000
1850-51	11,559,000	18,164,000	3,370,000	3,335,000	99,000
1851-52	12,240,000	19,879,000	4,133,000	3,506,000	783,000
1852-53	10,071,000	20,465,000	5,776,000	4,618,000	1,301,000
1853-54	11,122,000	19,295,000	3,389,000	4,784,000	934,000
Total	£55,292,000	£95,115,000	£18,993,000	£20,830,000	£4,713,000

—*Statistical Journal*, June, 1856, p. 120.

ing such a proposition into consideration would be considered as a prelude to their being sacrificed to obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas." In a word, the Mahrattas, at the conclusion of a war to them eminently disastrous, obtained all the advantages which could have been expected from a series of successful campaigns; and the English, as the result of their brilliant victories, were content to submit to a peace to them ignominious, and extremely prejudicial to their moral influence in the East. Such a result, by no means uncommon in British history, was not the result of incapacity in our diplomatists, as compared to our generals; it was owing to a much more general cause, and that is, the reluctance of a government essentially mercantile

in its principles and structure to submit to the pecuniary sacrifices requisite to bringing even a successful war to a lasting glorious termination.¹

Although Lord Cornwallis had conducted the leading articles of this treaty, he did not live to complete it. He expired at Ghazipoor, near Benares, on 5th October, 1805, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Sir George Barlow, the Senior member of Council, succeeded to the practical duties of government, and continued the system of concession so strongly impressed upon his predecessor by the Directors and Board of Control. Holkar and Scindia made no attempt to disguise their astonishment at the concessions thus voluntarily made to them by their victorious enemy; and Lord Lake, who was the diplomatic agent who conducted the negotiation, was so dissatisfied at the turn which it had taken, and the utter disregard shown to his remonstrances, that he resigned his diplomatic powers, and returned home, leaving a name which will ever stand forth with brilliancy in Indian annals. He did not long survive his restoration to his native country, but died in England on 21st February, 1808, at the age of sixty-four. The Mahratta peace was signed on July 6, 1806. During Lord Wellesley's administration, the revenues of the English Government were raised from £8,059,000 to £15,408,000, and although the expenditure, at the close of the war, exceeded the income by about £2,000,000, yet this was a tem-

porary deficit, only occasioned by the magnitude of the war charges; and Sir George Barlow held out the prospect of a permanent surplus of £2,000,000 when the forces were reduced to their peace establishment.²

Before peace had lasted any considerable time, events occurred which forcibly reminded the English Government of the precarious tenure by which their dominion in India was held. Sir George Barlow's provisional government terminated in July, 1807, but before its expiry an outbreak of the most dangerous character had occurred at Vellore. The origin of this most dangerous mutiny was a most absurd and injudicious attempt made by Sir John Cradock and the military authorities at Madras, without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, the governor of the presidency, to force the sepoys to wear turbans in the form of a hat, and their

chins shaved, without the distinguishing mark of caste, when on parade. With such rigor was this senseless regulation enforced, that nine hundred lashes were inflicted on two grenadiers who refused to obey it. The greatest discontent was excited by these proceedings; but so deeply was the conviction of the passive character of the Hindoos rooted, that it excited very little attention, until it led to a most formidable mutiny at Vellore on 10th July. The European part of the garrison, which was not a tenth part of the natives, was there attacked by the natives so suddenly, and with such fury, that Colonel Fancourt and one hundred and twelve Europeans perished in the first onset before any succor could be obtained. No sooner did the disastrous tidings reach Colonel Gillespie, who lay at Arcot, about sixteen miles distant, than he instantly sounded to horse, and, proceeding at a rapid pace to the insurgent fortress, and having blown open the gate with his guns, forced his way at the sword's point. Then was seen how vain are all attempts on the part of the Hindoos, when led by their native officers, to resist European energy and daring. After a short conflict the mutineers were routed; the bloody sabres of the English dragoons pursued them through all the streets; and three hundred and fifty were slain, and the rest made prisoners. Five hundred of these were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment and banishment, and the remainder pardoned. Thus was this most dangerous mutiny quelled in blood; the captive insurgents were gradually set at liberty; the cheerful obedience of the men, and their customary attachment to those whose salt they eat, returned, and the British officers "ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows." Sir John Cradock and Lord William Bentinck were both recalled in An. Reg. 1807, consequence of this event. Sir George Barlow's provisional government came to an end, and Lord Minto was sent out as Governor-general, and arrived in India in 1807.³

Lord Minto's administration, which lasted till 1813, was not distinguished by any serious wars; but he was far from pursuing the policy in neglecting native alliances which had distinguished Sir George Barlow's government. Some misunderstandings, which threatened serious ruptures, ensued with some of the native princes; but they were appeased by a mere demonstration of British force, until RUMJEET SINGH, the far-famed chief of Lahore, made an attack on some of the petty chiefs to the south of the Sutlej. To arrest this aggression, they were declared under British protection; and the ambitious rajah, unwilling to provoke a contest, concluded a treaty with the Company, by which he engaged only to maintain a limited force on the Sutlej; and GENERAL OCHTERLONY was stationed at Loodiana on the eastern side of the river. The attention of the Indian government was mainly occupied, during Lord Minto's administration, by the war with France; the Mauritius, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Moluccas, were conquered by the force which he equipped in India in 1810; Java and its dependencies were wrested from the French and Dutch by the Governor-general in person in 1811. The latter of these valua-

36. Death of Lord Cornwallis, and accession of Sir George Barlow, who concludes the Mahratta peace.

¹ Martin's British India, viii. ad fin.; Auber, ii. 432; Martin, 407; Prof. Wilson's Comments on Mill, 432.

37. Mutiny at Vellore. July 10, 1806.

² Martin, 407; An. Reg. 1807, 374-377; Auber, ii. 474; Bentinck's Memorial; Warren, ii. 167-180.

38. Lord Minto's Administration.

ble acquisitions was, with imprudent generosity, restored by the British to the Dutch government, on occasion of the general pacification in 1815. These important events, which properly belong to the great war between England and France at that period, are fully narrated in ¹ Hist. of a former work by the Author.¹ Before Lord Minto's government, however, came to an end, it was found impossible to maintain any longer the non-intervention policy, and the seizure of Bhootwal, a border district, by the GHOORKAS, a hill tribe, who by fraud and violence had extended themselves over a frontier of seven hundred miles in the lower regions of the Himalaya, led to an angry negotiation with the government of that enterprising tribe, which was not terminated when Lord Minto's administration came to an end in October, 1818.²

The EARL OF MOIRA reached Calcutta in October, 1818, and in the following month received the tardy reply of the Nepalese government to the British proposals for a settlement, which, though conciliatory in appearance, was unsatisfactory in substance. This Lord Moira, a gallant soldier of chivalrous feelings and Plantagenet descent, whose ancient manor of Donnington had sheltered the Bourbons in their distress, was by no means inclined to submit to; and accordingly he demanded, in a peremptory manner, reparation for an outrage committed by these bold mountaineers on the British station at Bhootwal, in which an English officer had been barbarously murdered, and his detachment of twenty-four men slain. As the Ghoorka government refused to make either apology or compensation, Lord Moira declared war against them in November, 1814, and four armies were immediately formed for invasion of their territories. The first was commanded by General Marley, and consisted of 8000 men destined to act against Katmandoo; the three others of 4500, 8500, and 6000 men, respectively commanded by Generals Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony, were ordered to attack other portions of the long hostile frontier.³

The GHOORKAS, who were thus for the first time brought into collision with the British Government, and who bore a distinguished part in the war which followed, are a mountain tribe, of chivalrous manners and uncommon valor, who had by their superior courage and conduct obtained the dominion to a great extent over the valleys which border on the plains of Hindostan. The British here met "foemen worthy of their steel." In the mountains of Nepal they encountered a body of warriors whose courage, vigor, and resolution caused them to experience the most stubborn resistance, and on many occasions made even British troops to recoil. Simple in their habits — addicted, like most highland tribes, rather to plunder than industry, they are yet faithful to their word, hospitable to strangers, courteous to enemies. The venality and falsehood which prevail so extensively in the plains of Hindostan, they hold in utter abhorrence. If the English seldom encountered enemies of greater prowess, they never, when the contest

was over, experienced such chivalrous courtesy from their opponents; and since these rude mountaineers have been taken into their own service, they have never been served by braver or more faithful soldiers.

For the first time in Indian history the British experienced in this war the sturdy resistance of the Asiatic mountaineers. The early operations of the war were unsuccessful, and betokened but too clearly the difficulties with which it was to be attended. The campaign opened with the siege of a hill-fort named Kalunga, in one of the first valleys of the mountains, which the English, according to custom, expected to carry by a *coup-de-main*; but they were repulsed, and General Gillespie, who commanded the assault, while waving his hat to cheer on the troops, was shot through the heart. This check rendered it necessary to commence operations in form; and the siege was suspended till the arrival of the battering-train from Delhi; but even when a breach had been made, the troops, dispirited by their former repulse, could not be induced to storm it; and it was only by the tedious operation of shelling out the garrison that the fort was at length evacuated. In the interior of the fort was found a mingled mass of dead bodies and wounded men and women, mutilated and dying of thirst; a fearful proof of the determination with which the defense had been maintained. This unexpected and heroic resistance made a great impression on the British leaders, and combined with the novel and difficult nature of the country in which the war required to be carried on, inspired a degree of vacillation in their councils singularly at variance with their wonted audacious bearing.⁴

In this emergency, victory was restored to the British arms by a chief who to the soul of a hero united the eye of a general. General Ochterlony had studied the Ghoorka mode of fighting, and scanned the causes to which the difficulties of the war had been owing. He met them with their own weapons, erecting stockaded forts, a species of warfare hitherto unknown in India, and taking the utmost precaution, by making roads through the jungles and mountains, and alliances with the native chiefs, to secure his rear and communications before he penetrated far into the country. Ere long the effects of this judicious conduct appeared; gradually the British general forced the Nepalese to retreat; Ramgurh and other hill-forts were evacuated by them; and at length Umur Singh, their greatest chief, was obliged to take post with all his force in the strong position of Maloon. The stone fort thus named, with that of Souragurh, formed the two extremities, each situated on a lofty peak, of a line of fortified posts, erected on a long and rocky ridge projecting from the hills into the country watered by the Sutlej. Of the intervening peaks, all were occupied and fortified by stockades except two, the Ryla and the Doethul. Perceiving the omission, Ochterlony rapidly advanced and seized these two important points in the very centre of the enemy's line, the first without resistance, the second after a sanguinary conflict, in which the native troops

¹ Martin, 409, 410; An. Reg. 1813, 374; An. Reg. ii. 413.

^{20.} Lord Moira's Administration. Ghoorka war.

³ Prinsep's Trans. i. 170; Martin, 411, 412.

^{40.} Ghoorka war.

^{41.} Early disasters of the campaign.

^{Nov. 30.}

¹ Martin, 411, 412; An. Reg. 1814, 371-374; Thornton.

^{42.} General Ochterlony's successes.

April 15.

greatly distinguished themselves. Sensible of the necessity of dislodging the British from this position, the Ghoorka chiefs commenced a furious attack on it in the following morning with the flower of their force. Happily Ochterlony had spent the preceding night in strengthening the post with stockades, and planting some guns upon it. Notwithstanding this advantage, the enemy came on with such fury that they penetrated at several points into the intrenchments, and Bhurti Singh, a renowned leader, was bayoneted within the works. The contest was long and bloody; but at length the opportune arrival of a reinforcement with ammunition from the peak of Ryla, enabled the British to repulse the enemy, and in their turn to become assailants. The Ghoorkas were in the end defeated; and this was followed by the abandonment of the whole position, and concentration of their force in the fortress of Maloun, against which batteries were raised in the first week of May. After the battle, the Ghoorkas, who had shown the utmost courage in the strife, evinced a noble confidence in the courtesy of the British leaders, by sending to ask for the body of Bhurti Singh, who had been slain, and was in their hands. General Ochterlony immediately complied with the request, and sent the gory corpse wrapped in rich shawls, in token of his admiration for the valor of the fallen chief. His two widows burned themselves next day on the funeral pile, in compliance with his last injunctions.¹

¹ Prinsep's Trans. in India, i. 170; Martin, 413; Ann. Reg. 1815.

Meanwhile Lord Moira had been actively engaged in organizing forces, which commenced active operations on the side of Rohilkund, where the depredations of the Ghoorkas had excited the utmost animosity. The first of these auxiliary corps, under Major Hearsey, was attacked and dispersed by the enemy; but the second obtained brilliant success, and penetrated into the centre of the province of Kumaon, and so straitened the governor in Almora, its capital, that, after seeing the Setola heights, distant from it only seventy

yards, stormed, he was obliged to enter into a capitulation, by which he agreed to evacuate the whole province. The intelligence of this success at Almora greatly facilitated the operations against Maloun. The old chief, Umur Singh, held out obstinately within its walls, in hopes that the rainy season, which was rapidly approaching, would compel the British to raise the siege. But in this he was disappointed; the trenches, though half filled with water, were still held by resolute defenders; the majority of the garrison came over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and at length Umur Singh, whose still remaining adherents were reduced to two hundred and fifty men, was compelled to sue for peace. This was granted, but on the most humiliating terms; Maloun was ceded, with the whole territory from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej, including Jythuk. Thus was a war which, in the beginning of the year, promised nothing but disaster, gloriously concluded before midsummer; and the whole hill-country from the Gogra to the Sutlej—a district hitherto deemed impenetrable to Europeans—was added to the British dominions. It added

to the satisfaction produced by these triumphs, that they were mainly won by the native forces; for General Ochterlony's division, by whom they were chiefly achieved, was entirely composed of that force. He was ably seconded, however, by his European officers, especially Lieutenant Lawtie, field-engineer, who died, deeply regretted, of excessive fatigue before Maloun. General Ochterlony was made a baronet, with a pension of £1000 a year, in acknowledgment of his services; and Earl Moira was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Hastings.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1815, 374; Martin, 413.

But the Ghoorkas, though defeated, were not subdued. Negotiations for a final treaty went on, which in some degree differed from those at first concluded with Umur Singh. The district called the Doon was retained, and incorporated with the British dominions; but the remaining territory, which had been conquered by Umur Singh, was proposed to be restored to the chiefs from whom it had been wrested, and taken under British protection. The Ghoorka chiefs, however, refused to accede to these terms, and in particular peremptorily rejected the proposed stationing of a British resident in their capital. The result was, that hostilities were renewed in January, 1816, and Sir David Ochterlony advanced at the head of a powerful force of seventeen thousand men, including three European regiments, against the Nepaulese capital. All the usual passes leading from the first range of hills into the beautiful valley in which it is situated, had been carefully fortified by the enemy, and it was on the strength of these intrenchments that their whole reliance was placed. But Ochterlony received information of a deep and narrow ravine leading through the mountains, which had been neglected as being deemed impracticable, and by it he succeeded in penetrating into the country, and taking the whole Ghoorka intrenchments in rear. Advancing rapidly, the British general penetrated into the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving on Mukwanpoor, when the enemy, seeing the necessity of fighting a general action if they would avert the capture of their capital, gave battle in the plain. The result was, that they were totally defeated, and submission was immediately made. The rejected treaty was signed, and sealed with the royal red seal, and a duly qualified envoy presented it on his knees to Ochterlony in presence of all the chiefs of the camp.²

The inauspicious commencement of the Ghoorka war led, as similar disasters always have done in the modern history of India, to an incipient combination of the native chiefs against the British power. Scindia, who deemed himself strong enough now to measure swords with it alone, was the soul of the confederacy; but the chief reliance of the confederates was on the PINDARREES, a body of horsemen assembled from all parts of India, who had, during the concentration of the British forces to make head against the Ghoorkas, committed the most dreadful outrages in the British dominions. These formidable bands of robbers, who had arisen "like masses of corruption out of the pu-

² Negotiations for a final treaty broken off by the Ghoorkas.

³ Causes of the Pindarree war, and their outrages.

trfection of weak and expiring states," had multiplied, as the terrible "English bands" did after the rout of Azincour, and from the same causes, in several of the richest and most fertile parts of India. During the year 1816, a band of these inhuman freebooters remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which they burnt or plundered 399 villages, put 182 persons to a cruel death, severely wounded 506, and subjected 3608 others to various kinds of torture. Twenty-five women, during these outrages, drowned themselves to avoid violation. The usual modes of torture adopted by these barbarians, were putting heavy stones on the head or chest, placing red-hot irons on the soles of the feet, tying the head in a bag filled with hot ashes, throwing oil on the clothes and then setting fire to them, besides others still more horrible. These outrages being directed chiefly against the British subjects, the perpetrators of them were in secret favored by Scindia and the other Mahratta chiefs, though they affected in public the greatest horror of them; and it was easy to foresee that any measures against them would bring the English Government into collision with the whole Mahratta confederacy. But the outrages had become so formidable that the Marquis of Hastings felt the absolute necessity of repressing them; and he made such urgent representations on the subject to the Court of Directors that they authorized the commencement of hostilities, being convinced, in their own words, "of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions to forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad."

Fortified with this authority, Lord Hastings commenced operations on the greatest scale, convinced that he would have, sooner or later in the course of the contest, the whole powers of Central India on his hands, who could bring into the field 120,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and 600 guns.* An attack upon the powers of Central India from different quarters was resolved on, and the forces assembled for the purpose were on a scale worthy of the grandeur and power of England. They amounted to 91,000 regular troops, of whom 10,225 were cavalry, with 120 guns, besides 23,000 irregular horse. On the 20th October, 1817, the Governor-general himself assumed the command of the grand army at Secundra, near Kalpee, and after crossing the Jumna on a bridge of boats, advanced to a position to the south of Gwalior, where Scindia had established himself in a permanent camp. The intercepted letters which had been received left

no doubt of the accession of the great Mahratta chief to the confederacy; he was only waiting for the junction of the Patans under Ameer Khan to commence hostilities. He had not anticipated, however, the vigor and decision of the English commander-in-chief, and found himself unable to withstand alone the formidable force arrayed against him. The consequence was he was obliged to yield. He agreed, as the price of peace, to unite his forces with those of the British against the Pindarrees, and as a pledge of his sincerity, to surrender in the mean time the forts of Hindia and Asurghur.¹

This blow, the deserved reward of foresight in preparation and promptitude in action, was decisive of the fate of the war. The treaty exacted from Scindia was speedily followed by the submission of the Patans and other lesser chiefs who lay next exposed to attack, and were equally incapable of resistance. The Pindarrees, finding themselves thus abandoned, retreated slowly before the advancing host, placing their last hopes on the secret assurance they had received of support from Poonah, the great centre of the Mahratta power. As is usual with Asiatics in danger, they sought to gain time by elusory negotiations. But Lord Hastings was aware of their policy, and not to be deceived by their wiles. In the mean time, the Peishwa, the head of the Mahratta confederacy, after various proceedings indicative of the hostile spirit by which he was actuated, appeared with all his forces in the plain in front of the town of Poonah, and, desirous of averting hostilities, ordered his troops not to fire the first gun. Before the order was received, however, the action had already commenced by a battery of nine guns opening fire on the British on the right. This was immediately followed by a splendid charge of 6000 horse, bearing the swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They were received by Colonel Burr, the intrepid commander of the 7th regiment, who took his post, calm and collected, beside the colors, though one ball went through his hat, and another shot his horse dead. Fortunately, the Mahratta charge was broken by a ditch which ran in front of the British line, and as the horsemen were scrambling out of it they were exposed to so severe a fire from the 7th regiment that they fell back in disorder. The advance of the English, which immediately followed, proved the signal for a general retreat. This battle, which bears the name of KIRKEE, was one of the hardest fought and most glorious that ever occurred in India, for the disproportion of force was immense. The whole force engaged on the side of the British was 2800, of whom ¹Prinsep, l. only 800 were Europeans. Their 107, 111; An. Reg. 1817, 384; Martin, 417; Duff's was 18,000 horse and 8000 foot, ²Mahrattas, iii. and they lost 500 men in the affair. ³429.

This glorious victory was soon followed by the surrender of Poonah, which capitulated on the 17th November, the ^{48.} Second check Peishwa, with all his forces, re- of the Peish- treating up the Ghauts into the hill- ^{wa.} country. Thither he was immediately followed

* Viz.:

	Horse.	Foot.	Cann.
Peishwa.....	35,000	13,500	37
Scindia.....	14,350	16,350	140
Holkar.....	30,000	7,940	107
Bhonslay.....	15,766	17,890	85
Nizam.....	25,000	30,000	47
Patans.....	12,000	30,000	300
Pindarrees.....	15,000	1,500	30
Total.....	130,016	97,316	594

—M. MARTIN, p. 415.

¹ Malcolm, l. 436; Martin, 416; An. Reg. 1817, 467-469.

^{47.} Further success of Lord Hastings. Battle of Kirkee. November 5.

^{48.} Second check of the Peish-

by General Smith at the head of a considerable Nov. 28. British force, who tried in vain to bring him to action. On the first of January 1818, a detachment under Captain Staunton, consisting of one battalion of Sepoys, Jan. 1. 400 irregular horse, and 2 guns, fell in accidentally with the whole force of the Peishwa, 25,900 strong. Though the disparity was so prodigious, the British commander was not discouraged, but, boldly pushing forward, took possession of a small edifice which had originally been a temple, where he prepared to maintain himself to the last extremity. The Peishwa immediately invested the little body of heroes with all his forces, and, deeming victory secure, ascended a neighboring height with the Rajah of Sattara, in order to witness the surrender of the British. The contest seemed hopeless, but capitulation was never once thought of in that heroic band. "See," said Captain Staunton, pointing to the headless trunk of Lieutenant Chisholm, which was lying beside a gun, "the mercy of the Mahrattas." The troops, though worn to death with fatigue, and fainting from thirst, declared to a man they would rather die than fall into the hands of such implacable foes. Happily, toward evening, a supply of water was received, and the defense was kept up with such vigor that the post was maintained till dark. The firing gradually ceased; and in the morning, when the British were preparing to renew it, the enemy was descried moving off in the direction of Poonah, in consequence of the rumored advance of General Duff's Mahrattas, iii. Smith. The battalion engaged lost 429-434; Martin, 417, 418. 153 men, the cavalry 96, in this glorious combat.¹

Immediately after this success, Sattara was invested by General Smith, and it 40. capitulated on the following day. Further success of the British. From thence a proclamation was issued, taking formal possession of the Peishwa's territories in the name of the British Government, with the exception of a small portion which was to be restored to the Rajah of Sattara. After this advantage, General Smith again started in pursuit of the enemy; and he came up with a body of 9000 horse, with whom a fierce conflict immediately ensued. Such was the skill with which the Mahratta cavalry were handled, that the British were thrown into some confusion; and the consequences might have been very serious, had not, in the *mêlée*, Gokla, their renowned leader, been slain. The Mahrattas, when on the verge of victory, deprived of their leader, fell into confusion, and fled, leaving their baggage-camels and elephants to the unexpected victors. In this action the British loss was only 19, and 200 of the enemy were found dead upon the field. After this success the Rajah of Sattara, who had been in the Peishwa's camp, fell into the hands of the victors, and was taken under the protection of the Company, and General Smith resumed his pursuit of the Mahratta horse. It was attended, however, with great hardships; for the enemy retreated with extraordinary rapidity, and many of the British, toiling after them over waterless plains under a burning sun, were struck dead by *coup-de-soleil*.² The sufferings of the enemy, however, were not less severe,

and at length the Peishwa, worn out with a desultory warfare, from which he had no prospect of retrieving his fortunes, surrendered, and became a pensioner of the British Government.

While these brilliant operations were breaking the strength of the Mahrattas, 50. the troops engaged against the Pindarrees were afflicted with a visitation of Providence far more terrible than the sword of man. After the signature of the treaty of alliance with Scindia, on 5th November, 1817, the CHOLERA, then for the first time known in British history, broke out with the utmost violence in Lord Hastings' army, and from the very outset committed the most dreadful ravages. The year had been one of scarcity, the grain was of inferior quality, and the situation of the British cantonment low and unhealthy. Every thing was thus prepared for the ravages of the epidemic, which soon set in with terrible severity. For ten days the camp was nothing but a hospital; in one week 764 soldiers and 8000 camp-followers perished. At length the troops were removed to higher and more airy cantonments, and upon this the malady ceased—a memorable fact for the instruction of future times. As was afterward often experienced, the ravages of the pestilence were greatest among the lowest portion of the people; only 148 Europeans perished in November, but above 10,000 natives fell victims to the malady. When it spread to Calcutta, it destroyed 1 Wilson, ix. 200 a day for a long time, chiefly 233; Prinsep, i. 107-111; among the worst fed and most des- 107-111; Martin, 419. titute of the people.¹

Notwithstanding this misfortune, which abated in three weeks, the advance of Lord Hastings upon Gwalior effectually prevented any co-operation between the Mahrattas and Pindarrees; and the latter, pursued by an overwhelming force, and destitute of any strongholds or fortifications, were unable to make any effectual resistance. They were pursued in all directions, and all cut down or dispersed, with the exception of a small body, which took refuge in the camp of Holkar, near Mahidpoor. The government of the Holkar principality was at this time in the hands of Toolsa Bye, the favorite in the seraglio, and she had in her turn confided it to the Dewan, Gumput Rao. The troops, however, doubting their ability to withstand the forces of Sir Thomas Hislop, which were advancing against them, mutinied, threw Gumput Rao into prison, carried off Toolsa Bye to the banks of the Supon, where she was beheaded in the night while uttering piercing shrieks, and got possession of Mulhar Rao, now the acknowledged heir of the Holkar dominions. Next day a decisive battle was fought with such of Holkar's forces as still held out, and the remnant of the Pindarrees, which ended, after an arduous struggle in which the British lost 800 men, in the entire defeat of the enemy, who were weakened by the loss of 3000. The mother of Mulhar Rao, who was the regent, upon this immediately made submission to the British; and in return for the cession of a considerable tract of territory to the south of the Saunpoora range, was confirmed in the possession of her remaining territories. Some of the rajahs in her do-

¹ Prinsep, i. 107-111; Wilson, ix. 243-250; Martin, 419.

² Victory of Lord Hastings, and termination of the war. December 21, 1817.

minions repudiated this arrangement, and tried to renew the war, but they were pursued, and dispersed or taken. These successes were fatal to the Pindarrees, by depriving them of any support among the native powers. They retreated into the jungles and woody fastnesses, where they were actively pursued by the peasantry, who, in revenge for their former cruelties, massacred them without mercy. The last chief of these formidable bands was Chuttoo, and at the head of 200 followers he long remained at large. At length his horse was found grazing near the jungles of Asurghur, saddled and bridled, and at a little distance a heap of torn and blood-stained garments, and a half-eaten human head, the remains of a tiger's feast—"the fitting death," as M. Martin well observes; Martin, serves, "of the last of the Pindarrees."⁵¹

The Pindarree war was now at an end, and nothing more was heard of these audacious marauders. Without a home, without leaders, without strongholds, they never again attempted to make head against the British power. They were gradually merged in the ordinary population, and resumed the habits of pacific life. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwa as cultivators, and, employing their energies in the right direction, became active and industrious farmers, as old soldiers often do. The Mahratta war was now practically ended; but the flight of Appa Sahib, one of their most active leaders, caused some anxiety, which was only terminated in April, 1819, by the capture of the important fortress of Asurghur, from which he escaped in the disguise of a fakir, and sunk into insignificance, from which he never afterward emerged. The war lingered still longer in the valley of Candehish, where there

were various Arab garrisons, which were not finally expelled till June, 1818, when Malligum, the strongest fort in the valley in their possession, was taken. The remaining years of Lord Hastings's administration were devoted to pacific duties, and the consolidation of the vast empire which he had brought under the British rule. Mr., afterward Sir Thomas Munro, here gave token of the great civil and military abilities he possessed, in taking possession of and regulating the country ceded by the treaty of Poonah; abilities so great as to justify the eulogium of Mr. Canning, who said "that Europe could not boast a more distinguished statesman, or Asia a braver warrior." Lord Hastings resigned his office in January, 1823, and returned to this country, where he was rewarded for his glorious and successful government of India by the gift of £80,000 to purchase an estate in the United Kingdom, in addition

to those he had inherited from his Plantagenet ancestors. After his return he was appointed Governor of Malta, where he died in 1826, in consequence of a fall from his horse.⁵²

⁵¹ Auber, ii. 540, 560; Martin, 420, 431; Kay's Life of Metcalfe, ii. 132.

His administration of India, during the nine years he held that arduous office, must be regarded as a model of vigor and ability. Clearly discerning the nature of the tenure by which, and which alone, our Indian empire was held, he as clearly perceived the only mode by which

it could be preserved. Constantly threatened by a coalition of the native powers, whose united forces, if brought together, would much exceed what he could assemble at any one point, he saw that the only mode of combating it was by anticipating the attack, and opposing to the unwieldy strength of an alliance the vigor of single direction. His policy in attacking the coalition of the Pindarrees and Mahrattas in 1817, before they had time to unite their forces, was precisely that which Napoleon pursued against the coalition of the Continental powers in 1805, 1806, and 1809, and which was rewarded by the victories of Ulm, Jena, and Echmuhl. It met, accordingly, with similar and equally deserved success. He brought the Indian government, by his vigor and capacity, through one of the most dangerous crises of its modern history, augmented its territory, enhanced its renown, and finally broke the power of the Mahrattas, the most formidable and daring of its enemies. Under his administration the revenues of the State rose from £17,228,000 in 1818, to £23,120,000 in 1823. It is true, the military expenditure increased in a still greater proportion, being, on an average of five years from 1817 to 1822, £9,770,000; and the debt was enlarged by £2,800,000. But this arose entirely from the necessities of his situation, and the tolerance so long extended to the ferocious Pindarrees and the encroaching Mahrattas by the timorous and economizing policy of the Court of Directors during the administration of his predecessors. If ever a Governor-general deserved a statue of gold, it was the Marquis of Hastings.⁵³

Upon the retirement of Lord Hastings, the place he had so ably filled was at first destined for Mr. Canning; but the changes in the Cabinet consequent on the death of the Marquis of Londonderry in 1822, led, as already mentioned, to his being placed at the head of the Foreign Office, and Lord AMHERST was selected for the direction of Indian affairs, and arrived at Calcutta in August, 1823; the provisional government, since the departure of the Marquis of Hastings, having been in the hands of Mr. John Adam, an able and honest man. The first subject which forced itself upon Lord Amherst's attention was the approaching war with the Burmese on the eastern frontier of the empire, which it was evident could not be much longer averted, and which was the more formidable from the unknown nature of the country in which it was to be conducted, and the vague reports received of the boundless power of the potentate by whom it was to be maintained. The Burmese, originally subject to the neighboring kingdom of Pegu, had revolted in 1753, and established a separate dominion, which progressively increased for seventy years, until it was brought into serious collision with the British power. The first cause of difference between them arose from the immigration into the British province of Arracan of some thousand peasants from the Burmese territory, who sought refuge in the Company's territories from the intolerable tyranny of their Burmese oppressors. In 1798, nearly

53. Reflections on Lord Hastings's government of India.

54. Martin, 421, 422; Conder's History of India, ad. fin.

54. Amherst Administration, and war with Burmah. Sept. 1823.

ten thousand of these persecuted wretches rushed over the frontier in a state of frenzied desperation. They arrived in the English territories almost naked and starving—men, women, and children at the breast—but all declaring that they would prefer taking refuge in the jungles, and living, as they had done for months, on “reptiles and leaves,” amidst tigers and lions, to 112; Havelock, 154, 245.

The British Government, though alarmed at

53.
Irruption of the Mughas, and causes of discord with the Burmese.

such a formidable irruption, even when only of starving suppliants, taking compassion on their sufferings, assigned them some waste lands for their subsistence, and they were soon settled there to the number of forty thousand. The expulsion of these settlers from the British territories was repeatedly demanded by the Burmese authorities; but Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings refused to do so, as contrary to the laws of hospitality, though they offered to surrender any malefactor who might have injured the Burmese, and even to permit the latter to seek for them in the British territories. This concession the government of Ava, which ruled the Burmese empire, ascribed, according to the usual custom of Asiatics, to weakness and fear on the part of the British Government; and an alliance was attempted to be formed between the King of Ava and Ranjeet Singh, and other Indian potentates, for the expulsion of the English from India. Hostilities were thus evidently impending, but they were for some years averted by the conciliatory conduct of the British Government, which, engaged in the Ghoorika and Pindarree wars, had no wish to be involved in fresh hostilities. This conduct the Court of Ava deemed decisive proof of conscious weakness; and with a view to bring on hostilities, a descent of Burmese took place in September, 1823, attended with the slaughter of the British guard on the island of Shahpoori, at the entrance of the arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan, and within the British territories. An explanation of this aggression was demanded, but the only answer returned was, that Shahpoori “rightfully belonged to the fortunate king of the white elephant, lord of the earth and seas; and that the non-admission of the claim of the ‘golden foot’ would be followed by the immediate invasion of the British territories.” The Burmese government were as good as their word, for a force immediately advanced to within five miles of the town of Sylhet, which is only two hundred and twenty-six miles from Calcutta. This brought matters to a crisis; and Lord Amherst, though with the utmost reluctance, took steps to punish the aggression, and assert the honor of the British arms.²

The military strength of the Burmese was considerable, and both their government and troops were inspired with the most extravagant idea of their own prowess, and of the irresistible nature of the power which they wielded. Emboldened by a long train of victories over their unwarlike neighbors in the Co-

chin-China peninsula, they deemed themselves invincible, and, never having been brought in contact with them, were utterly ignorant both of the force of European arms and the strength of the British power. With a body of enemies at once so ignorant and so presumptuous, there would, in the ordinary case, have been no serious difficulty in contending. But the Burmese war was rendered a difficult, and, as it proved, a very murderous one, by the nature of the country in which it was to be carried on, and the peculiar species of defense which this had suggested to its inhabitants. The territories in which it was to be carried on, forming the alluvial plains of the Irrawaddy, could only be reached either by crossing a mountain-range 6000 feet high, and impassable for artillery, which separated it from the plain of Bengal, or by ascending the course of that great river after taking Rangoon, which lies at its mouth. The latter appeared the easier and more natural course; but steam-navigation was then in its infancy; no flotilla, impelled by that powerful agent, existed to breast the stream and surmount its descending waves; and the banks on either side, thick-set with jungle, were in the months of summer and autumn extremely unhealthy. Add to this, experience had taught the Burmese the art of constructing wooden barricades or stockades in the vast forests with which their country abounded, which, concealed by a leafy screen till the assailants were almost at them, were nearly impervious to shot, and so firmly set as to be extremely difficult to force. Behind these impenetrable barriers, the Burmese marksmen, themselves so- 137, 135; Martin, 423, 424; Auber, ii. 431-434; Snodgrass's War in Ava, 64.

The first operations of the war, as so often happens with English military operations, proved unfortunate. Nearly as ignorant of the strength and resources of the enemy as they were of ours, the force destined to act against the enemy by the British Government was not half of what was requisite for success. It was wisely, and in fact from necessity, determined to commence operations by a descent on Rangoon, and to march up the course of the Irrawaddy; but as this required the troops to embark from Madras and Calcutta, a very great difficulty was experienced by the native troops, part of whom positively refused to go on board. The consequence was, that the expedition consisted only of 11,000 men, of whom one-half were Europeans; an unprecedented proportion in Oriental wars, and which would probably have insured early and decisive success, if it had been possible to bring them at once into action. Rangoon was abandoned without any serious resistance, and presented a valuable base of operations; and this was followed by the successful storming of the fortified post of Kemendine on the Irrawaddy, which was carried after a gallant resistance, by the 41st and detachments of the 13th and 88th regiments and Madras European regiment, Major, afterward Sir ROBERT SALE, being the first man who reached the summit of the work. But this success, though considerable, was the limit of our

56.
Resources of the Burmese, and difficulties of the war.

57.
First operations of the war.
Taking of Rangoon.

June 10.

advantages, and ere long the invading army found itself involved in a mesh of difficulties, arising partly from the pestilential nature of the climate, and partly from the peculiar species of defense which their local advantages had suggested to the enemy.¹

The progress of the army, even though successful in every encounter, was necessarily slow from the thick jungle with which the country was beset, and the pestilential miasmata which a tropical sun drew up from the swamps with which it was every where intersected. To advance in these circumstances, and make the men sleep in the deadly thickets, seemed little short of madness, as it was to expose them to certain destruction; and yet to remain where they were seemed hardly less hazardous, for Rangoon in the autumnal months is so unhealthy that all the inhabitants who can get away leave it at that period. The British army was soon reduced by disease to less than half its former numerical amount; and the survivors were sadly depressed in spirit by seeing so many of their comrades stretched on the bed of sickness or buried around them. Encouraged by the slow progress which the invaders were making, the Burmese government made the most vigorous efforts to expel them altogether from their territory. Reinforcements and stores poured in on all sides, and the Burmese general received orders to assail the British and drive them out of the country. Notwithstanding his serious losses

by sickness, Sir Archibald Campbell, the British commander, resolved to anticipate the attack by offensive operations on his own side. An expedition was sent against the island of Cheduba, where 600 of the Burmese were intrenched, which was carried with the loss of half their forces and the capture of the rajah. Soon after, the Burmese, in three columns, made a general attack on the English position, but they were repulsed at all points into the jungle without the loss of a single man to the victors. It was now evident that they were no match for the English in the field; but still behind their stockades, and aided by their forests and pestilential swamps, they were formidable antagonists. On the 8th July the British moved in two columns against the enemy, the one under General Macbean by land, the other under Sir A. Campbell in person, proceeding by boats on the river to destroy some strong works which the enemy had erected to bar farther passage up the stream.²

Both attacks proved successful. After an hour's cannonade from the ships under the command of Captain Marryat, a practicable breach was made in the stockade on the shore; the stormers were immediately landed, and carried three intrenchments, armed with fourteen guns, in the most gallant style. The operations of the land columns were equally successful. On arriving in the vicinity of the enemy, General Macbean found himself faced by a network of stockades, armed with heavy artillery, presenting, in the central redoubt, three lines of intrenchments, one within the other, and garrisoned by at least 10,000 men. Nothing daunted by these formidable means of

resistance, Macbean ordered the scaling-ladders to the front, and the storming party, consisting of detachments of the 13th, 38th, and 89th regiments, advanced to the assault. In ten minutes the first line was carried; the second, after a violent struggle, was also stormed. Major Sale singled out a Burmese chief of high rank for combat, and slew him with his own hand. Soon after other stockades were carried, and the assailants penetrated into the inner work, after a desperate struggle, by mounting on each other's shoulders. The victory was now complete; ten stockades, armed with thirty pieces of cannon, were carried without a shot being fired, by escalade; and the enemy, four times the number of the assailants, were driven from their intrenchments with the loss of 800 men.³

Various attacks, some successful, and some unsuccessful, were made on stockades of the enemy near Rangoon, with a view to extending the quarters of the army and getting supplies during August and September; and at length an expedition, consisting of native infantry under Colonel Smith, was dispatched to attack a fortified position of the enemy at Kykloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon. The work to be assailed consisted of a pagoda strongly garrisoned and barricaded, surrounded by several exterior lines of stockades. The latter were soon carried; but when the troops approached the pagoda itself, they were assailed by so severe a fire from a covered and unseen enemy that most of the British officers who led the column were killed or wounded, and the few who survived were forced to take refuge from the deadly storm of bullets by flying to the nearest shelter. The result was that the sepoy dispersed, abandoned all the works they had carried, and sought safety in flight, which would have been most disastrous had not reinforcements dispatched by Sir A. Campbell reached them ere long, and covered their retreat to Rangoon. The panic on this occasion, as is often the case in war, was not confined to the assailants; it extended also to the enemy; and when General Creagh advanced a few days after to renew the attack, he found the works entirely abandoned by them. The British were soon after consoled for this discomfiture by a successful expedition under Colonel Godwin against the town of Martaban, which was stormed by a detachment of the 41st and part of the 8d Madras native infantry. Immense military stores of all descriptions here rewarded the courage of the victors.⁴

These alternate successes and defeats, however, determined nothing, and ere long the natural difficulties of the campaign appeared with fatal effect in the invading army. The country around Rangoon had been entirely devastated by orders of the Burmese government; and the thickness of the jungle and strength of their stockaded positions rendered it impossible for the British to extend their posts farther into the interior. The result was, that being cooped up in an unhealthy town in the autumnal months,

58.
Slow progress of the war, and sickness of the British.

¹ Thornton, v. 31, 32; Martin, 434; Ann. Reg. 1824, 271, 274.

60.
Reverses sustained by them. July 16.

July 31.

Oct. 10.

Oct. 29.

² Thornton, v. 34, 36; Snodgrass's War in Burmah, 74-79; Martin, 424.

61.
Sufferings of the British in Rangoon.

without fresh meat or vegetables, the troops became fearfully sickly—fever and dysentery spread fatal ravages in the camp, and before the end of autumn there were not 3000 men left in it capable of bearing arms. These calamities, to which the Burmese government were no strangers, encouraged them to persevere in their resistance, notwithstanding the repeated and unexpected reverses which they had experienced from their strange invaders. They

¹ Auber, li. 579. Two Years in Ava, 241; Martin, 424.

were the more induced to continue the war from an old tradition that the capital would remain invincible till a "magical vessel should advance against it without oars or sails."¹

The determination of the government of Ava to persevere in the contest was much

^{62.} strengthened by reverses which at the same period befell the British arms on the land side toward Arracan.

May 11.

The operations there were conducted chiefly with a view to defense, as the principal attack was intended to be made up the Irrawaddy from Rangoon. Captain Noton was stationed at Ramoo, to cover the British frontier in that quarter, with 350 native infantry and 600 irregulars. The latter could not be relied on; and a movement of the whole in advance having been attended by many checks, Captain Noton fell back to Ramoo, where he was soon surrounded by a force, six times superior in number, of the enemy. Notwithstanding this fearful disproportion, Noton gallantly maintained his position for several days, trusting to the arrival of reinforcements from Chittagong in the rear, which were reported to have left that place on the 18th, and were hourly expected. They did not arrive, however, and meanwhile the enemy pushed their approaches with such

vigor that on the 17th they were within twelve paces of the British advanced works, and had got possession of a tank in the rear, from which the troops had their sole supply of water. Retreat had now become unavoidable, and for some time it was conducted with tolerable order; but at length the irregulars fell into disorder; the confusion spread to the sepoys, who, instead of closing their ranks—the only chance of safety in such circumstances—disbanded and fled. Captain Noton and most of the officers were killed, nobly fighting to the last; three only, with a small portion of the troops, made their escape. This disaster soon brought others in its train. The British force at Sylhet was withdrawn to Chittagong; the Burmese again entered Cachar; and such was the consternation which prevailed, and the unprotected state of the frontier,

³ Thornton, v. 39-41; Snodgrass, 79-84; Martin, 425.

that had the Burmese been in greater force they might have advanced to and possibly taken Calcutta.³

Had the British Government been actuated by the instability of purpose by which the Oriental dynasties are in general characterized, they would in all probability, after these repeated disasters, have desisted from any further attempts against the kingdom of Ava. But this was not the national character, which is as much marked by vigor and energy, when roused and heated in a contest, as it is by supineness and want of preparation before it commences.

The utmost efforts were made to reinforce the armies both at Rangoon and on the Arracan frontier, and the Diana war-steamer was added to the flotilla on the river. They had need of all their resources, for the preparations of the Burmese were very great. Mengee Bundoola, who had commanded the force which had gained such successes in Arracan, was withdrawn from the direction of that army, and placed at the head of a formidable army of twenty thousand men, which proceeded to invest the British troops in Rangoon, against which approaches were made with great skill, and in a style which very closely resembled that which afterward became so famous when practiced by the Russians in the defense of Sebastopol. The trenches Dec 1. consisted of a succession of holes, each capable of containing two men, excavated so as to afford complete shelter from any horizontal fire, and into which, therefore, the descent of a shell could only kill two men. Under the bank a hole was cut in each, entirely under cover, where a bed of straw and brushwood was prepared, where one reposed while the other watched. So rapidly were these subterranean lodgings formed that the whole army seemed to have been suddenly swallowed up by the earth. Various sorties were made by the British to impede the approaches, in one of which Major Sale Dec 5. and Major Walker, at the head of their respective columns, gained considerable success, though the latter was unfortunately killed in the moment of victory. Soon after a vigorous attack was made on the whole of the enemy's lines, from which they were driven with great loss into the neighboring jungle. But being strongly reinforced, they soon after returned to the attack, and contrived to introduce a number of spies and incendiaries into the town of Rangoon, who set it on fire in several places, and the conflagration was not v. 44-46. got under till half the buildings had Snodgrass, 97-105. been consumed.⁴

The situation of the British army was now critical in the extreme, cooped up in a half-burned and unhealthy city, surrounded by an army ten times as numerous as their own, whose approaches had been pushed to within a hundred yards of the place. From these straits they were happily extricated by the daring, and, in the circumstances, wise conduct of the commander-in-chief, seconded by the heroic valor of his troops. The whole force which could be spared for a sortie amounted only to fifteen hundred men, and they were led to the attack of twenty thousand brave and skillful troops intrenched to the teeth in stockades. The attempt seemed little short of madness, but nevertheless it entirely succeeded. Both attacks—the one headed by Sir Archibald Campbell in person, the other by General Cotton—proved victorious; and in fifteen minutes the most formidable works ever yet seen in the country were carried by storm, and the enemy driven into the surrounding jungles. On the same day an attack was made by the *Diana* and other war-vessels, under Lieutenant Kellett, of the *Arachne*, upon the flotilla of the enemy, of a Snodgrass, 110, 130. which forty were taken.⁵ On this occasion the terrible efficacy of war-steamers was first signally evinced; Thornton, v. 49-51.

^{64.} Victories of the British before Rangoon Dec 15.

the *Diana* plowed through the flotilla of the enemy as if moved by magic, and with every broadside sent some of them to the bottom.

Taught by these disasters the quality of the enemy with whom they had to deal, the Burmese generals raised the advance on siege, and retired toward Proma, the second city in the Burmese empire.

Sir Archibald Campbell, having been reinforced by the 47th regiment and some cavalry and artillery, resolved to pursue them thither, and with this view advanced in two columns, the one commanded by himself in person, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, who went by land, of whom one half were European infantry; the other, of one thousand five hundred, moving by water, under General Cotton.

The latter column, in the course of its advance, encountered a large body of the enemy intrenched in a stockaded position at Donabru. An attack upon this work failed in consequence of its extreme strength, which proved impervious alike to the bayonets and the hatchets of the assailants. Upon learning this

reverse, Sir Archibald hastened with his own column to the spot, and soon saw that the work was much too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*. The stockade, which extended for nearly a mile along the bank of the Irrawaddy, was composed of solid teak beams, resting on strong stakes driven into the earth, and piled one above another to the height of seventeen feet. The interior of the work, which was armed with a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, was protected against the explosion of shells by frequent traverses; and in front of all was an abattis composed of sharpened stakes, and a deep ditch rendered almost impassable by spikes, sword-blades, and other implements of destruction stuck in the earth. Wisely judging these works far too strong to be carried by escalade, Sir Archibald brought up his whole troops and flotilla to the attack, and commenced approaches against it in form. On the 27th the flotilla appeared in sight, and, headed by the *Diana*, found its way up, after sustaining a heavy cannonade, so as to effect a junction with the land forces, and their combined attack soon proved irresistible. A spirited sortie, headed by seventeen war-elephants, each bearing a tower filled with armed men, was repulsed by the steadiness of the Governor-general's body-guard, under Captain Snayd; two days after, the commander-in-chief of the Burmese, Bundoola, was killed by a rocket; and the breaching batteries having commenced a heavy fire, the garrison was seized with a sudden panic, and fled, leaving behind them stores of ammunition and provisions sufficient to serve the British army for months to come.

After this brilliant achievement Sir Archibald returned to his line of march toward Proma, before which he arrived on the 24th April. He entered it without opposition next day, finding the town deserted, and partially on fire, but still armed by 100 pieces of cannon. Such was the strength of this position, that in Sir A. Campbell's opinion 10,000 steady soldiers might have defended it against 100,000 men. Active operations were then suspended for some months,

in consequence of the setting in of the heavy rains, and excessive inundations on the banks of the Irrawaddy. Meanwhile, however, important movements went on, and great successes were gained on the land-frontier. Colonel Richards there recovered the province of Assam, which had been almost entirely lost after the disaster at Ramoo, and carried by storm a stockade near Rungpore, which had the effect of bringing the whole province into subjection. An attempt was afterward made to penetrate from Sylhet into the Burmese territory through Cachar, with 7000 men under General Shuldham; but the expedition was abandoned in consequence of the inextricable difficulties of the miry soil, after an enormous loss in elephants, camels, and bullocks. But the grand effort was directed against the province of Arracan, to subdue which an army of 11,000 men was assembled at Chittagong under the orders of General Morrison, supported by a powerful flotilla under Commodore Hayes. These forces, having effected a junction, moved against Arracan, which they reached on the evening of the 28th March. They found the approach to the capital barred by a Burmese force of 9000 men, which occupied a strong stockaded position on the summit of a range of hills, from three to four hundred feet in height, plentifully lined with artillery, and strengthened by escarpment, abattis, and masonry. The position was formidable in the extreme; but with Snodgrass, the characteristic daring of British officers, it was resolved to make the attempt to carry it by storm.

The attack was made at daybreak on the 29th, led by the light company of the 54th under Lieutenant Clark, supported by detachments of the 1st and 16th native Madras infantry. The ascent proved exceedingly steep, and as the troops toiled up, they were crushed by huge stones rolled down upon them, and a well-directed fire from above, which they had no means of answering. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the assailants persevered with the most devoted gallantry, and Lieutenant Clark, with several of the 54th, even got their hands on the trench; but all their efforts to penetrate in were unavailing, and the storming party was driven back after every European officer in it had been killed or wounded. The point of attack was now changed, and it was directed against the right of the enemy's position, where the ascent was so precipitous that less care had been taken to strengthen it. To divert the enemy's attention from it a battery was constructed and a vigorous fire kept up on the pass where the main road traversed the hills, which continued the whole night, and meanwhile, in the dark, the assault on the right was made, and with entire success. The troops, after encountering unnumbered difficulties from the steepness of the ascent, which the enemy had deemed impracticable, reached the summit unperceived, and got in with very little difficulty, and without the loss of a man. Upon seeing the British standard flying upon these important heights in the morning, and preparations made to attack the remaining portion of the line, the enemy abandoned the whole position, and Ar-

Arracan was occupied without further resistance.

So far the most brilliant success had attended this expedition, in which both officers and men of the native service, as well as the European, had displayed the most brilliant valor. But soon the wonted difficulties of the climate beset the victors; and the ulterior object of crossing the mountains and joining Sir Archibald Campbell at Prome was rendered impracticable. Soon after Arracan was taken the rainy season commenced, and brought with it the usual amount of fever and dysentery, which soon cut off vast numbers whom the sword had spared. So fearful did the ravages become that sickness in Arracan was soon all but universal; and although the enemy had abandoned the whole province, it was found necessary to withdraw the troops to more healthy stations, leaving detachments only on the islands of Cheduba and Rama. The troops under Sir Archibald Campbell at Prome were suffering hardly less from fever and dysentery, inasmuch that active operations were during the rainy season entirely suspended. The Burmese government took advantage of this period of forced inactivity to open negotiations, after the usual Asiatic fashion, to gain time, and meanwhile extensive levies of troops were ordered in all parts of the Burmese dominions. The negotiations, as might have been expected, though protracted as long as possible by the Burmese plenipotentiaries, who were scrupulous in insisting upon every formality which could redound to the honor of the "King of the white elephant," came to nothing; and hostilities having been resumed, the Burmese army in great force advanced against the British. Two unsuccessful attacks on detached bodies of the enemy by native troops having been made, the Burmese general advanced close to the British lines, cautiously throwing up stockades and intrenchments as he advanced.¹

Perceiving that the crisis was approaching, and being desirous to bring it on before the enemy had materially strengthened their position, Sir Archibald wisely resolved to anticipate them, and attack them in their newly-formed intrenchments. The assault took place, accordingly, on the 1st of December, and was powerfully aided by the flotilla under the command of Sir James Brisbane. Two columns of attack were formed of the land forces—one under General Cotton, the other under the commander-in-chief in person. The first was destined to attack in front the enemy's lines on the left, the second to turn their flank and assail them when endeavoring to retreat. Both attacks proved entirely successful.² Cotton carried all the stockades opposed to him in ten minutes, and drove out the enemy's masses with great slaughter, and in the course of their flight they were opened upon, when endeavoring to cross a river, by Campbell's horse-artillery, which did dreadful execution. At this point fell Maha-Namton, a gallant old chief, seventy-five years of age, who had been brought out in a litter, at his own request, to take part in the action. By this success the Burmese

position on the left was entirely carried, and the troops in it thrown back upon the centre; but there, and on the right, they stood firm. The attack on these points was accordingly renewed on the succeeding day, when, after a vigorous cannonade from both the land batteries and the flotilla, an attack was made on the enemy's centre. It was led by the 18th and 88th regiments, under Major Howlett and Major Frith, supported by part of the 87th, who made a supporting attack in flank. The 88th headed the storm, which was executed in the most gallant style, and the whole intrenchments in the centre, above two miles in length, were carried, while at the same time the flotilla took or destroyed all the boats and stores which had been brought down for the use of the army. Nothing remained now to the enemy but their intrenchments on the right, which were attacked and carried, after a feeble resistance, by the British left. Upon this the whole Burmese army broke and dispersed in the woods, leaving their artillery, ammunition, and stores of every description, to the victors.³

The military strength of the Burmese was now effectually broken, and the British army continued its march, unopposed by any considerable military force, toward the capital. But here again sickness appeared in the most appalling shape; cholera, in its worst form, broke out among the troops; and on more than one occasion their advance was stopped by the absolute impossibility of finding food in the dense jungles or inhospitable swamps through which their march lay. Aware, however, of the importance of striking before the enemy had recovered from their consternation, Sir Archibald pressed forward in spite of these obstacles, and the spectacles of horror which their retreat every where presented; and as the Burmese government had no longer the means of resistance, they were obliged now in good earnest to propose terms of submission and accommodation. The country through which the army advanced toward the capital exhibited at every step melancholy proofs of the ravages of war, and the extent of the misery which it had brought upon the wretched inhabitants. For fifty miles up the river, and all along the road by which the enemy had retired, the ground was strewed with dead bodies; all the villages were burned or in ruins; room could scarcely be found for pitching the tents without removing the corpses with which the ground was encumbered, and in many places a dog, stretched on a newly-made grave, faithfully repelled the efforts of the voracious of his tribe to violate the sepulchre, and mangle the much-loved remains. These scenes of horror both depressed the spirits and augmented the sickness of the British army; and as the expected co-operation from the side of Arracan had not taken place, Sir Archibald's position was by no means free from anxiety. It was with much satisfaction, therefore, that, on the 29th December, when at Patanagoh, not far from the Burmese capital, the British general received proposals of peace⁴ from the Burmese government, and they were soon reduced to a formal treaty, which was signed

68.
Renewed difficulties of the British from sickness.

¹ Snodgrass, 220-223; Thornton, v. 65-70; Martin, 425.

69.
Decisive victories of the British.
December 1.

Dec. 2.

Dec. 5.

³ Snodgrass, 232, 250; Thornton, v. 70-73; Martin, 425.

70.

Advance of the British toward the capital, and submission of the Burmese.
Jan. 2, 1826.

⁴ Snodgrass, 250, 256; Thornton, v. 73-76; Martin, 425.

by the British plenipotentiaries on the 2d January, and the Burmese on the 3d.

It was with reason supposed in both armies that the contest was now terminated; but the overweening self-confidence of the Burmese, and the intelligence they received of Campbell's not having been joined, as he expected, by the troops from Arracan, induced them

once more to try the fate of arms. The pretext taken for breaking off the treaty before it had been ratified by the King, was a refusal on the part of the British to retreat to Promé unless the Burmese retired to Ava. Hostilities in consequence were resumed, and eighteen thousand Burmese, styled "Retriever of the King's glory," were assembled in the intrenched camp of Milloon, covering the approach to the capital, under Nuring Thuring, or the Prince of Sunset. Eight-and-twenty guns were speedily placed in battery by the British on the morning of the 19th, and the troops advanced to the assault. Three brigades attacked by land, and one was landed from the boats. The troops in the boats, under Colonel Sale and Major Frith, landed before the others could get forward, and rushing up, carried the works alone, though defended by ten thousand men, with all their artillery and stores. Immediately after this success, the whole advanced, and were met by commissioners empowered to treat for peace. As the Burmese, however, were evidently adopting their old policy of negotiating to gain time, the British army continued to advance, the enemy retreating before them, and on the 9th February, the

whole Burmese force, eighteen thousand strong, was attacked by eighteen hundred British under Sir Archibald Campbell. The enemy were drawn up in the form of a semicircle, with their guns all bearing on the great road leading through their centre, by which it was thought the assailants would advance. But Campbell wisely declined that mode of combat, and made his attack instead by both flanks, which were comparatively undefended; he himself, at the head of the 18th and 89th, with a detachment of the Governor-general's body-guard, directing the right attack; while General Cotton commanded the left, composed of the 38th and 41st, with some Madras artillery. After a short conflict, the enemy, though immensely superior in numbers, gave way on both flanks, and rushed to a field-work in the centre, which was speedily stormed, with great slaughter, by the 88th. As a last effort, the Burmese general pushed forward a column on the great road in the centre, in hopes of piercing it, and separating the British wings; but it

was met by the 89th, and forced to retreat. The enemy now fled on all sides, leaving their whole artillery, stores, and ammunition, which fell into the hands of the victors.¹

After this decisive victory, nothing remained to the Burmese but submission to any Conclusion terms which the victor chose to dictate. The British General, accordingly, was met when in full march for the capital, and only forty miles distant from it, by Mr. Price and Mr. Sandford, two Americans in the service of the Burmese government, and who

were described "as the only persons they could trust," who announced the acceptance by the court of Ava of the terms insisted for by the British general. They agreed to cede the whole conquered provinces of Arracan, comprising Arracan Proper, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway; and the Arracan Mountains were to form the boundary on that side between the two empires. They ceded besides the provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Morgui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies connected with them, rendering the Salouen river the frontier in that quarter. In addition to this, the Burmese agreed to pay a crore of rupees (£1,000,000) toward the expenses of the war; one quarter immediately, upon receipt of which the British army was to retire to Rangoon, another quarter in a hundred days, on getting which the army was to quit the dominions of the King of Ava, with the exception of the ceded provinces; the third in a year, and the last in two years from the conclusion of the treaty. Thus, by the vigor and perseverance of the British generals, and the heroic valor of their troops, was this perilous war brought to a successful and glorious termination, the prestige of British invincibility, which had been violently shaken by the disasters at its commencement, completely re-established, and a well-defined and defensible frontier formed by a range of lofty mountains established on what had previously been the weakest frontier of our dominions. It was high time it should be so, for the crisis through which our empire passed during this war was of the most dangerous kind. Had the disasters which befell it at the commencement of hostilities continued much longer, and not been redeemed by heroic acts of valor in circumstances almost desperate on the part of the troops employed, all India would have been in a blaze, and insurrections would have broken out from one end of the peninsula to the other.¹

In the whole annals of the British empire a more remarkable contrast is not to be found than is presented by the Pindarree and Mahratta wars undertaken by Marquis Hastings, and the Burmese by Lord Amherst.

In the first, forces amounting to above 200,000 men were to be faced, and a confederacy embracing the whole of central India, the most warlike part of the peninsula, confronted. Yet such was the vigor of execution and sagacity of previous foresight and preparation, that this great alliance was broken in pieces before its forces could be assembled together, and success, as in a game of chess, was, from the very beginning, certain, from the first move having been so rapidly made that it proved successful. In the next war the inherent vice of the Anglo-Saxon character appeared in strange contrast: Athelstane "the Unready" was well-nigh unhorsed by the first blows. The enemy to be encountered was not a tenth part as formidable; the Court of Ava could never bring above 20,000 men into the field; but, nevertheless, serious disasters were incurred. Inadequacy of the force at first employed, want of previous preparation and acquaintance with the country, an undue contempt for the enemy, and ignorance of his

¹ Thornton, v. 78-81; Martin, 425; Sir A. Campbell's Official Account, Feb. 9, 1826; An. Reg. 1826; Snodgrass, 230, 250.

⁷³ See the Treaty, Ann. Reg. 1826, App. No. 7; Thornton, v. 82-84; Martin, 425, 426.

⁷³ Reflections on the Burmese wars.

mode of fighting, were the causes of all these misfortunes. It was attempted to conquer the kingdom of Ava, one of the most warlike and determined in Asia, and possessing immense natural advantages from the thick woods with which the country is overspread, and the pestilential marshes with which it is beset, with 11,000 men landed at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, at the commencement of the most unhealthy period of the year! Disaster, rather from sickness than the sword, fearful and long-continued, necessarily followed such an attempt. But if the commencement of the war exhibited the weak, its prosecution and conclusion revealed the strong side of the Anglo-Saxon character. When the danger was revealed, and the serious nature of the contest stood apparent, neither vacillation nor timidity appeared in the British councils, any more than weakness or irresolution in the British arms. Reinforcements were poured in; adequate efforts were made; the exertions of Government were admirably seconded by the skill, and valor of the officers, soldiers, and sailors employed; and the result was, that victory was again chained to the British standards, and a contest, which at first foreboded nothing but ruin to its arms, terminated by establishing the British empire on a more solid foundation than it had ever yet rested upon.¹

¹ Thornton, v. 83, 101.

The Burmese war, as all contests are which prove at first unfortunate, and are attended with heavy expense, was, during its continuance, extremely unpopular in England; and even after its successful termination, the same apprehensions continued—dread of the effects of an undue extension of our empire coming in place of the dread of the immediate defeat of our arms. But upon a calm retrospect of the circumstances under which the war arose, and the subsequent history of our Indian empire, it must be evident that the war was unavoidable, and that the only faults justly imputable to the Government were want of preparation on their own side, and ignorance of the enemy with whom they had to contend. It may be very true that the islands about which the war began were barren sandbanks, not worth a week's expenditure of the contest—that is wholly immaterial, in an empire resting on opinion, in considering whether the war could or could not have been avoided. A lash over the back will probably not seriously injure a gentleman, so far as his physical frame is concerned; but how will his character stand if he submits, without resenting it, to such an insult? The little island about which the dispute arose might be valueless; but character is inestimable; and in the affairs of nations, not less than of individuals, he who submits to aggression, or declines to vindicate honor in small matters, will soon find himself involved at a disadvantage in disputes vital to his existence.

The good effect of the successes in the Burmese war soon appeared in the diplomatic relations of the British Government with the Eastern potentates. On 26th July, 1826, a treaty of commerce and amity was concluded on very advantageous terms with the King of Siam, whose dominions, hitherto im-

^{75.} Treaty with the King of Siam. July 26, 1826.

pervious, were opened to British commerce. This event, in itself not immaterial, was rendered doubly important from the satisfaction it gave the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and the stop it put to the senseless clamor raised by ignorant and misled persons against any contests tending to the extension of our empire in 100-104; Martin, 426.

An event of a very painful character occurred in the commencement of the Burmese war, which proved the precarious foundation on which our Indian empire rested, and the necessity of "conquest to existence," as strongly felt there as by the French Revolutionists or Napoleon in Europe. In September, 1824, a dispute arose between the 47th native infantry stationed at Barrackpore and the Government, about the party which was bound to be at the expense of providing bullocks to carry the extra baggage of the sepoys who had been ordered to prepare to march into the Burmese territories. These bullocks had hitherto been always provided at the expense of the sepoys themselves, being in general got in great abundance, and at a small cost, in the country in which they had hitherto been accustomed to carry on war. On this occasion, however, as they were going into a distant and unknown region, the price of these bullocks rose to an extravagant height, and the sepoys maintained, not without reason, that for this extra expense at least they should be reimbursed by the Government. This was imprudently, and, in the circumstances, unjustly refused by the commissariat, which held itself bound by former usage in this particular; and Colonel Cartwright, who commanded the regiment, supplied funds from his private fortune to buy the bullocks; and Government, being informed of the circumstance, at length agreed to issue a sum of money to aid in the purchase. These tardy concessions, however, arrived too late to extinguish the spirit of discontent which from this cause, and the general unpopularity of the Burmese war from its being carried on beyond the sea, had seized a large part of the native troops. The men were ordered to parade on the 30th October in marching order, but they refused to obey, and declared they would not go to Rangoon or elsewhere by sea, or march at all by land unless they had double *batta* or marching allowance. Two regiments besides the 47th were ascertained to share these sentiments.²

Matters had now reached such a point that the speedy suppression of the revolt was indispensable, at whatever cost of life; for the concessions demanded by justice, if now made, would have been ascribed all over India to fear, and given a fatal blow to the moral ascendancy of Great Britain. In this crisis the conduct of the military chiefs was vigorous and decided. Sir Edward Paget, so famed in the Peninsular wars, arrived from Calcutta, accompanied by the 1st royals, 47th regiment, a battery of light artillery, and a part of the Governor-general's body-guard. The forces intended to act against the mutineers both in front and rear having taken their ground, the latter were

^{76.} Mutiny at Barrackpore. Sept. 15, 1824.

² Thornton, v. 104-108; Commons' Rep. April 1833, Q. 2151, 2152.

^{77.} Vigorous suppression of the revolt. Nov. 1, 1824.

informed that their fate would depend on their obedience to the order they were now to receive. The command was to "order arms," which was instantly obeyed; but to the next, "ground arms," a few only yielded obedience. Upon this, on a signal given, the guns in the rear opened with grape, and a few discharges dispersed the mutineers, who were hotly pursued by the dragoons, a few cut down, but great numbers taken, of whom three were executed, and several sentenced to hard labor in irons for various terms. The 47th regiment was erased from the Army List, and the European officers were transferred to the other regiments. Thus terminated this dangerous mutiny, in which, while it is impossible not to admire the courage and resolution with which the danger was at last met, it is to be regretted that the disaffected had, in the outset at least, too good ground for complaint.^{1*}

This mutiny evinces the extreme importance of attending with sedulous care to the physical comforts and just complaints of the troops, as the previous one at Vellore did the peril of violating in any degree, however slight, their religious prejudices. All authorities concur in stating that the sepoys are in general docile and submissive, sober, diligent, observant of their officers, and extremely attached to them when well treated. "No one," says Captain Grant Duff, "who has not witnessed it, could believe how much an officer who understands them can attach the sepoys. They discern the character of an officer even more correctly than European privates, are more disposed than they are to be pleased with his endeavors for their comfort; they even bear to be treated with more kindness and familiarity; but strictness on duty, patiently hearing their regular complaints, and dealing out even-handed justice, are the surest means of securing their respect and attachment." "The sepoys," says Sir Thomas Reynell, "are subordinate; they are patient, and they are obedient to their officers. They are in general well satisfied with their condition, well affected to the service, extremely orderly, and easy of management. Their attachment to their officers is great, if they deserve it. There is no greater punishment you can inflict on a sepoy than to order him to be discharged." With a soldiery of this description government is easy, provided they are justly dealt with, and the religious feelings in which they have been nurtured are duly

respected. Mutiny will never rise to a serious height with such men, unless their rulers were in the outset at least in the wrong, into whatever excesses insubordination may afterward lead those engaged in revolt. But persistence in material injustice, or violating religious feelings, may provoke a spirit which nothing can resist, and which may any day overturn an empire which no external force is able to subdue.¹

Simultaneously with the war in Ava, an event of great importance occurred in the interior of India, which tested in a decisive way the military strength and resources of the Company's government. This was a contest with the State of Bhurtpore, which originated in a dispute concerning the successor of the rajah, who died in August, 1823, without issue. The succession was claimed by Buldeo Singh, a brother of the deceased rajah, who got possession, and Doorjun Saul, the son of a younger brother, who claimed as having been adopted by the deceased rajah. The first was recognized by and received investiture from the British Government, but they hesitated to acknowledge his son as heir, though Sir D. Ochterlony, the Resident, urged them to do so. Sir David, however, deeming himself authorized by some general expressions in the Governor-general's dispatches, gave investiture to the heir, who was a minor, on 26th February, 1825, and soon after his father died. Upon this Doorjun Saul, the young rajah's cousin, collected some troops, and, notwithstanding the recognition of the title of that prince by the British Government, attacked and took Bhurtpore, murdered the infant prince's uncle, and seized the youthful sovereign. Upon this Sir D. Ochterlony, of his own authority, collected as large a force as he possibly could, with a powerful train of artillery, and advanced toward Bhurtpore, in order to vindicate by force the claim of the prince whom the British Government had recognized. These proceedings on the part of Ochterlony were strongly disapproved of by the Governor in council, as tending to induce another war, when the resources of the empire were already strained to the uttermost to maintain that with the Court of Ava, and he gave orders for suspending the march of the troops which had been directed by Ochterlony toward Bhurtpore; and as Doorjun Saul had renounced his intention of usurping the throne, he ordered the troops to return to their cantonments. Sir David, however, entertained serious doubts of the sincerity of these protestations, and deeming the honor of Great Britain implicated in the immediate assertion of its supremacy, he solicited and received leave to retire. Such was the mortification he experienced from these events that it hastened his death. His last words, as he turned his face to the wall, were, "I die disgraced."²

* In all popular movements of this description, the points upon which the parties come into collision are but a part of, and often different from, those which have really occasioned the discontent. The grievances assigned by the mutineers in their memorial to Government, as last presented, were—1st, Their being required to embark on board ship; and, 2d, The unjust influence of the havildar major in the promotion of the non-commissioned officers in the battalion. The original ground of complaint, which was too well founded in the circumstances, based upon their having been obliged to provide bullocks themselves for transporting their baggage, had been removed by draught animals having been furnished by the Government before the mutiny actually broke out, but not before the discontent originally produced by that cause had reached an ungovernable height. It was the aversion of the native troops to engage in the Burmese war, clothed in their eyes with imaginary terrors, and especially to embarking on board ship for Rangoon, against which they entertained a superstitious horror, which was the real cause of the disorders.—See *Commons' Report*, April 1833, Q. 2151, 2152.

* In justice alike to the British Government and Sir D. Ochterlony, it must be added that they were not slow upon his death to recognize his great merits, both as a soldier and a diplomatist. In a general order, issued by the Governor-general on his death, it was stated, with truth and feeling: "With the name of Sir D. Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal army, and to the renown of splendid achievements

¹ Evidence before Committee, Aug. 16, 1832, App. B.

79.

² Commencement of the difference with the Ranyah of Bhurtpore.

118, 125.

However much inclined the Indian Government may have been to avoid a rupture with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and however harsh their conduct toward Sir D. Ochterlony, an officer to whom they owed so much, the sequel of events was not long in proving that the latter had been right in his anticipations, and that a war with the usurper of Bhurtpore could not be averted if the British ascendancy in northern India was any longer to be maintained. After great procrastination and indecision, betraying the extreme reluctance of the Government to come to a rupture, they at length determined to recognize the title of the young prince, Bulwunt Singh, and to insist on the expulsion of his uncle, Doorjun Saul, from the Bhurtpore state. They thus involuntarily were forced to recognize the justice of Sir David Ochterlony's views on this disputed subject, and drawn into a contest which a prompt support of his vigorous and manly policy would have probably prevented, by inducing submission on the part of the usurping rajah. Now, however, it was not so easy a matter to effect the object, for during the long period of the Governor-general's indecision the defenses of Bhurtpore had been greatly strengthened, and the discontented had flocked to it from all parts of Hindostan, as the last but impregnable bulwark against the British power. This last opinion had very generally prevailed in India ever since the memorable repulse of the British assault at the close of the Mahratta war, recorded in a former work; and it had acquired so great a moral influence that it had become indispensable, at all hazards, to deceive the nation on the subject. Even the Governor-general, in direct opposition to his former asseverations to Sir D. Ochterlony, was now obliged to admit this in an official document. "The right of Rajah Bulwunt Singh," said Sir Charles Metcalfe, the new Resident at Delhi, in a letter to the Governor-general, "is unquestioned and unquestionable; and it seems wonderful that with so bad a cause Doorjun Saul should be able to think of opposition to a predominant power, which seeks only to render justice to the lawful prince. But notwithstanding the injustice of the usurpation, which every one admits, he will probably receive support, from the circumstance of his placing himself in opposition to the British Government as the defender of Bhurtpore.¹ It must be known to the right honorable the Governor in council that this fortress is considered throughout India as an insuperable check to our power, and the person who undertakes to hold it against us will be encouraged in his

he added, by the attainment of the highest military honors of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions an access to those tokens of royal favor which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition. The diplomatic talents of Sir D. Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military qualifications. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the Government reposed in an individual gifted with such rare endowments, was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the public interest."—THORNTON, v. 135 (note).

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venture by its former successful defense, and by the good-will of all who dislike our ascendancy, whatever may be the injustice of the cause."

The determination of the British Government being thus in the end taken, a proclamation was on 25th November issued by Sir Charles Metcalfe, denouncing the usurpation of Doorjun Saul, and declaring the intention of the Governor-general to support the pretensions of the youthful and rightful prince. The preparations made were immense, and suited to the magnitude of the enterprise undertaken, upon the success of which it was felt that not merely the moral influence of the British in India, but the maintenance of their dominion in it was dependent. LORD COMBERMERKE, formerly Sir Stapleton Cotton, so well known as a gallant and successful cavalry officer under Wellington in Spain, who had succeeded Sir Edward Paget as commander-in-chief in India, took the command in person of the force advancing against Bhurtpore, which consisted of 21,000 men, including two European regiments of cavalry and five of infantry, with an immense train of 100 pieces of siege artillery, which extended on the line of march, with the reserve parks, to fifteen miles. On approaching Bhurtpore with this formidable force, Lord Combermere, with great humanity, addressed two several communications to Doorjun Saul, offering a safe-conduct and safe passage through his camp to the whole women and children in the fortress, which the rajah declined, actuated by the Oriental jealousy of any interference with women, and dreading the same duplicity in his enemies of which he was conscious in himself.¹

The former siege, unsuccessfully undertaken by Lord Lake, had demonstrated that the strength of Bhurtpore consisted mainly in its mud walls of tenacious clay, which neither splintered nor crumbled under the stroke of the bullet, and in which missiles of the heaviest description sunk without any serious injury to the works. So formidable had these difficulties been, that repeated assaults of the British had been repulsed with extraordinary loss from the fire of the defenses not having been silenced, and the breaches not sufficiently cleared when the attacks were made. So elated had the natives been with this successful defense, that they built a bastion, which they called the "Bastion of Victory," and which they vauntingly declared was formed of the blood and bones of Englishmen. The garrison now consisted of 20,000 men, and 146 guns were mounted on the ramparts. The numbers of the enemy were less formidable than their spirit, for they were composed of Rajpoots and Afghans, the most warlike and courageous in India, and they were fully convinced that their fortress would prove impregnable, as it had withstood the assaults of Lord Lake. The siege was looked to with the most intense interest from every part of India, not only from the great amount of treasure which had been brought there as a secure place of deposit from every part of the country,² but from the belief generally entertained that it was never destined to be

80.
Increased disturbances at Bhurtpore, and interference of the British.
Sep. 18, 1825.

81.
Commencement of the war, and forces of the British.
Nov. 25, 1825.

¹ Martin, 427; Thornton, v. 154-157.

82.
Commencement and difficulties of the siege.

² Crichton's Siege of Bhurtpore, 150-152; Thornton, v. 150; Martin, 426, 427.

taken, and that against its ramparts the tide of British invasion would beat in vain.

Notwithstanding the warning given by the former siege, it was determined to proceed by the ordinary method of the siege. approaches by sap, and finally breaching the rampart from the edge of the counter-scarp. A sally of 200 horse having been repulsed with heavy loss on the 27th December, and the trenches armed, the advanced batteries opened on the 28th December, and by the 4th January they had produced a visible effect, though so inconsiderable as to suggest doubts with regard to the chances of success by that mode of attack. Fortunately, the Commander-in-Chief now adopted the suggestions of Major-General Galloway, an officer of great talents and experience in the warfare against mud forts, and Lieutenant Forbes, of the Engineers, a young officer of uncommon energy and genius,* and resolved to prosecute the siege by means of mines. Under the direction of these skillful engineers, the communication between the wet ditches of the fortress and the tank from which they were supplied was cut off, and the moat having been rendered nearly dry, mines were run under it, and one sprung early on the morning of the 7th, though without much effect. A second attempt was made with no better success, the enemy having discovered what was going on, and countermined before any material progress had been made. On the same day an accidental shot from the ramparts set fire to a tumbrel, exploded a magazine, and 20,000 pounds of powder were destroyed. Notwithstanding this disaster, the approaches of the besiegers steadily continued, and on the 16th two mines were exploded under one of the bastions with such effect that a large chasm was made in the rampart. To it, accordingly, the whole fire of the breaching batteries within reach was directed, and with such effect, that before nightfall it as well as another breach were declared practicable, and daybreak on the following morning was appointed for the assault. The attack was to be made in two columns, one headed by General Nicolls with the 59th, another by General Reynell with the 14th. The explosion of a mine charged with 10,000 pounds of powder, which had been run under the northeastern angle of the bastion, was to be the signal for the assault.¹

At eight on the morning of the 18th the mine was sprung, and with terrific effect. The whole of the salient angle, and part of the stone cav-

alier in the rear, were lifted in a mass into the air, and fell again with a frightful crash, which caused the earth to quake for miles around, while the air was involved in total darkness from the prodigious volumes of stones and dust which were thrown up, as from the crater of a volcano, in every direction. Owing to the violence of the explosion, and its having burst in some degree in an unexpected direction, several of the leading files in the front of the stormers were killed or wounded by the fall of the stones, a momentary pause took place in the advance, and Lord Combermere himself, who was far forward, made a narrow escape with his life, two sepoy being killed only two feet in front of him. General Reynell, however, gave the word "Forward," and, putting himself at their head, the whole rushed forward over the ruins with such vigor that in a few minutes the breach was carried amidst shouts from the whole army, which were heard above all the roar of the artillery. The left breach, which was attacked by General Nicolls, was more difficult of access, both from the slope being much steeper and the opening not so entire. Notwithstanding all their valor, the 59th regiment, which headed the storm, was obliged for a few minutes to pause near the summit, and a desperate hand-to-hand contest ensued with the enemy, who defended the pass with unconquerable resolution. At length, the explosion of the mine having swept away three hundred of the defenders, and a loud cheer from the rear encouraged the assailants, a sudden rush was made and the breach was carried. The besieged, however, retreated slowly along the ramparts, and turned every gun to which they came on the pursuers; but the latter charged on with invincible vigor, upset or spiked the guns as they were successively carried, and at length, amidst loud cheers, united with General Nicolls's division above the Kombhur Gate. Bhurtore was taken; the bulwark of Hindostan had fallen; Lord Lake's memory was revenged, and the halo of invincibility had again settled round the brows of the victors.¹

The immediate consequences of this victory were as decisive as the triumph itself. The citadel surrendered early in the afternoon of the same day; and Doorjun Sanl, who at the head of a hundred and sixty chosen horse had attempted to force his way through the besiegers' lines, was intercepted by the able dispositions of General Sleigh, who commanded the cavalry, and made prisoner. All the other fortresses immediately surrendered, and the young rajah, the rightful heir, was seated on the throne, though under the protection of a British resident, in whom the powers of government were substantially vested. The fortifications were immediately destroyed, the principal bastions blown up, and part of the curtain demolished. Among them was the "Bastion of Victory," built, as they boasted, of the blood and bones of the English soldiers; and this was done by some of the very men who had been engaged in the former siege. These successes were not gained without a considerable loss to the victors, of whom 600 fell in the assault; but this was lit-

* Lieutenant William Forbes, of the Bengal Engineers, whose great skill in the conduct of the mines was of such service in the siege of Bhurtore, was the fifth son of John Forbes, Esq., of Blackford, in Aberdeenshire, and a lineal descendant by his mother, Miss Gregory, of the eminent James Gregory, the discoverer of the Gregorian telescope and of fluxions, at the same time with Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton. He inherited all the mechanical and mathematical genius of his ancestor, and having embraced the profession of arms in India, his talents procured for him at Addiscombe an engineer's appointment, and caused him to be intrusted when he went to the East with the construction, and subsequently with the government, of the mint at Calcutta. The Author has a melancholy pleasure in bearing this testimony to the talents and worth of a highly esteemed relative and early friend, now, like so many others, fallen a victim to the climate of India.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1836, 221, 222; Thornton, v. 156, 157; Martin, 426, 427.

84. Assault of the place. January 18.

Ann. Reg. 1836, 222, 223; Thornton, v. 158, 159; Martin, 427.

85. Decisive results of this victory.

tle compared to the carnage among the besieged, of whom 4000 were lost on that disastrous day. Lord Combermere was deservedly made a viscount for his able conduct of this brilliant siege, and Lord Amherst had recently before been advanced a step in the peerage.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1826, 332, 333; Thornton, v. 163, 169; Martin, 427.

The only other event of general importance which occurred during Lord Amherst's administration was the acquisition of Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, which in 1824 were ceded to the British Government by the King of the Netherlands, in exchange for the British settlement of Bencoolen,

in the island of Sumatra. The situation of Singapore at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, eminently favorable for commerce, had led to an English factory being established there before it was formally ceded to our Government; and as soon as this was done, a treaty was concluded with the native princes, which further facilitated our growing commercial intercourse with these distant eastern regions. In December, 1826, a treaty with the Rajah of Nagpore was also concluded, eminently favorable to British influence in India. Lord Amherst returned to England in March 1828, and was succeeded *ad interim* by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, the senior member of the Council, in the duties of government.¹

Aug. 2.

Dec. 17.
1826.

¹ Thornton, v. 170, 173; Martin, 427.

86.
Acquisition of
Singapore, in
the Straits of
Malacca.
1824.

CHAPTER XL.

INDIA FROM THE FALL OF BHURTPORE IN 1814, TO THE AFGHANISTAN DISASTER IN 1842.

THE Burmese war and the capture of Bhurtpore were to our Indian empire what the Peninsular contest and battle of Waterloo were to our European. Both these wars were very protracted, attended with a great expense, and for long of doubtful issue. Both terminated in the establishment of the British power, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, on a solid foundation, and in throwing around it the halo of invincibility, even more efficacious than physical strength in securing the safety and procuring the blessings of peace for nations. Unfortunately, they both led to another result, the natural consequence with short-sighted mortals of the former, and as powerful a cause in inducing danger as that is in averting it. This was a belief that external danger had forever passed away; that the victories gained had rendered future peril impossible; and that the nation, alike in the East and West, might now with safety repose on its laurels, and reap in peace, under a very reduced expenditure, the fruits of the toils and the dangers of war. How far this delusion proceeded in Great Britain, what a lamentable prostration of national strength it occasioned, and what enormous perils it induced, has been fully explained in the former chapter, and will still more appear in the sequel of this work. But the mania of retrenchment was not less powerful with the Indian government than with the nation and its rulers at home; and as the former was more in presence of danger, and was not encircled with the ocean, which has so often rescued the parent State from the perils induced by its folly, the catastrophe came sooner, and was of a more alarming character, in the East than in the West. The thirteen years of peace which followed the taking of Bhurtpore, were nothing but a long preparation for the Afghanistan disaster in India, as the thirty-nine years' peace which followed the battle of Waterloo in Europe, was for the perils which were averted from the nation only by the heroic valor of her sons in the Crimea.

In justice to the Indian government, it must be added that they had much need of retrenchment, for the cost of the preceding wars had been enormous, and brought the finances of the empire into a very alarming state. The war with Ava, in particular, combined as it was in its later stages with that of Bhurtpore, had been attended with a very heavy expense. In the two years of 1824 and 1825, no less than £19,000,000 had been raised by loans; and at the close of the Amherst administration the financial prospects of the country were of a most alarming complexion. A deficit of £1,500,000 existed in the yearly exchequer, and it had then been found, what subsequent experience has too fa-

tally verified, that any attempt to raise the revenue, whether direct or indirect, by augmenting the rate of taxation, not only would be vain, but, by ruining the cultivators, would prove eminently prejudicial. In the Madras presidency in particular, where the "Perpetual Settlement" did not exist, and the ryotwar system admitted of attempts, by exacting increased rents for the land, to augment the public revenue, the ruin induced upon the cultivators had been such as to cause the public revenue to decline in the most alarming manner. Something, therefore, absolutely required to be done, to bring the income and expenditure of the empire nearer to an equality; and it appeared to the government, that as it had been found to be impossible to augment the former, nothing remained but as much as possible to diminish the latter.¹

Unfortunately for India, there was a third method of remedying the financial difficulties of the country, which it did not enter into the contemplation either of the Government at home or that in India to adopt, probably because it threatened some interests at home, or required an increased expenditure in the first instance abroad; and that was, to increase the capacity of India to bear an increased expenditure, by augmenting the resources of its industry. To do this, however, required the opening of the English market to the produce of Indian industry on the liberal terms of entire reciprocity, and a considerable expenditure on canals and irrigation in India—the first of which thwarted the jealous commercial spirit of Great Britain, while the last ran directly counter to the economical spirit which at that time was so prevalent both with the India Directors and the British Government. No relaxation of our prohibitory protection code, even in favor of our own subjects in Hindostan, was then thought of; and to such a length did this system go in blighting the native industry in India, that it was stated some years after in Parliament, by one of the ablest and best informed men who ever returned from that country, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson: "I will take this opportunity of expressing a hope that, while such active exertions are made to extend the manufactures of England, we should also do something for the manufactures of India. At present, our cottons and woollens are admitted into India on payment of a duty of 2½ per cent., while at the same time a duty of 10 per cent. is charged upon the manufactures of India imported into Great Britain. A few years ago, in Dacca alone, 50,000 families obtained the means of subsistence by the cotton manufactures, but from the commercial policy this country has pursued with regard to India, not one tenth of the number are now employed in this

1. Consequences of these triumphs in causing an undue reduction of national forces.

1 Wilson's Continuation of Mill, ix. 324; Martin, 483; Thornton, v. 222, 223.

3. No one thought of relaxing the commercial code of India.

2. Embarrassed state of the Indian finances.

branch of industry. I trust this system will soon be abandoned, and that articles produced by the natives of India will be admitted into England on payment of a small duty." Such was the effect in the East of the system so much vaunted in this country, whereby the manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow were able to undersell the weavers of Hindostan in the manufacture of an article which grew on the banks of the Ganges.¹

¹ *Parl. Deb.* July 22, 1833; dersell the weavers of Hindostan in the manufacture of an article which grew on the banks of the Ganges.¹ Thornton, v. 336.

Government having decided upon the diminution of expenditure, not the increase of the productive powers of native industry, the most peremptory orders were sent out with the Governor-general who succeeded Lord Amherst, LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK. The character of this nobleman, and the circumstances under which he assumed the reins of power, were singularly favorable to the full development, for good or for evil, of the economising policy. He obtained his appointment in consequence of the connection of Mr. Canning with the Portland family, of which he was a younger son; and he left England at a time when economy was the order of the day with all parties, and every successive ministry was striving to outbid its predecessor in the race for popularity, by reductions in the national armaments and consequent relaxation of taxation. His personal character and ruling principles were eminently calculated to give effect to these maxims of government in the boundless empire over which his rule extended. A "Liberal," as he himself said, "to the very core," he had in the close of the war brought the Government into no small embarrassment, when in command in the Mediterranean, by an imprudent and unauthorized proclamation to the

Europe, c. Genoeze, in which he promised them the restoration of their ancient independent form of government.² Without the powerful mind which discerns the truth through all the mists with which popular passion and prejudice so often envelop it, he had respectable abilities, and a great facility in embracing and carrying out the leading principles of the day. His heart was in the right place. His intentions were always good, his views benevolent, his aspirations after an increase of human felicity; and yet he did more than any one else to endanger our Eastern dominions, and in the end brought unnumbered misfortunes upon it. Such is too often the result of inconsiderate or ill-informed benevolence. Yet are these disastrous consequences not to be ascribed entirely, or even chiefly, to Lord William Bentinck, as an individual: they were the result of the faults of the age, of the opinions of which he was the exponent and instrument rather than the director.

The new Governor-general arrived at Calcutta in July, 1828, and the very first acts of his administration gave an earnest of what was to be the tone of his administration. For above thirty years past, ever since 1796, a dispute had subsisted between the Government at home and the native army in India, called the *half-batta question*. The payment was not of any great amount—not exceeding £20,000 a year—but several peremptory regulations on

the subject had been sent out by the Court of Directors, which had been evaded by successive governors-general, better acquainted than the rulers at home with the wants of, and the necessity of propitiating, the army. Now, however, they had found a Governor-general prepared to carry out their projects of economy to their full extent; and on 29th November, 1828, they were promulgated by general orders from the Governor-general, and became law in India. The dangerous consequences of this unhappy reduction were clearly perceived at the time by those best acquainted with the country: Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, the members of the Council, regarded it with undisguised apprehension; and the resignation by Lord Combermere of the situation of commander-in-chief, which he had held only four years, was mainly owing to his aversion to the same change. Even Lord W. Bentinck himself in the end came to be convinced of its inexpediency, for in a minute recorded by him in August, 1834, he thus adverted to it: "Trifling as this deduction is upon the aggregate amount of the pay of the Bengal army, it has been severely felt by the few upon whom it has fallen, and has created in all an alarm of uncertainty as to their future condition, which has produced more discontent than the measure itself." But all this notwithstanding, the measure was carried into execution, and produced an amount of irritation and discontent in our Indian army, which might have seriously, and for a mere trifle, endangered the existence of our Eastern empire, if its effects had not been neutralized, as the faults of persons in authority so often are in this country, by the virtue and patriotic spirit of the subordinate officers suffering by the change.¹ Thornton, v. 316-324; Martin, 428.

This innovation was the harbinger of others of still greater importance in a pecuniary point of view, though not so perilous from the irritation with which they were attended. A "rule of service," as it was called, was introduced into the civil departments, by which, as was most reasonable, the remuneration of the servants was to be regulated in some degree by the time during which they had performed their duties. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of the civil servants in India enjoy large salaries; but they can not be considered as excessive if the unhealthiness of the climate to European constitutions, and the banishment imposed upon them for a large, and the best period of their lives, are taken into consideration. This change of Lord W. Bentinck's must be considered as just and salutary, because it tended to make the remuneration of civil servants depend in some degree on the length of their services in the employment of the State. But the same can not be said of another regulation, by which every superior officer, court, and board, was required to make periodical reports on the character and conduct of every person in the employment of the Company, a practice which, as tending to establish a universal system of espionage, was generally disliked and soon abolished. Equally questionable was a regulation he made shortly before leaving India, whereby corporal punishment was wholly abolished in the Indian army. That it would be a most desirable

² *His first measures of economy.* Nov. 29, 1828. First acts of his administration gave an earnest of what was to be the tone of his administration. For above thirty years past, ever since 1796, a dispute had subsisted between the Government at home and the native army in India, called the *half-batta question*. The payment was not of any great amount—not exceeding £20,000 a year—but several peremptory regulations on

⁶ Further economical reforms.

thing, if practicable, to get quit of this degrading and inhuman punishment in an honorable profession, is indeed certain, and probably the high social position of the sepoy renders dismissal from the service a punishment extremely dreaded, and which in pacific quarters may enable commanding officers in a great measure to dispense with the lash. But in actual war, and in presence of the enemy, when imprisonment is impossible, and dismissal would only weaken the army, no other punishment will ever be found either practicable or efficacious; and at all events, it was to the last degree impolitic to abolish a punishment in the native ranks which was, and is still, retained for the troops of Great Britain.

But all other measures of Lord W. Bentinck sink into insignificance when compared with the immense and wholesale reduction of the army, which went on during the whole time that he held the reins of power. So incessant and considerable was this reduction, that the native army in the employment of the Company, which in 1825 had been 246,125, had sunk in 1835 to only 152,938 men, without any increase whatever in the European troops in India, which in both periods were about 80,000.* This immense reduction, amounting to nearly 100,000 men in ten years, took place too when there was no diminution whatever in the dangers of the empire, or in the necessity for a large military establishment, but, on the contrary, a great increase in both from the vast extension of our empire, which daily brought it into contact with a wider circle. All such considerations, so overwhelming to the thinking few, so utterly disregarded by the unthinking many, were drowned in the senseless cry for economy and reduction at any cost, which at that period pervaded the people of Great Britain, and forced itself both upon the Government at home and the East India Company. It must be admitted that these prodigious and sweeping reductions did effect a very great diminution in the expenditure of India, inasmuch that, instead of an annual deficit, which the periods of the Pindarree and Burmese wars had exhibited, a surplus was presented, which at the close of Lord W. Bentinck's administration in 1835 amounted to no less than £10,000,000 sterling. But at what price was this treasure accumulated? At the cost of the most imminent peril to the empire, shaken to its foundations by the Afghanistan disaster, and in the fields of the Punjab.¹

A circumstance peculiar to India tended very much to augment the dangers of this great reduction of the military force in that country, and that was the frequent abstraction of officers from the native regiments to fill diplomatic or other civil situations in the service of Government. Economy was the chief motive for this practice: the diplomatic servant was got at a less rate because he continued to enjoy his pay; and it was also thought in many cases that the vigor and decision of a man trained to military duties were more suitable to the semi-military duties of resident at the native courts, than the

habits of civilians would be. But with whatever diplomatic advantages such a practice might be attended, nothing is more certain than that it was to the last degree prejudicial to the army. It not only deprived the officers so abstracted of a large part of their military experience, but it rendered them strangers to their men. Neither had confidence in the other, because neither knew each other. That most essential element in military vigor and efficiency, *a thorough trust and confidence between officers and men*, was wanting, when those engaged in the diplomatic service only rejoined their regiments when hostilities actually broke out. To this cause, as much as to the great proportion of the native army which was composed of young soldiers when the war in Afghanistan and the Punjab broke out, the narrow escape from total ruin is mainly to be ascribed. And to the same cause is to be referred the fact so frequently observed in the later wars in India, that the sepoys were often not to be relied upon, and that they were very different from the veterans of Coote and Clive. They were so because they wanted the essential element of military power in all countries, but above all in Asia, that of a thorough acquaintance and confidence between officers and men.

When there is so much to lament in Lord William Bentinck's administration, it is consolatory to reflect that there are some particulars to which qualified praise is due. The first of these is the abolition in the British dominions of the terrible practice of widows immolating themselves on the funeral-pile of their husbands, known by the name of *suttee*. This was effected under Lord William Bentinck's administration by a simple enactment declaring the practice illegal, and subjecting all concerned in aiding or abetting it to the pains of manslaughter. It had the immediate effect of putting an end to this atrocious practice, which has never since been practiced, except by stealth, in the British dominions. Contrary to what was generally supposed, this blessed change was effected without shocking the religious feelings of the natives, or disturbance of any kind—a fact which demonstrates that this abominable practice had not its origin in the religious feelings of the country, but sprang from a different and much more impure source. It originated in the selfish cupidity of the unhappy widow's relatives, who inherited her fortune when the sacrifice was consummated, and forced her to submit to it for their aggrandizement. It is to the lasting honor of the British Government, and Lord William Bentinck's administration, that they put an end to such frightful sacrifices, brought about for such base and selfish ends.¹

The other act of wise beneficence, or rather salutary justice, which distinguished Lord William Bentinck's administration, was the destruction of the destructive tribe of *Thugs*, or Phansigars, who had long infested some provinces of India. This sect of fanatics, whose principles and practices were such that they would pass for fabulous if not attested by contemporary and undoubted evidence, were for the most part thieves and murderers of hereditary descent, who, with-

* See Chap. xxxix. § 25, note, where the numbers for each year are given.

9. Abolition of the Suttee. May 10, 1829.

1 Thornton, v. 335; Martin, 428, 429.

10. Destruction of the Thugs, 1831.

out industry, employment, or occupation, lived a wandering life, going about the country robbing unsuspecting victims, whom they immediately after murdered. With such dexterity were their assassinations effected, and so effectually was all trace of them concealed, that hundreds and thousands of unhappy persons perished every year under their hands, no one knew how, and were buried no one knew where. Distinguished by no mark or characteristic from the ordinary inhabitants of the country, they yet formed a fraternity apart, held together by secret signs, oaths, and terror, and whose principles were as fixed for the work of destruction as those of the freemasons are for that of charity. They made no use of daggers or poison in effecting their assassinations; a strip of cloth or an unfolded turban was sufficient to strangle their victim, who was immediately plundered and buried with surprising skill and celerity. The foundation of their creed was the fatal doctrine of necessity, of which they held themselves out as being the mere blind instruments. "Is any man killed by man's killing? Are we not instruments in the hands of God?" was their favorite argument. Having obtained information from some of their number of the principal haunts and ramifications of this terrible society, Lord William Bentinck hunted them out, and ran them down without mercy. From the time when pursuit commenced, in 1830, to 1835, above 2000 of them were seized and tried, and either executed, transported, or imprisoned at Indore, Hyderabad, Sangor, and Jubbulpoor. For a time, the fanaticism of the sect, and the long impunity which their crimes had enjoyed, sustained them at the judgment-seat and on the scaffold. But at length, when many of the most notorious leaders had been tried and executed, their resolution gave way; numbers purchased a pardon by a full confession. Such as could effect it sought safety in flight; and at length the confederacy was broken up, and the memory of it, like that of the Old Man of the Mountain in the Lebanon, will survive as one of the darkest and most incredible episodes in human history.¹

Another important change, possibly fraught with great consequences in future times, was the abolition of the forfeiture which formerly existed of civil rights on a proselyte's conversion to Christianity. This was considered a most perilous innovation in a country so subjugated by religious intolerance as Hindostan; but it was introduced with so much caution, and so judiciously worded, that it excited little or no commotion even when first introduced, and when it was most to be apprehended. Probably the professors and teachers of the ancient superstition deemed it so strongly rooted in the prejudices and feelings of the people, nursed by thousands of years' customs, that no danger was to be apprehended to it from any possible facility given to conversion to another and a purer faith. Perhaps, too, the number of creeds—Brahmin, Musulman, Christian, Jews, Fire-worshippers, and Buddhists—which pervaded the country, had rendered the inhabitants indifferent to any attempt to introduce a new creed, and incapable of uniting together in any common measures to

resist it. Toleration of other creeds, provided their own is not interfered with, is the ruling principle in India, as it must be in all countries inhabited by the professors of many, and successively subjected to the dominion of all. Certain it is, that since these legal impediments have been removed, the progress of Christianity in India has not been materially increased, at least among the superior classes, and that the proselytes in the lower, of whom so much is said, are generally looked down upon by their compatriots, and too often enrolled under the banners of the Cross by poverty, necessity, or other motives than the influence of mental illumination. The reason is obvious; they are not fitted to receive it, and will not be so for ages to come. Christianity requires previous mental training. Our Saviour was not sent into the world in the days of Pharaoh, but in those of Cæsar; and when He did appear, it was not in the extremities of civilization, but in its centre, midway between the arts of Greece and the ¹ Martin, 429; learning of Egypt, the wealth of Thornton, v. Persia and the legions of Rome.² 185, 186.

The administration of Lord William Bentinck being one of external peace, and of ¹² a strenuous endeavor to diminish Political the public expenditure and right transactions of Lord W. Bentinck's administration. April 6, 1834. the finances of the State, the political transactions of the period, though not without their importance in India, may be summarily dismissed in a work of general history. The most important of them, the deposition of the Rajah of Coorg, and the conversion of his mountainous principality into a province of the Madras presidency, was effected in April, 1834. A domestic quarrel with his sister, for whom he entertained a criminal passion, and her husband, which led them to seek the protection of the British Government, and numerous acts of tyranny on his part toward his unfortunate subjects, formed the grounds for this invasion, which was better founded in his misgovernment than in any right of interference on our part. It took place on 6th April, 1834, in four divisions, and encountered very little opposition, though the mountaineers were brave and determined, in consequence of the indisposition of the rajah to enter the lists with the powerful Company, which had long been the protector of his family. When possession was taken of the rajah's palace, ample evidence both of the determination and atrocity of his character was discovered. Piles of fire-wood were found in different parts of the building, apparently with the intention of setting it on fire; and the bodies of seventeen persons of both sexes, including three relatives of the rajah, were found in a pit in a jungle. Not a single male of the royal house, except the rajah, had been allowed to survive. His prime minister, and the chief instigator of these atrocities, was found dead in a wood, hanging from the branch of a tree. The deposed rajah became a pensioner on liberal terms of the East India Company, and some years ago came to this country, accompanied by an infant daughter, to whom Queen ³ Thornton, Victoria had the kindness to stand v. 305-315; as godmother.³ She is educated in Martin, 429, the Christian religion—the first link, 430; Warren ii. 176, 214. in high rank, between the native

princes and the faith destined one day to overspread the earth.

Political arrangements of some moment took place with Oude, Nagpore, Mysore, Jeypoor, and other small Indian states, which do not deserve a place in general, whatever they may do in Indian history. But an event of the deepest interest to the whole world

occurred during this administration—one of the many, and not the least important effects which steam-navigation has bequeathed to the world. This was the opening of the “overland route,” as it is called, to India by the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Red Sea, and the consequent reduction of the period of transit from four or five months to six weeks. So great an advantage in many respects has this change proved, that this has now become the general mode of transit for passengers to India, leaving the passage round the Cape of Good Hope chiefly for sailing vessels laden with cargoes. The first voyage between Suez and Bombay was made by the *Hugh Lindsay*, in 1830, and occupied thirty days. It is now usually done in fourteen or sixteen. The effects of this change have undoubtedly been to diminish to less than one-half the distance to India, and augment in a similar proportion the facility of sending troops and supplies to our Eastern dominions. The ease with which two splendid regiments of horse were sent, in 1855, from India to the Crimea is a proof of this. Yet is this change not without its dangers, which may come in process of time to overbalance all its advantages. By reducing to nearly a third the time required for corresponding with Hindostan, it has brought the country under the direct control of the East India Company, to an extent which was impossible when the communication could be kept up only by a voyage of five or six months round the Cape. It has thus substituted the government of the many at home, necessarily imperfectly informed, for that of one on the spot, surrounded with all the means of accurate local knowledge. Whether this will eventually prove a change for the better, time will show; but certain it is that our Indian empire has never been in such peril as it has frequently been since it was introduced; and the experience of the Crimean campaign gives no countenance to the idea that a war-council or single will in Paris or London can be advantageously substituted for the unshackled directions of a real commander-in-chief on the spot.

Lord William Bentinck quitted India in May, 1835, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, the senior member of the Council in the government of Calcutta. The brief administration of this able and experienced public servant was signalized by a change which, at first sight, would seem to be of incalculable importance, but which in practice has not been attended by the vast results for good or for evil which might naturally have been anticipated from it. This was the entire removal of the restrictions on the press, which, although seldom enforced, still existed in India. It is remarkable that these restrictions had applied only to Europeans; and, accordingly, when Mr. Silk Buckingham was re-

moved from India some years before, on account of some intemperance in his published writings, his journal, was continued by an Anglo-Indian, to whom the power of banishment did not apply. Now, however, all restrictions on the press, whether in the hands of Europeans or natives, were removed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the Indian press was rendered, and has ever since continued, as free as that of Great Britain.

It is a curious circumstance that Sir Charles Metcalfe, by whom, irrespective of any orders from the East India Company, and even in opposition to their wishes, this great change was introduced, had, in 1825, deprecated it in the strongest terms, as tending to enable “the natives to throw off our yoke,” and had, in a recorded minute of Council in October, 1830, expressed in sharp language, the evils attendant on the proceedings of Government finding their way into the public newspapers. The vast alteration made between this period and 1835 in the frame of the monarchy, and the ruling influences at home, can alone account for so remarkable a change of opinion. Experience, however, has now proved that the innovation has by no means been attended with the dangerous consequences which were at first anticipated from it, and that Sir Charles Metcalfe’s later opinion was the better founded of the two. Nothing can be more certain than that in an empire of such extent, ruled by foreigners, won and preserved by the sword, numerous abuses in every department must have sprung up, which can only be checked or exposed by a free and independent press. The melancholy fact, which recent times have brought to light, that, in spite of its warning voice, torture is still practiced by the native tax-collectors under the English rule in several parts of India, is a sufficient proof of this. The reason why the freedom of the press, though attended with some inconvenience, has been followed by no dangerous consequences as yet, is obvious. It exists in what, to the immense majority of the people, is a foreign and unknown language. Nothing is perilous, in the way of exciting commotion, but what is intelligible to the masses. The most violent political diatribes may be safely addressed to the people of Germany in English, or of England in French; and however much the demoralizing effect of the licentious press of London may be dreaded, no man ever felt any fears from the publication of new editions in the British capital: Martin, 481. of the works in the original language of Ovid or Arctin.¹ 239-241.

Lord Heytesbury was appointed by Sir R. Peel, during his brief tenure of office in the spring of 1835, to succeed Lord William Bentinck. But before he had started for India the change of Ministry in favor of the Whigs took place, and they annulled the appointment, and substituted LORD AUCKLAND in his room, who forthwith proceeded to his destination, and held the office of Governor-general during the next six eventful years. The character of this nobleman, which was amiable and unambitious, seemed well calculated to carry out the pacific policy which the East India Company, with sincerity and earnestness, never fail to impress upon their viceroys. At the farewell banquet

14. Sir Charles Metcalfe’s interim government, and liberation of the press in India.

16. Character of Lord Auckland.

given to him by the Company, he said "that he looked with exultation to the new prospect opening before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, of improving the administration of justice in India, of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to India." These were his genuine sentiments; all who heard the words felt that he was sincere. He had no taste for the din and confusion of a camp—no thirst for foreign conquest. Simple and unobtrusive in his manners, of a mild and unimpassioned temperament, of a gentle and retiring nature, he was as anxious to shun as others are to court notoriety. His only object was to pass his allotted span of government in measures of external peace and domestic improvement. Yet under his administration arose the most terrible war in which our Indian empire had ever been engaged; under his sway was sustained a disaster as great as the destruction of the legions of Varus! So much is man the creature of circumstances, and so little is the most strongly-marked individual disposition, or that of collective bodies of men, able to control the current of events, in which both, in public life, often find themselves irreversibly involved.

The first important measure of Lord Auckland's administration was one little ^{17.} Deposition of in accordance with these pacific professions, and the morality of which has excited much difference of opinion among the writers on Indian affairs. This was the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara, who had been placed on the throne of his ancestors by the East India Company itself in 1818, and had since governed his subjects, according to their own admission, with moderation and humanity, and engaged in the prosecution of public works of lasting utility. The charge made against him proceeded from a corrupt and vindictive brother, who accused him of the most extravagant designs against the British empire in India, and of having corresponded for a course of years with the Portuguese authorities in Goa, with a view to engage them in an alliance against the British Government, to recover for the rajah the Mahratta territories of which the confederacy had been deprived by Lord Hastings's victories. Extravagant as these projects were, they were distinctly proved to have been entertained by him; and as he was a prince of a weak intellect and very slender information, their absurdity was not so apparent to him as it would be to the worst-informed European. More serious charges were brought against him of having been tampering with sepoy soldiers, and corresponding, in a way hostile to British interests, with the ex-rajah of Nagpore, a man of infamous character and well-known hatred to the Company's government.

Sept. 4, 1839. The result was that Sir James Carnac, the governor of Bombay, required him to sign an acknowledgment of his guilt, and he would be forgiven. He refused, and was deposed, and the government bestowed on his brother, who had given the information which led to his ruin. More important events, however, were now impending, and Great Britain became involved in negotiations ^{1.} Thornton, vi. 22-26; Martia, 433. and military operations of the highest importance, and which, in their

final result, shook the British empire in the East to its foundations.

THE NORTH is the quarter from which, in every age, the independence of India has been seriously threatened, its plains ravaged, and its dynasties subverted. Twelve times within the limits of authentic and recorded history the Tartars have burst through the snowy barrier of the Himalaya, and descended upon the plains at their feet: the Macedonians in one age under Alexander, the Persians in another under Nadir Shah, have carried their victorious standards over northern India; and even the Afghans have often left their inhospitable mountains, and returned to them laden with the spoils and the trophies of Hindostan. More than half the modern inhabitants of India are the descendants of the savage warriors from the north who in different ages have overspread its territories, and left permanent traces of their victories in the language, the religion, and the customs of their descendants. It is these repeated conquests from the north which is the chief cause of the inability at this time to resist the British power; for the country is inhabited by the descendants of successive conquerors so much at variance with each other, that they can not now unite even for measures of mutual defense or the maintenance of their common independence. Till a new and more formidable enemy appeared on the ocean in the ships of England, India had never been conquered but from the north, and was ruled by the Mogul princes, the descendants of the chiefs of the last swarm of these dreaded Tartar conquerors.

Persia is the first and most powerful barrier of Hindostan against the irruptions ^{19.} Persia is the of these northern barbarians. No considerable army can enter India by land but through its territory; and the transit of the stony girdle of the globe which separates its lofty plains from Hindostan, difficult and dangerous at all times, is only practicable to the power which has subdued or is in alliance with Persia. Only two roads practicable for artillery or carriages are to be found in the vast snowy ridge, varying from 18,000 to 25,000 feet in height, which shuts in, over its whole northern frontier, the plains of Hindostan. All the Asiatic conquerors, accordingly, who have aspired to or effected the conquest of India, have commenced with the regions of Khorassan and either the passage of the Barmian Pass, or that which leads from Herat to Candahar; and the route pursued by Alexander from Babylon by Balkh, Cabul, and Attock, or that followed by Timour by Herat, Candahar, and Cabul, are those which all other armies have followed, and which to the end of the world will be pursued by those who are attracted in Asia from its cold and desolate upland plains by the wealth of Delhi, or the warmth and riches of the regions of the sun.

But Persia is not the only state which lies between India and the Asiatic barbarians who constantly threaten it from the north. After leaving the arid and lofty valleys of Khorassan, the traveler, before he enters Hin-

^{18.} The North is the quarter from which India is threatened.

^{19.} Persia is the chief barrier against the north.

^{20.} Afghanistan is the next barrier: description of it.

dostan, has to traverse for many a long and weary day the mountains of **AFGHANISTAN**. This wild and mountainous region, part of the offshoots of the vast Himalaya range, is for the most part situated to the south of the crest of the ridge. It is a vast quadrangular mass of mountains, containing 5,000,000 of inhabitants, interposed between Northern and Southern Asia. Such is the rugged and impracticable nature of the country, that it can be traversed only in a few valleys, the waters of which descend from the summit of the ridge toward Hindostan, and which from the earliest ages have constituted the well-known and only routes from the northward into its burning plains. These roads either pass through Herat, and reach Cabul by Furrah and Candahar, or else cross the Bamian Pass at the upper extremity of the valley of Cabul, and divide in their descent toward Hindostan, some going by the Bolan Pass into the western territories of India, but the chief by the celebrated Khyber Pass direct to Attock on the upper Indus. It is by the latter route that Alexander the Great, Timour, Nadir Shah, and all the great conquerors of India, have penetrated into the country watered by the Indus and the Ganges. The valley in which Cabul is situated, 6000 feet above the sea, is wide, fertile for a mountain region, and abounds with corn, pasture-lands, and the fruits of Europe. But when the road approaches the Khyber Pass, which may be truly called the iron gate of India, it enters a defile above fifty miles in length, often only a few yards in breadth, overhung with terrific precipices on either side, sometimes three or four thousand feet in height, where the mountain-path descends on the edge of a roaring torrent, fed even in the height of summer by the melting of the snows in the mountains above.¹

Like all other mountaineers, the inhabitants of Afghanistan are descended from various races, which, spreading upward from the adjoining valleys and plains on the south and north, have formed a group of races held together by the strong bond of identity of circumstances and common necessity. Brave, independent, and strongly bound by the ties of family and feudal attachment, they are turbulent and vindictive both to strangers and their own countrymen. Their mutual injuries are many, their feuds still more frequent. Blood is ever crying aloud for blood; revenge is deemed the first of the social virtues; retribution the most sacred inheritance transmitted from father to son. Living under a dry, clear, and bracing climate, but subject to extreme vicissitudes of heat and cold, the people are strong and active, and capable of undergoing great fatigue on horseback, the only mode of traveling of which the rugged nature of the country admits. Kindly and considerate to their dependants, the chiefs are served with loyal zeal and devoted fidelity by their clans; and in no part of Asia are the bonds of slavery, whether in the household, the farm, or the tenure, more lightly felt. Hospitable and generous, they receive the stranger without suspicion, and entertain him without stint. In foreign transactions, whether with individuals or other nations, they are often distinguished by the usual fraud and dissimula-

tion of the Asiatics; but when their personal honor is pledged, they have the loyalty and truth of European chivalry. Trade and commerce of every kind are held in utter contempt; they are intrusted to Persians, Hindoos, and Russians, who frequent the bazars and fairs of Herat, Candahar, and Cabul, and supply the rude mountaineers with the broadcloths of Russia, the spices of India, and the manufactures of Ispahan, to the whole extent required by their simple wants and limited means of purchase.¹

The history of Afghanistan, from the earliest times, like that of most mountainous regions, presents an uniform succession of internal feuds, and perpetual changes both in the order of succession in the reigning families, and the houses in which the government of the different tribes was vested, without the regular hereditary succession and right of primogeniture which have in every age been the main pillars of European stability. Supreme power has generally been the prize of a fortunate soldier, and its loss the penalty of an effeminate inmate of the seraglio. Its boundaries have advanced or receded according as an intrepid and skillful captain has pushed its predatory tribes into the adjoining states, or been subjected to their inroads in his own. Even the great conquerors, whose victorious standards have so often traversed Asia like a whirlwind in every direction, have never made any lasting change on its government or its fortunes. Every valley sent forth its little horde of men to swell the tide of conquest, and share in its spoils as long as the career of success lasted, and on such occasions Afghanistan had often proved a most powerful ally to the victor. But it never formed a lasting acquisition to his dominions. When the din of war ceased, and the stream of conquest had rolled past, matters returned to their old state; valley was armed against valley, chieftain against chieftain, tribe against tribe; and the Afghans, left to themselves in their barren hills, ceased to be formidable to the world, till a new conqueror roused them to war, to victory, and to plunder.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the **DOURANEE EMPIRE**, which had risen to pre-eminence in these mountain wilds, embraced a very large territory. It consisted of Afghanistan Proper, part of Khorassan, Cashmere, and the Derajat. Bounded on the north and east by immense and inaccessible snowy ranges, and on the south and west by vast sandy deserts, it opposed to external hostility obstacles of an almost insurmountable character. Spreading over the crest of the great range, it extended from Herat on the west to Cashmere on the east, and from Balkh on the north to Shikarpoor on the south. This extensive region was capable, when its military strength was fully drawn forth, of sending 200,000 horsemen into the field; and it was able, therefore, to furnish the most effective aid to any military power possessed of resources adequate to bringing such immense forces into action. But, like all other mountain states, it was miserably deficient in the means of paying, equipping, or feeding them. From its own resources it could not maintain a standing army of more than twelve thousand

¹ Elphinstone's Cabul, c. iii.; Kaye's Afghanistan, i. 11, 12.

²¹ Character of the Afghans.

¹ Kaye, i. 12, 13; Elphinstone, i. 36, 49; Conolly, i. 34, 37.

²² General character of Afghan history.

²³ Extent of the Douranee Empire in 1810.

men, and unless, therefore, it was powerfully supported by some other State capable of supplying this deficiency, it could not be considered as formidable to either its southern or northern neighbors. Like the Swiss or Circassians, the Afghans make a trade of selling their blood to any foreign nation which will take them into its pay; and the command of its formidable defiles, the gates of India, may at any time be obtained by the power which is rich or wise enough to take that simple method of gaining possession of these important passes.

In the close of the last century, when the Douranee empire was at the zenith of its greatness, and the French government, under the guidance of Napoleon, was bent on striking a decisive blow at Great Britain through its Indian possessions, a formidable coalition was not only possible, but within the bounds of probability. Zemaun Shah was at the head of the Afghans, and all the adjacent tribes, whom he had subjected to his dominion. The memory of the last invasion of the Afghans, which had been entirely successful, served to awaken the utmost alarm in India when it was known that he was openly making preparations for the invasion of Hindostan, and about to descend the Khyber Pass at the head of an innumerable host of those formidable mountaineers. In reality, he was in secret urged on by Napoleon, who had, when in Egypt, been in correspondence with Tippoo Saib for the subversion of the British power in India, and since his fall and his own alliance with Russia, had concluded, in 1801, a treaty with the Emperor Paul for an invasion of India by an European army of seventy thousand men, composed one-half of French, and one-half of Russians. This regular force was to have proceeded by Astrakhan, Herat, Candahar, and Cabul, to Attock on the Indus, and was to have been preceded by Zemaun Shah.

at the head of a hundred thousand Afghans. At the approach of forces so formidable, it was not doubted that the whole native powers of India would rise in a body to expel the hated islanders from their shores.¹

Although Marquis Wellesley, to whom the government of India at this period was intrusted, was well aware of the inability of Afghanistan, without external aid, to invade India, he yet knew what powerful assistance it was capable of rendering to any great power which should attempt that object. He therefore took the most effectual means to avert the danger by entering into close relations with the Court of Persia. With this view he selected a young officer who had been distinguished in the siege of Seringapatam, Captain, afterward Sir JOHN MALCOLM, who was dispatched to Teheran in the end of 1799. With such talent and diplomatic skill did the young envoy, who was thoroughly master of the Oriental languages, acquit himself of his duties, that a treaty, eminently favorable to Great Britain, was concluded soon after his arrival in Persia. He distributed largesses* with a

liberal hand, and the name of England became great in Iran. Before this treaty was concluded, the danger, so far as Zemaun Shah was concerned, had been postponed by an internal war in which he had become involved, which had drawn him from Candahar to Herat. By the treaty it was provided, that "should any army of the French nation attempt to settle, with a view of establishing themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a conjoint force shall be appointed by the two high contracting parties to effect their extirpation." Its original conditions further bound the Persian government to "slay and disgrace" any Frenchman intruding into Persia, and in the event of Zemaun Shah attempting to descend upon India from Candahar, to operate a diversion from the side of Herat. This treaty, however, which the French historians justly condemn as exceeding the bounds of diplomatic hostility, was never formally ratified, and soon became a dead letter, so far as Zemaun Shah was concerned. That dreaded potentate was soon after dethroned by one of his brothers, Mahmoud, made prisoner, and his eyes, according to the inhuman Asiatic custom, put out, as Zemaun himself had done to his own elder brother, whom he had dethroned. The blind and unhappy sovereign sought refuge in the British dominions; and the mighty conqueror, who, it was feared, was to follow in the footsteps of Timour or Genghis Khan, sank into an obscure recipient of British bounty in the city of Loodiana, in Hindostan.²

Time went on, however, and brought its wonted changes on its wings both in Europe and Asia. Napoleon, indeed, never lost sight of his design of striking a decisive blow at England through her Indian possessions; conferences on the subject were renewed with the Emperor Alexander at Erfurth, and such was the magic of the mighty conqueror's name, that all the eloquence and gold of Captain Malcolm were forgotten at the Court of Persia. In 1806 a Persian envoy was dispatched to Paris to congratulate Napoleon on his victories in Europe, and in 1808 a French mission arrived in Persia, and was received with extraordinary distinction, charged with the task of organizing and carrying into effect the long-meditated invasion of India by the combined forces of France and Russia. Lord Minto was the Governor-general, and as Lord Wellesley had sought to establish a counterpoise to French influence in Afghanistan by an alliance with Persia, so now he sought to establish a barrier against Persia in Afghanistan. For this purpose a mission was dispatched to Cabul under the Honorable MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, whose charming work first made the English acquainted with a country destined to acquire a melancholy celebrity in its annals.³ Mr. Elphinstone was very cordially received by Shah Soojah, who had by this time dispossessed his brother Mahmoud in the ever-changing government of Afghanistan, and a treaty was concluded,

* "The expense I have incurred is very heavy, and it is on that score that I am alarmed. Not that it is one farthing more than I have, to the best of my judgment,

thought necessary to answer, or rather further, the ends of my mission, and to support the dignity of the British Government."—CAPTAIN MALCOLM to LORD WELLESLEY, 26th July, 1800. KAYE, I. 8.

24. Threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, and coalition with the French.

¹ Thornton, vi. 100-103; Kaye, I. 9, 10, 26; Martin, 433.

² Rupture with Persia, and alliance with Afghanistan.

25. Treaty with Persia in February, 1801.

³ Thornton, vi. 100-103; Martin, 433; Kaye, I. 10, 50.

whereby that prince bound himself to resist any attempts of the French and Persians to advance through his territories to India.

Not content with thus rearing up a barrier in Afghanistan against the French designs in the East, the British Government endeavored to counteract their influence in the Court of Persia itself.

With this view, two missions were dispatched, the first under Sir John Malcolm from India, the latter, headed by Sir Harford Jones, direct from London. The first was unsuccessful, the Court of Teheran refusing to receive the embassy in person, upon which Sir John Malcolm returned to Bombay. But Sir Harford Jones was more fortunate. Before the mission of which he was the head had arrived at the Persian capital, intelligence had been received of the French disasters in Spain in 1808, and their retreat behind the Ebro; and the increased arrogance of Russia, owing to the alliance of the Court of Teheran with France, had revived the ancient and hereditary animosity of the Persians against the Muscovites. Skillfully availing himself of these circumstances, Sir Harford succeeded in entirely neutralizing the influence of France at the Court of Teheran, and concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Persia and Great Britain. By this treaty the Persian monarch declared null all treaties previously concluded with any European power; engaged not to permit the passage of any European force through his dominions toward India; and in return England engaged, in the event of his being invaded by any European power, to furnish a military force, or in lieu thereof a subsidy in money, with such military stores as might be necessary for the repulsion of the invading force. Although this treaty was only preliminary, and the definitive treaty, in terms or furtherance of it, was only signed in November, 1814, yet it was immediately acted upon, and its first effect was the dismissal of the French mission. The treaty contained two articles regarding Afghanistan, which became of importance in after times. By the first, the Persian government engaged to send an army against the Afghans, to be paid by the English government, in the event of their going to war with that power; by the second the British were restrained from interfering in any war between the Afghans and the Persians, unless their mediation was desired by both parties.¹

The stupendous events which occurred in Europe in 1814 and 1815 entirely removed the danger of French invasion of India, which had been so much the object of dread both to the British and Indian government for fifteen years before. But in its stead succeeded the terror of another power, so much the more formidable as it had been victorious in the bloody strife which had so long distracted Europe, and as its dominions lay not at a distance from, but contiguous to, the Persian provinces. Russia had long been an object of apprehension to the kings of Teheran, and that feeling had been greatly increased since the incorporation of Georgia with the Muscovite dominions had brought the standards of the

Czar over the Caucasus, and into close proximity with the northern provinces of Persia. The great progress, however, made by the British officers who, after the peace of 1814, had been taken into the Persian service, in equipping and drilling a large body of infantry after the European fashion, inspired the government with an undue opinion of their own strength; and Abbas Mirza, the heir to the throne, deemed himself invincible when he had 20,000 of these fine-looking troops to rely on. Inspired with these ideas, the government of Persia in an evil hour rushed into a conflict with Russia, fondly hoping that they would succeed in wresting Georgia from them, and throwing the battalions of the Czar beyond the Caucasus. The event proved how miserably they had been mistaken. To enable Asiatic troops to rival European, it is necessary to give them not only European discipline, but European officers. The Persians, defeated in several battles, were compelled to sue for peace, which they obtained only by abandoning the great fortress of Erivan, and their whole defensible frontier toward the north. The territory thus ceded by the treaty of 1828 to Russia was nearly equal in extent to the whole of England, and brought the Muscovite outposts to within a few days' march of the Persian capital. By this treaty, as Sir Harford Jones justly remarked, "Persia was delivered, bound hand and foot, to the Court of St. Petersburg," and its prostration was the more discreditable to Great Britain that the latter power was bound by the treaty of 1814, in the event of a war between Persia and any European power, either to send an army from India to assist in its defense, or to pay an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand to the Russians during its continuance.¹

As the fatal treaty of 1828 was a turning-point in Eastern politics, and for the first time brought England and Russia into scarcely disguised hostility in central Asia, it is material to look back for half a century, and see what the policy and advances of the latter power have been during that period, and what was the necessity which impelled the British Government at length into the perilous Afghanistan expedition. This can not be so well done as in the words of the able diplomatist who has so long had charge of the interests of England at the Court of Persia: "A reference to the map," says Sir John McNeill, "will show that, within the last half-century, Russia has advanced her frontier in every direction, and that even the Caspian Sea, which appeared to oppose an impediment to her progress, she has turned to advantage by appropriating it to herself. It will be seen that the plains of Tartary have excited her cupidity, while the civilized states of Europe have been dismembered to augment her dominions. Not content with this, she has crossed over into America, and there disputes, in direct violation of her engagements to England, the right of our merchants to navigate the rivers that debouch on its western coasts. It will be seen that the acquisitions she has made from Sweden are greater than what remains of that ancient kingdom; that her acquisitions from Poland are as large as the whole Austrian empire; that the territory she

¹ See the Treaty, Nov. 15, 1814; Martin's Sup.; Thornton, vi. 104-107; Kaye, i. 88, 89.

^{28.} Jealousy of Russia comes in place of that of France in the East.

¹ Thornton, vi. 110-116; Kaye, i. 145-147.

^{29.} Progression and rapid advances of Russia in the East.

has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of her Rhenish provinces; that her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal in extent to the whole smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland taken together; that the country she has conquered from Persia is about the size of England; that her acquisitions in Tartary have an area equal

to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy and Spain; and that the territory she has acquired since 1772 is greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time."¹

"Every portion of these vast acquisitions, except, perhaps, that in Tartary, has been obtained in opposition to the views, the wishes, and the interests of England. In sixty-four years she has advanced her frontier eight hundred and fifty miles toward Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Paris; she has approached four hundred and fifty miles nearer to Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a few miles of the capital of Sweden, from which, when Peter the Great mounted the throne, she was distant three hundred miles. Since that time she has stretched herself forward about a thousand miles toward India, and the same distance toward the capital of Persia. The regiment that is now stationed at her farthest frontier-post on the western shores of the Caspian, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow as onward to Attock on the Indus, and is actually farther from St. Petersburg than from Lahore, the capital of the Sikhs. The battalions of the Russian imperial guard that invaded Persia, found, at the conclusion of the war, that they were as near to Herat as to the banks of the Don, that they had already accomplished half the distance from their capital to Delhi, and that from their camp in Persia they had as great a distance to march back to St. Petersburg as onward to the capital of Hindoostan. Meanwhile the Moscow *Gazette* threatens to dictate at Calcutta the next peace with England, and Russia never ceases to urge the Persian government to accept from it, free of all cost, officers to discipline its troops, and arms and artillery for its soldiers, at the same time that her own battalions are ready to march into Persia whenever the Shah, to whom their services are freely offered, can be induced to require their assistance."²

"The weight due to the important facts stated in this striking passage, and which every one acquainted with history knows to be strictly true, had been much increased, since the termination of the Persian war in 1828, by what had occurred in Europe. The war with Turkey, terminated by the passage of the Balkan and the capture of Adrianople in 1829, had utterly prostrated the strength of the Ottoman power; while the victories of Mehemet Ali, and the ruinous refusal of Great Britain to render any assistance to the Porte to avert his victorious arms from Constantinople in 1832, had of necessity thrown Turkey into the arms of Rus-

sia. At the same time the political changes in Western Europe had gone far to dissolve the ancient alliance between Russia and England, and to foster an angry feeling, from difference of internal government, between two empires already alienated by so many causes of jealousy in the East. The revolution of 1830 had again raised France to the head of the movement party in Europe; that of 1832 had, what was still more marvelous, placed England by her side. Russia, therefore, was impelled into the career of Oriental conquest not less by what she dreaded in the West than what she hoped in the East, and the opportunity appeared eminently favorable for accomplishing both objects; for in proportion as England was assuming a more imperious tone in diplomacy, she was becoming weaker in military strength; and it was difficult to say whether the ruling party in the state was most set upon revolutionizing all the adjoining states, or disbanding the forces at home, by which alone revolutionary thrones could be maintained.

Add to this that the difficulties of an overland march to India through central Asia are great, but by no means insuperable. But the Russian march of conquest, especially in the East, renders it a matter of calculation, and its success, if unopposed, a moral certainty. The Court of St. Petersburg never trusts any thing to chance, or the hazardous accidents of unprepared warfare. It would never sanction an expedition like that of Napoleon to Moscow, or England to Cabul. Slowly but steadily advancing, securing its acquisitions, like the Romans, by the construction of roads and the erection of fortresses, and then successively rendering each conquest the base of operations for the next, it has succeeded for a century past, without experiencing any lasting disaster, in advancing its dominion even over the wildest regions in every direction. The march to the Indus is long, the mountains intervening high, the difficulties great; but the distance is not so great, the country not so arid, the wilds not so interminable, as the route to Kamtschatka, which is daily traversed by her troops without difficulty. The Russian system is to impel the lesser states in its alliance into foreign conquest or aggression before they hazard their own troops in it, and to bring the latter up toward the close of the contest, when the first difficulties have been overcome, the opposing parties are well-nigh exhausted, and she may, without serious opposition, achieve decisive success. It was thus that, having subdued Persia by the war of 1827, she made it the platform for future operations, and impelled the Persian forces into an attack on Afghanistan in 1837. Had she succeeded in that, she would have made roads, built fortresses, collected magazines, and organized auxiliary forces in its wild regions, and not attempted a descent on the Indus till the whole physical difficulties had been surmounted, and the prospect of plunder, or the spirit of fanaticism, had brought the whole strength of Asia to her assistance.

To counteract the designs of a government guided by such a policy, possessed of such resources, and actuated by such ambition, both political and military, had now become a matter

¹ Sir J. M'Neill's Progress of Russia in the East, 142, 143.

² Continued.

³ Progress and Present Condition of Russia in the East, 1838, 142-144.

³¹ Great effect of the Turkish war and revolutions in France and England in augmenting the danger from Russia.

³² Reflections on the chances of a Russian invasion of India.

of absolute necessity to the British Government, and the supineness or neglect of former times only rendered this necessity, when Lord Auckland arrived in India in 1835, the more pressing. The war of 1828 had broken down the military strength of Turkey, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi had converted what remained of it into an auxiliary force of Russia. The war of 1827 had swept away the barrier of Persia, and it was easy to foresee that in the next conflict in the East the contest would be begun by the Court of Teheran, and the battalions of Russia would be preceded in their steady march toward Hindostan by the desultory forces of the king of kings. Afghanistan, beyond all doubt, would be the next object of attack. Herat, its frontier fortress toward the west, emphatically styled the "Gate of Hindostan," was already designed as the place where the first blow would be struck. To an empire wielding the military strength of sixty millions of men, but only enjoying a revenue of sixteen millions, the prospect of a country where a revenue of twenty-four millions was reaped by its maritime conquerors presented an irresistible object of attraction.¹

Fortunately, if Afghanistan was the only remaining barrier against Russian influence and aggression, the character of its inhabitants afforded an easy means of retaining them in British interests. Fickle, fond of change, and divided among each other from time immemorial by intestine feuds, there were yet two particulars in which they all united—these were, the love of independence, and the love of money. Against the Persians in particular, their immediate neighbors on the north and west, they entertained the most violent hereditary animosity, similar to that felt in former days by the Scotch or the Welsh against the English. To be left undisturbed in their mountain fastnesses, without restraint on their contests with each other, was their great object; but though detesting the yoke of the stranger, they were by no means insensible to the merits of his gold. Inhabiting a barren and churlish land, they sought in vain for wealth in the produce of their own industry; and from time immemorial they had been accustomed to look for it either in foreign conquest, or the subsidies of foreign powers. In this money contest England had decidedly the advantage of Russia; her Indian possessions alone yielded a revenue a half greater than the whole territories of the Czar put together. The obvious way of dealing with such a people, therefore, was to make no attempt to penetrate into their country, or coerce them by military force, but to attract them by the certain magnet of gold. It was the more easy to do this that the magnificent largesses of Mr. Elphinstone in former days at Cabul, and of Sir John Malcolm in Persia, had diffused the most unbounded ideas of British riches and generosity in all central Asia, and the arrival of every envoy from the government of Calcutta awakened a fever of cupidity in the country, which was capable of being turned to the best advantage. A hundred or two hundred thousand a year judiciously applied

to the Afghanistan tribes would have retained them all in British interests, not endangered the life of one man, and effectually closed the Gate of India against Russian ambition.¹

The peculiar circumstances of Afghanistan, when it first became in a manner the battle-field between Great Britain and Russia, were eminently favorable to the establishment of this steady money power of the former among its desultory tribes. Zemaun Shah, as already observed, had been deposed and blinded by his brother Mahmoud in 1801; and he, in his turn, had been deposed, though, with unwonted clemency, not deprived of sight, by a still younger brother, SHAH SOOJAH-OOL-MOOLK, whose name acquired a melancholy celebrity in the events which followed. But Shah Soojah, a violent and ill-starred, though ambitious man, was unable to keep the throne he had gained; and he was, after a short reign, dispossessed of the throne by Mahmoud, who reasserted his rights, and obliged to take refuge at the court of Lahore, which had recently become famous from the ambition and rise of RUNJEET SINGH, whose abilities and energy had raised a small tribe to the rank of a powerful empire on the banks of the Sutlej, in northern India. He brought with him from his lost kingdom the famous KOH-I-NOOR diamond, esteemed the largest in the world, which was immediately wrested from him by his ruthless and unscrupulous host, Runjeet; and now the trophy of victory adorns the brow of our gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria.²

The subsequent adventures of Shah Soojah, as detailed in his own autobiography, in his efforts to regain his throne, exceeded any thing which fiction has imagined of the marvelous. By a wonderful exertion of skill and resolution, he succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a mendicant from the prison into which he had been thrown by Runjeet Singh, and after undergoing great hardships, reached, in 1816, the British station of Loodiana, where, like his brother Zemaun Shah, he became, with his family, a pensioner on the bounty of the East India Company. Mahmoud, however, did not enjoy the throne of Afghanistan long. As is often the case in Eastern story, he became the victim of the ambition and treachery of his vizier, Futteh Khan, who had been mainly instrumental in effecting the late revolution in his favor, and who was desirous of making his own clan, the Barukzye, the governing power in the country. His youngest brother, DOST MOHAMMED, who afterward became still more famous in British history, treacherously made himself master of the city of Herat, and even insulted some ladies of high rank in the harem of the governor of that place. Upon this he was attacked by Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmoud Shah, and forced to take refuge in Cashmere, where his brother was governor. Futteh Khan, the treacherous vizier, was subsequently made prisoner and cut to pieces in the presence of the king and prince because he refused to order his brother to surrender. But this success was of short duration. Dost Mohammed, who was a man of uncommon

34. Means by which it might have been retained in the interest of England.

¹ Kaye, i. 153-157; Thornton, vi. 122-128.

¹ Kaye, i. 13-16; Thornton, vi. 124-129.

25. State of Afghanistan at this time.

² Martia, 433; Thornton, vi. 96.

26. Subsequent adventures of Shah Soojah, and his vain efforts to regain his throne.

energy and resolution, and extremely beloved by the hill-tribes, raised an army, and, advancing against Cabul, made himself master of that capital, from which Mahmoud Shah and his son Kamran fled to Herat, which still acknowledged their sovereignty, and established themselves in that fragment of the Douranee empire. But Dost Mohammed succeeded in maintaining himself in Cabul and the central provinces, where he was extremely beloved, and where his government, as that of firm and intrepid men always does in the East, was found to be a perfect blessing to the people. Shah Soojah made several unsuccessful attempts, like Henry VI. in English story, to regain his lost inheritance, but they were all shattered against the superior capacity and fortune of the successful occupant of the throne. The provinces which acknowledged the sway of Dost Mohammed were those of Cabul, Bamian, Ghuznee, Candahar, Ghouband, and Jellalabad, but a part, it is true, of the old Douranee empire, founded by Ahmed Shah, half a century before, but the most important, as lying in its centre, and commanding the whole passes from Persia into India.¹

In this distracted state of the Afghanistan empire were to be found the certain and easy means of establishing, not British government or rule, but British influence, in the whole hill-country beyond the Indus. The people were so divided by the successful usurpations which had taken place that they had ceased to be formidable as enemies, while the reigning heads of the clans which were disputing, and had in different places obtained the supremacy, were so insecurely seated on their thrones that British countenance and British gold were alike important to their success. To Dost Mohammed, in particular, our alliance was of inestimable importance, as he was a usurper who belonged to a different and rival clan from that which had before possessed the throne, and though supported, as Napoleon was in France, by the great majority of the people, he had to contend with a dispossessed party, which would make every effort to regain it, and an indefatigable pretender, who, like the unfortunate Charles Edward in Scottish story, was hovering round the kingdom in search of a place to effect an entrance. He accordingly was most anxious to cultivate the British alliance, and a trifling annual subsidy would to a certain extent have secured him in our interests.²

While these obvious considerations promised a ready sway over Dost Mohammed to the British Government, another circumstance equally bound Kamran, the Shah of Herat, then belonging to the rival house, in our interests. Persia, which had now, since the peace of 1828, been the mere vassal of Russia, laid claim to a sovereignty over this city and its dependencies, founded Aug. 3. partly on the conquests of Nadir Shah, partly on a payment of tribute for a considerable period to the Shah of Persia by Kamran, the present ruler of Herat, and partly on some engagements entered into by that prince while the Shah of Persia was employed in reducing Khorassan to obedience. The claim laid extended

to all Afghanistan, as far as Ghuznee, and included Cabul. Great Britain, however, was debarred by the 9th article of the existing treaty from interfering between the Persians and Afghans, unless called on by both parties; a thing which was not very likely to occur, when the former was entirely under the direction of Russia. The Shah of Persia was resolved to make good his claims by force of arms, and the ruler of Herat was equally determined to resist him. Russia incessantly urged Persia into this contest; Muscovite officers were largely employed in drilling the Persian armies; Muscovite engineers in directing their artillery; and under the name of "Russian deserters," a regiment of its troops was openly employed in the Persian service, and was much superior in discipline and equipment to any force which the Afghans could bring against it. In impelling its vassal, Persia, into this war, Russia was only following up its usual policy, which was to precede its own conquests by the arms of its dependents, as a general pushes forward his tirailleurs before he brings the masses of regular troops into action. In this extremity the Shah of Herat naturally looked to Great Britain for protection, the only power capable of counterbalancing the Czar in central Asia; and thus, while the uncertainty of his tenure of the throne naturally inclined Dost Mohammed to our alliance, the imminent hazard of subjugation by Persia, backed by the Colossus of the North, was equally sure to retain the ruler of Herat in our interests.³

The only drawback to this generally auspicious state of things on the side of Afghanistan consisted in the rival Kingdom of pretensions of a new State, which the Sikhs had recently risen to eminence in the Punjab. This was the kingdom of the SIXHS. This remarkable tribe had long been known on the banks of the Sutlej, and in customs and religion differed considerably from any of the adjoining ones. It had never, however, attained to remarkable eminence, or been considered as one of the great powers of India, till its direction fell into the hands of a chieftain of talents and energy, RUNJEET SINGH. This sagacious and indefatigable man, observing attentively the course of events for the last half-century between the British and the native powers, whom they successively vanquished, arrived at the conclusion that these hated islanders were for the time invincible, and that the only way in the end to rear up a barrier to their conquests, was in peace and silence to form a military force, disciplined after the European fashion, capable of bringing into the field an army equal to their own. For this purpose he offered the greatest encouragement to French officers to settle among his people, and intrusted them with the entire direction of his military forces. But it was the disbanding of so large a part of the sepoy force by Lord William Bentinck, in pursuance of the economical ideas of the day, which was one great source of Runjeet Singh's military strength. Many of those whom he disbanded took service with the Sikh chief, who thus acquired an army of old British soldiers, directed by French officers, and trained to the very highest point of discipline and steadiness in the field.

¹ Martin, 433; Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

² Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

³ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁴ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁵ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁶ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁷ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁸ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

⁹ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

¹⁰ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

¹¹ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

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¹⁰⁰ Thornton, vi. 124, 134.

Had it been possible to have united the Sikhs with the Afghans in the British alliance, they would have formed a barrier impenetrable alike to the bayonets and the intrigues of Russia, and which, by the vast armies and the still vaster revenue of the British in India, might have bid defiance to the world. But, unfortunately, this was very far indeed from being the case. Runjeet Singh had taken advantage of the distracted state of the Douranee empire, in consequence of the civil dissensions which have been mentioned, and by the aid of his numerous and disciplined battalions had succeeded in wresting from its chief the whole province of Peshawar, being the part of Afghanistan which lay next to India, and which was the more valuable as nearly a moiety of the whole revenue of the old Afghanistan empire had been derived from its inhabitants. This invasion was justly regarded as an unpardonable offense by Dost Mohammed and the other rulers of Afghanistan, and they had nothing so much at heart as to regain this lost portion of the inheritance of their fathers. But Runjeet Singh was equally determined to retain it, for, next to his capital Lahore, it formed the brightest jewel in his crown. Thus the seeds of rancorous hostility and interminable jealousy were sown between these two powers, both of whom lay on the direct route from Russia to India, and the alliance of either of which would be of essential importance either to the English in defending, or the Russians in forcing an entrance into that country. To conciliate both was scarcely possible, and the great point for consideration was, which was most likely to prove of service to our interests, and which could most be relied on in the contest with the great northern power which was evidently approaching.¹

The war of artillery, however, was preceded, as usual in such cases, by the strife of diplomatists; and there the ability of the Muscovites appeared more clearly than in their military operations. The Russian government dispatched a confidential agent, named Vickovich, to Cabul, who was fortified by a holograph letter* from the Czar himself. He arrived in Cabul on the 19th December, 1837, ostensibly as a commercial agent, really to carry out the diplomatic instructions given him by Count Simonich, the Russian minister at Teheran, in the middle of September. Before his arrival, however, the British Government had sent Captain, after-

ward Sir Alexander Burnes, on a similar mission to the court of Cabul, ostensibly for commercial, really for political purposes. The British envoy had been received in the most favorable manner by Dost Mohammed, who made no secret of his anxious wish to enter into the most friendly relations with the British Government, and upon the promise of such a subsidy annually paid as would enable him to maintain his position, to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with them. Fifty thousand pounds a year was all he demanded; a trifle in England, but a very great sum in those parts, as his whole revenue was only fifteen lacs of rupees, or £150,000 a year. So great was the influence of the British diplomatist, and so strong the desire of the Afghan chief to cultivate the British alliance, that he at first, on learning of the Russian envoy's approach, dispatched orders to prevent him from entering the city; and when he did arrive, he immediately sent for the British agent, and declared his determination not to receive overtures of any sort from any other power, as long as he had any hope of sympathy or assistance from the British Government.¹

Unfortunately, the policy of the British Government, and the powers committed to their envoy at Cabul, were very little calculated to improve these friendly dispositions. The days were those of economy and retrenchment; and any thing appeared to be preferable to incurring at the moment any outlay which could possibly be avoided. The presents he brought for the chief and the ladies of his zenana were trifling and contemptible, and painfully contrasted with the magnificent gifts which during the former mission had been lavished with so unparing a hand by Mr. Elphinstone, and spread such magnificent ideas of British grandeur and generosity. The envoy was empowered to promise nothing, engage for nothing; and although accurately informed by him of the imminence of the danger, and that it was a neck-and-neck race between England and Russia, neither a man nor a guinea was tendered to the chief who held the keys of India in his hand, and could avert calamities unnumbered from the British em-

* "On the morning of the 19th Dost Mohammed came over early from the Bala-Hissar, with a letter from his son, the Governor of Ghuznee, saying that the Russian agent had arrived in that city on his way to Cabul. Dost Mohammed said he had come for my counsel on the occasion; that he wished to have nothing to do with any other power than the British; that he did not wish to receive any agent of any power whatever, as long as he had a hope of sympathy from us; and that he would order the Russian agent to be turned out, detained on the road, or act in any way I desired him. He gave me up all the letters, which I sent off express to Lord Auckland."—Sir A. Burnes to Governor-General, 19th December, 1837. KAYE, I. 188, 189.

"Nothing could have been more discouraging than the reception of the Russian agent. Dost Mohammed still clung to the belief that the British Government would look favorably on his case, and was willing to receive a little from England rather than a great deal from any other power. But he soon began to perceive that even that little was not to be obtained. Before the close of January, Burnes had received specific instructions from the Governor-General, and was compelled, with the strongest feelings of mortification and reluctance on his part, to strangle the hopes Dost Mohammed had so long encouraged of a friendly mediation of the British Government between the Ameer and Runjeet Singh."—KAYE, I. 190, 191.

"A. C.—In a happy moment the messenger of your highness, Mirza Hassan, reached my court with your friendly letter. I was very much delighted to receive it, and very much gratified by its perusal. The contents of the letter prove that you are my well-wisher, and have friendly opinions toward me. It flattered me very much, and I was convinced of your friendship to my everlasting government. In consequence of this, and preserving the terms of friendship which are now commenced between you and myself, in my heart I will feel always happy to assist the people of Cabul who may come to trade in my kingdom. On the arrival of your messenger, I have desired him to make preparations for his long journey back to you, and also appointed a man of dignity to accompany him on the part of my government. If it please God he arrives safe, he will present to you the rarities of my country, which I have sent through him. By the grace of God may your days be prolonged.—Sent from St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, on the 27th April, 1837, in the 13th year of my reign."—KAYE, I. 201, note.

40. Jealousy and wars between the Sikhs and the Afghans.

¹ KAYE, I. 17, 34; Thornton, I. 134-135; Martin, 434.

41. Russian intrigues at Cabul.

42. Miserable policy pursued toward Dost Mohammed by Lord Auckland.

pire.* Peshawur undoubtedly made a difficulty, as it was claimed and eagerly sought both by the Afghan and Sikh chiefs, and it was no easy matter for the English Government to reconcile their contending interests, or retain them both in our alliance. But such was the anxiety of Dost Mohammed to preserve the most amicable relations with the British Government, that by the promise of a very moderate subsidy from them, he might easily have been induced to forego his demand for the disputed province, and remain steady in the British alliance, without urging claims which might have compromised our relations with Runjeet Singh.† But, unhappily, Lord Auckland's policy was entirely different; and before the end of January, Captain Burnes received positive instructions, which compelled him, to his bitter mortification, to

strangle the sanguine hopes which Dost Mohammed had long entertained of receiving assistance from Great Britain, and in a manner forced him to throw himself into the arms of the Emperor of Russia.¹

The Russian envoy was by no means equally parsimonious in his professions or guarded in his promises. He informed Dost Mohammed that he was commissioned to express the sincere sympathy of the Russian Government with the difficulties under which he labored; that they were willing to assist him in expelling Runjeet Singh from Peshawur, and would furnish him with money for that purpose, and renew it annually, expecting in return the chief-tain's good offices. Even the mode of conveying the much-coveted treasure was specified; the Russians engaging to send it to Bokhara, whence Dost Mohammed was expected to convey it to his own capital. At the same time the combined intrigues of Russia and Persia succeeded in effecting a treaty with the rulers of Candahar, by which they engaged to transfer to

them the city and territory of Herat, to be held for a tribute to the Shah of Persia. This treaty was guaranteed by Count Simonich on the part of Russia, in the following terms: "I, who am the Minister-Plenipotentiary of the exalted Government of Russia, will be guarantee that neither on the part of the Shah of Persia, nor on the part of the powerful Sirdars, shall there be any deviation from, nor violation of, this entire treaty and these agreements." Thus did the Russian Government, in pursuance of its usual policy, push forward the lesser states in its alliance, or under its influence, to precede its disciplined battalions in the career of conquest, and pioneer the way for its eagles in their march; and thus skillfully did it take advantage of their separate designs and ambition to effect an object from which itself in the end was alone to profit. To the Shah of Persia it promised the sovereignty of Herat as the reward of its reduction; to the Candahar chiefs, the possession of that city, subject to the suzerainty of Persia; and to Dost Mohammed, money to enable him to recover Peshawur from the Sikhs, and regain that lost appendage of the Douranee empire. And the object of all this complicated diplomatic intrigue was to subject Herat, Cabul, Candahar, and Peshawur to its influence, and thus secure the co-operation of the rulers in all these cities, the keys of the mountain-regions, in its grand design of advancing its dominions to the banks of the Indus.²

HERAT was the place which became the first object of attack in pursuance of these complicated negotiations. "Surrounded," says an eye-witness, "by a fair expanse of country, where alternating corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens vary the richness and beauty of the scene, and the bright waters of small running streams lighten the pleasant landscape, lies the city of Herat." The eloquent words of Captain Conolly apply only to the beauty beyond the walls—within them, as in most Asiatic towns, all is dirt and desolation. But in a military point of view it is a position of the very highest importance. An army composed of foot and horse only, with a few pieces of light artillery, might traverse some of the passes, seventeen thousand feet in height, which intersect the stupendous range of the Hindoo Coosh; but one equipped with heavy artillery, and all the cumbersome appliances of modern war, can make its way by no other route from the northwest to the Indian frontier. The city stands in a rich plain lying at the foot of the mountains, the extraordinary fertility of which, especially in grain crops, has led to its being styled the "granary of Central Asia." It presents, therefore, every advantage for the collecting of provisions and formation of magazines, to facilitate the transit, in the desolate mountain region which lies be-

* "We are in a mess here—Herat is besieged, and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an agent to Cabul to offer Dost Mohammed money to fight Runjeet Singh. I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vickovich (that is the agent's name) arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to me. The Ameer (Dost Mohammed) came over to me sharp, and offered to do as I liked—kick him out, or any thing; and since he was so friendly, I said give me the letters the agent has brought, all of which he surrendered sharp."—BURNES' *Private Correspondence*. KAYE, I. 189.

Mr. McNeill's opinion, who wrote from the court of Persia, was equally clear. "Dost Mohammed Khan, with a little aid from us, could be put in possession of both Candahar and Herat. I anxiously hope that aid will not be withheld. A loan of money would possibly enable him to do this, and would give us a great hold upon him. He ought to be precluded from receiving any other foreign representatives or agents of any kind at his court, and should agree to transact all business with foreign powers through the British agent. Unless something of this kind is done, we shall never be secure; and until Dost Mohammed Khan, or some other Afghan, shall have got both Candahar and Herat into his hands, our position here must continue to be a false one."—MR. McNEILL to CAPTAIN BURNES, March 13th, 1837 (MS. records).

† "It appears to me that the opinions of Dost Mohammed call for much deliberation. It will be seen that the chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or on gratifying an enmity toward his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury. The arguments which he has adduced seem worthy of every consideration, and the more so when even an avowed partisan of Sultan Mohammed does not deny the justice of the Ameer's objection."—CAPTAIN BURNES to GOVERNOR-GENERAL, 26th January, 1838. KAYE, I. 194, note.

* "The Russian Ambassador, who is always with the Shah, sends you a letter, which I inclose. The substance of his verbal message to you is that if the Shah does every thing you want, so much the better; and if not, the Russian Government will furnish you with every thing wanting. The object of the Russian envoy by this message is to have a road to the English, and for this they are very anxious. He is waiting for your answer, and I am sure he will serve you."—Agent of Cabul to DOST MOHAMMED, January 14, 1838, No. 6, *Correspondence regarding Afghanistan, laid before Parliament*.

yond, of a large army. The city itself contains about 45,000 inhabitants, and stands within four solid earthen walls, each about a mile long, which environ it in the form of a square. These walls, however, when the Persian army approached them, were in a very decayed state. The real defense of the place consisted in two covered ways, or *fausse-brayes*, one in the inside and the other in the outside of the ditch. The lower one was on the level of the surrounding country, its parapet partly covered by a mound of earth on the counterscarp formed by the accumulation of rubbish from the clearings of the ditch.¹

When the Persian army, directed by Russian officers, and supported by a Russian battalion under the name of "Deserters," approached the city, it was nominally under the rule of Kamran, the only one of the royal family who retained a part of the former Afghan monarchy. Worn out, however, by the debility induced by every species of excess, he was himself incapable of carrying on the government, which had entirely fallen into the hands of his vizier, Yar Mohammed, an able and energetic, but unprincipled and profligate man, whose son was the governor of the city. The terms which the Persian Shah offered to Kamran were, that he was to be deprived of the title of king; a Persian garrison was to be received into the city, where coins were to be struck in the name, and prayers offered for, the Persian king. On these conditions the Afghan chief was to be allowed to retain the government; and he was to join his forces to the Persian army and that of Dost Mohammed, and make war on the Sikhs. These terms were indignantly rejected by the Afghans; the old animosity at the Persians revived in full force; a general enthusiasm seized the people, and they prepared with resolute determination to maintain their independence. But their forces were small, their guns few and ill-manned, their ramparts crumbling in decay; and all their efforts would probably have been unavailing, had it not been that on the day when the King made his public entry into the city to direct the war, a young English officer was in the crowd which assembled to witness his arrival, who soon acquired the lead in the defense which heroism and talent never fail to obtain in the presence of danger—ELDRÉD POTTINGER.²

The Persian army advanced in three divisions, the foremost of which, 10,000 strong, appeared before the walls in the end of October. The fortress would not have held out a fortnight against an Anglo-Indian army of half the force; but the Persian army, though 80,000 strong when it all came up, contained few real soldiers, and was, with the exception of the Russian battalion, in a very rude and disorganized state. The inhabitants made a noble defense; and Yar Mohammed exerted himself with surprising vigor to stifle discontent and provide the means of resistance. Ground was broken before Nov. 23. the fortress on the 23d November; but the progress of the siege was for long very slow, although the fire even of the light artillery of

the Persians brought down the rotten parapets like tinder. Sallies were made daily; and Eldred Pottinger, the real hero of the place, diffused into the breasts of all around him his own dauntless intrepidity. Under his command the operations of the besieged became not only energetic but skillful. The breaches were repaired as fast as they were made; in vain the flaming tempest descended on the inhabitants in their houses. The people bore the conflagrations which ensued with a constancy worthy of the highest admiration; and though often despairing of the result, continued with mournful firmness to assert their independence.¹

The siege continued in this manner during the whole winter, without any material progress being made, except in the destruction of the houses in the town, accompanied with a melancholy loss of life. "Scarcely a shop," says Pottinger, "had escaped destruction; the shutters, seats, shelves, nay, even the very beams and door-posts, had been torn down for fire-wood; most of the houses were burned or unroofed; scarcely any business was going on; here and there were gathered knots of pale and anxious citizens whispering their sufferings." Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the defense was continued with a constancy unsurpassed in ancient or modern times; and the Afghans, leaving their walls, even made some successful sallies with their formidable horse upon the enemy. During the siege, Mr. McNeill, the British Minister at the court of Teheran, came up to the Persian head-quarters, and exerted his great diplomatic abilities to effect an accommodation, but in vain. On 18th April the fire of the besiegers was extremely violent, and the breaches on the east and north were declared practicable. The old walls were sliding down at every round. But instead of waiting for the assault which was on the point of being delivered, the Afghans themselves leaped over the parapet, streamed down the breaches, and after a desperate hand-to-hand encounter, drove back the assailants at all points.²

The 24th June was the most memorable day in the siege, for the final assault took place on that day. With characteristic supineness, although the signs of what was approaching were sufficiently evident, the garrison were off their guard. The vizier, Yar Mohammed, was at his quarters—most of the sentinels were asleep. Suddenly, at the signal of a discharge of a rocket from the Persian head-quarters, five columns leaped out of the trenches, and advanced to the assault of as many breaches. At four the assailants were repulsed; but at the fifth the stormers, gallantly led by their officers, succeeded in forcing the lower *fausse-braye*, where the defenders fell to a man. Encouraged by this success, they pushed up the slope, and after a brief but desperate struggle, the upper *fausse-braye* was also carried, and a few of the most daring assailants gained the top of the breach. They there met the Afghan reserve, which, by a violent rush, succeeded in driving the assailants down. Again they returned to the charge, again they were hurled down by the dauntless defenders.

45. Commencement of the siege. Sept. 17, 1857.

47. Progress of the siege. April 18.

¹ Kaya, i. 236, 245.

48. Final assault. June 24.

² Kaya, i. 200-213.

The conflict was fierce, the issue doubtful. Roused by the tumult, the vizier rode down toward the breach, accompanied by Eldred Pottinger; but the heart of the Asiatic quailed before the terrors of that dreadful moment, and he could not be prevailed on to go to the spot where the terrible conflict raged. Not so the European: in that trying hour the West asserted its ancient superiority over the East. Eldred Pottinger's resolution never failed; and at length, partly by energetic appeals to his honor, partly by actual force, the vizier was brought up by Pottinger to the men as they were retiring from the breach, and they were rallied and led again to the conflict. Headed by the Englishman, and impelled forward by the vizier, who belabored with a huge staff the hindmost of the party, the Afghans returned to the charge, and, leaping over the parapet, rushed out upon the stormers. The Persians, who were advancing with loud shouts, in the full confidence of victory, were seized with a sudden panic on this unexpected onset, and fled headlong down the breach, where they were almost all slaughtered by the yataghans and bayonets of the Afghans. The crisis was over—the fortress was saved. The advance of Russia in Central Asia was arrested by the heroism and conduct of

one man, who inspired into the sinking hearts of the garrison a portion of his own indomitable resolution.^{1*}

The fate of Herat was, in reality, determined on this day; but the besieged were ignorant, as is often the case in desperate actions of war, of the magnitude of their own success, and retired in sorrow and mourning from the scene of their decisive triumph. The loss the Afghans had sustained was very great: gloom overspread their spirits—despair had seized on the bravest hearts. The Persians had lost 1700 men in the assault, the Afghans not more than half the number; but it was more severely felt, as their numbers were so much less considerable. Provisions also had become extremely scarce; the people were dying of famine in the streets; ammunition was beginning to fail; medical assistance and resources of all kinds were no longer to be had. The soldiers clamored for bread or money, and increased the sufferings of the wretched inhabitants by breaking into and ransacking the houses, and torturing the persons of such as they suspected of having stores of either concealed. The blockade, which for long had been imperfect, had now been rendered complete, and no supplies of any sort could reach the beleaguered and famishing city. But in all these respects the condition of the besiegers was little better, in some worse. Their energies were damped, sickness raged in their camp, their resources were well-nigh exhausted, their hopes extinguished. The

siege was of necessity converted into a blockade; it became a mere question who should starve first. Yet there was no thought in the besieged of a surrender.² "With

open breaches," says Pottinger, "a starving soldiery, and a disaffected populace, they determined to hold out to the last."

But notwithstanding all their resolution, Herat must at length have fallen, and, ^{50.} famine would have vanquished those whom the sword could not of the English, subdue, had not external events and raising of the siege. now begun which hastened the termination of this protracted siege. The British Government at Calcutta had at length become sensible of the vital interest which they had in the preservation of the gate of Hindostan, and tardily took measures to give it some slight succor. Lord Auckland, at the eleventh hour, and after the siege had lasted nine months, at the earnest request of Mr. McNeill, made a demonstration in the Persian Gulf, which, though not in itself of great magnitude, was attended with a surprising effect. The *Semiramis* and *Hugh Lindsay* steamers were dispatched in the beginning of June from Bombay, with a battalion of marines and detachments of several regiments of native infantry, and on the 19th June anchored off the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf, where they immediately landed. Intelligence of this unexpected apparition, magnified by the hundred tongues of rumor, was immediately conveyed to the Persian camp before Herat, and arrived there a few days after the repulse of the last assault. Soon after, Colonel Stoddart was dispatched by Mr. McNeill to the Persian camp with a message to the effect that if the Persians did not retire from before Herat, and make reparation for the injuries which had been inflicted upon the English mission, it would be considered as a hostile demonstration against England. The envoy was courteously received by the Shah. "The fact is," said the latter, "if I don't leave Herat there will be war; is not that it?" "It is war," replied Stoddart. "All depends on your Majesty's answer." "We consent to the whole demands of the British Government," said the Shah, two days afterward. "We will not go to war. Were it not for their friendship we should not return from before Herat. Had we known that our coming here would have risked the loss of their friendship, we should not have come at all." Preparations for a retreat were soon after made in the Persian camp. The guns were first withdrawn from their advanced positions; the baggage-cattle were then collected, the tents struck, and on the 9th September the Shah mounted his horse and set his face homeward. The blockade was raised, and the Afghans beheld with speech-¹ less joy their wasted plains freed from the presence of the enemy.¹ ^{Mem. i. 137.}

The raising of the siege of Herat was an event of immense importance in Central Asia, and if duly improved, ^{51.} Great efforts would have restored British influence over its whole extent, and averted all the calamities which ensued. As much as it raised the reputation of British arms and diplomacy did it lower those of Russia. More even than battles, sieges have, in modern warfare, determined the fate of empires, and fixed the wavering current of general opinion in the East. The Czar had been foiled by England; Eldred Pottinger was

* This animated description is mainly taken from Eldred Pottinger's most interesting journal of the siege, excepting that relating to his noble personal conduct, which is given by Kaye; for, like all other really brave men, he is silent on his own exploits.

¹ Kaye, i. 266-271: Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston. June 26, 1838.

¹ Kaye, i. 269, 270; Nott's Mem. i. 137.

^{51.} Great efforts would have restored British influence over its whole extent, and averted all the calamities which ensued.

the acknowledged hero of Herat; Mr. McNeill the successful diplomatic agent by whom the success had been effected. British influence was restored at the court of Teheran; gratitude for assistance rendered pervaded Afghanistan. So far did these new relations proceed, that although the Russian Government had, through their ambassador in Persia, Count Simonich, strongly urged the Persian Government to march upon Herat, advanced them 50,000 tomanus to aid in the expedition, and engaged, in the event of success, to remit the whole remainder of the debt due by Persia to Russia under the treaty of 1828, they disavowed the whole affair when Lord Durham demanded explanations on the subject in 1839, and declared that if Count Simonich had encouraged Mohammed Shah to proceed against Herat, he had proceeded in direct violation of his instructions. At the same time they repudiated entirely Vickovich's proceedings at Cabul—a requital for valuable services, by which that active agent was so disconcerted that he blew out his brains.¹

Thus did England and Russia first meet, with entire defeat to the latter, in the great battle-field of Central Asia. "If we go on at this rate," said Baron Brunow, the ambassador of the Czar in London, to Sir John Hobhouse, "the Cossack and the Sepoy will soon meet on the banks of the Oxus." "Very probably, Baron," replied the latter; "but however much I should regret the collision, I should have no fears of the result." In truth, the designs of Russia had now met with a signal check, and her aggressive policy had recoiled upon her own head. The system of impelling the northern powers upon the south before her own forces were brought into action; of bribing Persia to enter into the contest by the promise of Herat and the remission of the unpaid debt, Afghanistan by the offer of aid to recover Peshawur, and the Sikhs by indemnity for the loss of Peshawur by the spoils of India, had broken down at the outset. The influence of England in Central Asia, well-nigh lost by the parsimonious system of late years, had been restored by the heroism of an English officer, and the devoted gallantry of his Afghan followers. Nothing was wanting but a conciliatory and liberal policy to secure the Afghanistan chiefs, now violently roused against Russia by the onslaught against Herat, in the English alliance. Unfortunately these eminently favorable circumstances were turned to no account, or rather rendered the prolific source of evil, by the policy which they induced in the British Government. Instead of entering into an alliance with Dost Mohammed, the ruler of the people's choice, and who, by his vigor and capacity, had won for himself a throne by showing he was worthy of it, and capable of meeting the wants of the country, they determined on dethroning that chief, and placing the exiled, discredited sovereign, Shah Soojah, on the throne. The fact of his having proved incapable of ruling or maintaining himself in power, and having been for thirty years an exile, during which he had, like his fellow-exiles in Europe, "learned nothing, forgotten nothing," was deemed of less importance than having a sovereign on the

throne who owed his restoration to British interference, and was identified with our Government by present interest and past obligation.

The result has proved that a greater and more lamentable mistake never was committed by any government. Shah Soojah was not only incapable of ruling Afghanistan, but he was in the highest degree unpopular with its inhabitants. At once weak and cruel, irresolute and revengeful, he was utterly disqualified to rule a nation of barbarians, and possessed no merit but the unwearied perseverance with which he had striven to regain the lost inheritance of his fathers. On the other hand, Dost Mohammed was in the highest degree popular with all classes, and by his vigor and capacity he had succeeded in establishing his power on a solid foundation. True, he was a usurper, the son of the vizier; he had gained a throne by dispossessing his lawful sovereign. But Shah Soojah was no better; he had for a brief period held the throne by expelling from it his elder brother, who had himself won it by dethroning and depriving of sight Zemaun Shah, the true inheritor of the crown of the Douranee empire. The race of the viziers had succeeded to that of the imbecile shahs, as that of the Maires du Palais, from which Charles Martel and Charlemagne sprung, had in the olden time to the worn-out dynasty of the *rois fainéants* of the first race in France. The claim of legitimacy had as little to recommend Shah Soojah as his personal character or qualifications. He was not the rightful heir to the throne; Kamran, the victorious, the ruler of Herat, and his family, came in before him. In every point of view, therefore, the determination to replace Shah Soojah upon the throne, and displace Dost Mohammed, was inexpedient and unjust. It was unjust to the rightful heir, for it tended to place a usurper permanently on the throne; it was unjust to the Afghans, for it was intended to deprive them of their inherent right, so frequently exercised amidst the changes of Asiatic government, of choosing their own ruler, and to force upon them a weak and hated sovereign, equally incapable of winning a throne by conquest or retaining it from inheritance. It was unjust toward Dost Mohammed, who, so far from injuring, had done every thing in his power to favor British subjects and interests, and had evinced the greatest anxiety to enter into the closest alliance with the government of Calcutta. It was to the last degree inexpedient for our Indian empire, for instead of erecting a powerful barrier against the threatening dangers of Russian conquest, it was calculated to weaken that which already existed, to involve the English Government in the endless maze of Afghan politics, and instead of bringing to their support a powerful ally and a gallant people, to encumber them by the defense of a distant dependent, who could be upheld only by the force of foreign bayonets.

These considerations, which were strongly urged upon Lord Auckland by Captain Burnes and those best acquainted with the real state of Afghanistan, were entirely disregarded, and it was resolved at all hazards to dispossess Dost Mohammed, and in his room

¹ Kaye, i. 279, 286.

⁵³ Great mistake committed on this occasion by the English Government.

⁵⁴ Treaty for the restoration of Shah Soojah. June 20, 1838.

place Shah Soojah on the throne.* This was done by the sole authority of the Governor-general and his confidential advisers, then assembled at Simlah to enjoy the cool breezes of the first slopes of the Himalaya during the sultry season; the Supreme Council at Calcutta, though they afterward adhibited their official consent to the measures, were not, in the first instance, consulted in their preparation. Having taken his resolutions, Lord Auckland was not long in carrying them into effect. After a brief negotiation with the disrowned exile at Loodiana, a tripartite treaty was concluded at Lahore, on the 26th June, 1838, between the Governor-general, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah, which, to the infinite astonishment of the latter, restored him to his ancestral throne. The principal articles of the treaty were, that the British Government and the chiefs of Lahore recognized Shah Soojah as the sovereign of Afghanistan; and he on his part engaged to cede Peshawur, Attock, and their dependencies, to the Rajah of Lahore; that the Rajah undertook to dispatch a body of troops to aid in re-establishing the Afghan prince on the throne; that the three contracting powers engaged mutually to defend each other in case of attack; and the Shah promised not to enter into any negotiations with any foreign state without the knowledge and consent of the British and Sikh governments, and bound himself "to oppose any power having the design to invade the British and Sikh territories by force of arms, to the utmost of his ability." Lastly, Shah Soojah promised not to disturb his nephew, the ruler of Herat, in his possessions, and renounced all claim of supremacy over the ameers of Scinde, who were to remain in possession of their country under the condition only of paying a moderate tribute to Shah Soojah, the amount of which was to be fixed by the British Government.¹

It must be confessed that at first sight the treaty appeared to have conferred as great a benefit upon the British as the Sikh government. It secured the two powerful states of Lahore and Cabul in the English alliance, solved, in appearance at least, the differences between them, and seemed to provide an effective barrier against Muscovite aggression, alike in the mountains of Afghanistan and on the banks of the Indus. But these advantages, so specious in appearance, and not altogether destitute of foundation, in reality were entirely neutralized, and in effect turned into evils, by the inherent injustice with which it was tainted. It professed to regulate every thing from views of expedience, and the supposed advantage of the British Government, by treaties concluded only with courts, forgetting that the people also required to be thought of; and that it was an un-

hallowed mode of cementing an alliance intended to serve as a barrier against Muscovite aggression, to commence with an act of spoliation equal to any of those with which the great northern potentate was charged.

It was at first intended to assist Shah Soojah for the recovery of his throne only by a very small British auxiliary force; and with this view it was announced in a proclamation issued by the Governor-general, that the Shah "should enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops." With this view, 4000 irregulars were raised and placed under the nominal command of Prince Timour, eldest son of Shah Soojah, but really under the direction of British officers, and entirely paid from the British treasury. To this were to be added 6000 Sikhs under the command of Runjeet Singh's generals, who was also to station an army of 15,000 men in observation in the province of Peshawur. These forces, with the aid of the terror and influence of the English name, and the supposed anxiety of the Afghans to regain the rule of their old princes, would, it was hoped, suffice for the change of dynasty in Afghanistan, without imperiling any considerable body of British troops in its terrible defiles. Burnes, though he earnestly counseled that the case of Dost Mohammed should be reconsidered, and that we should act with him* rather than against him, yet gave it as his decided opinion, that if his dethronement was determined on, these measures would be amply sufficient to accomplish the object in view.† But more accurate information soon convinced the Government that these expectations were fallacious, and that if Shah Soojah was really to be restored, it could only be by a British military force capable in reality, and not in name merely, of effecting the entire conquest of Afghanistan. Although, therefore, the assurances were still held out that Shah Soojah should enter Afghanistan surrounded only by his own troops, and relying for his restoration on the loyalty of his subjects, yet in reality preparations were made for an expedition of a very different description, and for extending British influence and authority far beyond the Punjab and the Indus, to the distant snows of the Hindoo Coosh.¹‡

* "It remains to be considered why we can not act with Dost Mohammed. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart a high opinion of the British nation; and if half of what you must do for others were done for him, and offers made which he could see would conduce to his interests, he would abandon Russia and Persia tomorrow. It may be said, that opportunity has been given him; but I would rather discuss this in person with you, for I think there is much to be said for him. Government have admitted that he had at best but a choice of difficulties; and it should not be forgotten that we promised nothing, and Persia and Russia held out a great deal."—CAPTAIN BURNES TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL, June 1, 1838. KAYE, I. 340.

† "As for Shah Soojah personally, the British Government have only to send him to Peshawur with an agent, and two of its own regiments as an honorary escort, and an avowal to the Afghans that we have taken up his cause, to insure his being fixed forever on the throne. The Maharajah's opinion has only therefore to be asked on the ex-king's advance to Peshawur, granting him at the same time four or five of the regiments which have no Sikhs in their ranks, and Soojah becomes king."—CAPTAIN BURNES TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL, July 3, 1838. KAYE, I. 343.

‡ "His Majesty Shah Soojah will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported

* "In October, 1838, the author (M. Martin, Esq.), deeply convinced of the unjust and perilous nature of the war, drew up a memorandum which the Marquis Wellesley transmitted to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His lordship subsequently addressed a communication to Sir John against the Afghan war, predicting 'that our difficulties would commence when our military successes ended.' The Duke of Wellington, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mr. Edmondstone, Mr. Metcalfe, and other Indian statesmen, took the same view of the question."—M. MARTIN, 435, note.

¹ See the Treaty in Kaye, I. 330-333.

^{55.} Reflections on this treaty. as the Sikh government. It secured the two powerful states of Lahore and Cabul in the English alliance, solved, in appearance at least, the differences between them, and seemed to provide an effective barrier against Muscovite aggression, alike in the mountains of Afghanistan and on the banks of the Indus. But these advantages, so specious in appearance, and not altogether destitute of foundation, in reality were entirely neutralized, and in effect turned into evils, by the inherent injustice with which it was tainted. It professed to regulate every thing from views of expedience, and the supposed advantage of the British Government, by treaties concluded only with courts, forgetting that the people also required to be thought of; and that it was an un-

Kaye, I. 340-343; Thornton, vi. 140-150; Martin, 435.

The force provided for the Afghanistan expedition, when it was finally decided on, was extremely formidable, and much more than sufficient, if it had not been for the difficulties of the country, for the entire and lasting subjugation of Afghanistan. The chief force destined for the expedition was styled the "Army of the Indus," after the style of Napoleon's bulletins, and by the end of November it was all assembled in the neighborhood of Ferozepore. It consisted, at first, of a very large force, chiefly drawn from Bengal, consisting of 28,000 men, which assembled in the neighborhood of the Sikh forces, and exhibited a stupendous proof of the power and resources of the British forces in India; for the troops were assembled at the foot of the Himalaya, a thousand miles from Calcutta, and they were attended by nearly 100,000 camp-followers, and 80,000 beasts of burden. Only four European regiments, however, were in this great force, viz., the 18th and Buffs, and 16th Lancers, and the Bengal European regiment. But before the review had ceased, or active operations could be commenced, intelligence arrived of the raising of the siege of Herat, and the retreat of the Persian army: less preparation was now deemed necessary, and a part only of the assembled force received orders to move forward. It consisted of three brigades of infantry, two of cavalry, and a considerable number both of siege, horse, and field guns, amounting to 9500 men of all arms; while 6000 more, raised for the immediate service of Shah Soojah, accompanied that prince in his entry into his long-lost dominions. Sir Henry Fane, an officer of tried energy and ability, in whom the Bengal army had unbounded confidence, at first had the command-in-chief. But before the march from Ferozepore began, he surrendered the post he held, partly from ill health, partly from thinking there was nothing more to do, into the hands of Sir John Keane, also a veteran of Peninsular fame, but not of the same suavity of temper, nor, equally with his predecessor, known to the troops he was destined to command.¹

Before the army commenced its march, a series of magnificent spectacles, eminently characteristic of Eastern manners and habits, took place on occasion of the meeting of the Govern-

or-general at Ferozepore with the aged chief of Lahore, not inaptly styled "the Lion of the Punjab." On one day the British force was manoeuvred by Sir Henry Fane, to the infinite amazement of the Asiatics; on the next the Sikhs were exercised in presence of the English officers by their chiefs, and made a most creditable appearance. The meeting of the Governor-general with the Lahore chief, in a place selected for the purpose, about four miles from the river Gharra, presented an unrivalled scene of magnificence and splendor. A noble guard of honor lined the way, as, amidst the roar of artillery and the clang of military music, Runjeet Singh came forth in the centre of a line of elephants to the Governor-general's tent, who advanced to meet him. So great was the throng, so violent the press, when these two great potentates met, that many of the attendant Sikhs believed there was a design to destroy their chief, "and began to blow their matches and grasp their weapons with a mingled air of distrust and ferocity." Soon, however, a passage was made, and the little decrepit old man was seen tottering into the tent, supported on the one side by the Governor-general, on the other by Sir Henry Fane, whose fine figure strangely contrasted with the bent and worn-out form of the Eastern chieftain. Next day the Maharajah received Lord Auckland in his tent, who returned his visit. The magnificence of the scene then exceeded that of the preceding day, and the Sikhs fairly outdid the British in Oriental splendor. The brilliant costumes of the Sikh sirdars, the gorgeous trappings of their horses, the glittering steel casques, and corselets of chain armor, the scarlet-and-yellow dresses, the tents of crimson and gold, the long lines of elephants, and still longer squadrons of cavalry, formed an unrivalled spectacle of Eastern magnificence. But different emotions arose, and every British heart beat with emotion when, in that distant land, the well-known notes of the national anthem arose from a Sikh band, and the guns of the Kalas thundered forth salute to the representative of Queen Victoria.¹

It was not, however, only in these scenes of splendor that the Afghanistan army was to be engaged. Could the future have been foreseen, the arid march, the muffled drum, the wasted host, would have arisen in mournful solemnity before the dazzled vision. Little anticipating the catastrophe which awaited them, the British officers returned gayly to their tents, charmed with the present, careless of the future. Like the French officers setting out on the Moscow campaign, they were in the highest spirits, anticipating only a military promenade of six months, to be followed by a speedy return to their quarters at Calcutta or Bombay, and regretting only that the raising of the siege of Herat had deprived them of the laurels won in Russian warfare, with which they hoped to adorn their brows. The march of the principal army under Sir John Keane began on the 2d December, and it was determined that its route should be through Scinde, in a northwesterly direction, to cross the Indus at Bukhur. From thence

against foreign interference and riotous opposition by a British army. The Governor-general confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor-general has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British Crown; but he rejoices that in the discharge of that duty he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit, to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offense to the British Government, it will seek to secure liberal and honorable treatment on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged most suitable for the general advantage of their country."—Proclamation, Oct. 1, 1838. KAYE, I. 369.

58.
Magnificent
displays in the
Punjab.
Nov. 29, 1838.

1 KAYE, I. 373.
375: Have-
lock's Narra-
tive, 61:
Fane's Five
Years in In-
dia, 74, 75:
Stocquer's
Memorials of
Afghanistan,
104-107.

59.
Commence-
ment of the
march.
Dec. 2.

it was to move by Shikarpoor and Dadur to the mouth of the Bolan Pass, and after surmounting that arduous ascent, it was to move by Quetta to Candahar, and thence by Ghuznee to Cabul. This was a strangely devious course, for the army was to move over two sides of a triangle instead of the third; but the object of taking this circuitous route was to coerce and overawe the Ameers of Scinde, whose hostility was apprehended on good grounds, and who occupied an important military position, commanding the communications of the army. The army headed by Prince Timour was to proceed by the direct route through the Khyber Pass, the tribes guarding which were to be propitiated by British gold.¹

The army of Shah Soojah headed the line of march, in order to keep up the appearance of the movement being a national one, and not supported by foreign bayonets. But a difficulty occurred at the very outset of their career. By the existing treaty with the Ameers of Scinde, it was stipulated that the navigation of the Indus should be opened, but only to merchant vessels, the passage of vessels of war or military stores being expressly prohibited. That great stream, however, had now become the principal line of communication for the British army, which at all hazards required to be kept open, and rendered available for military stores of every description. The treaty was therefore openly set at naught, and it was intimated to the Ameers that military stores of every kind must pass through their territory. Shah Soojah also made large demands of money from these unhappy chiefs, under the name of arrears of tribute, which amounted at first to £250,000, and were only at last compromised for £100,000. Remonstrance or complaint on the part of the

native powers was alike stopped by the sabre and the bayonet.² The Ameers were openly told that "they might as well hope to dam up the Indus at Bukhur, as to stop the approach of the British army;" and that the day when they "connected themselves with any other power than the British, would be the last of their independence, if not their rule." Hyderabad, their capital city, which had threatened resistance to this fearful inroad of armed men, was forced to purchase abstinence from pillage by payment of £100,000. Thus, in breach of treaties and open violence, commenced this ill-starred expedition, destined to bring a terrible retribution on the rulers who had originated, and the nation which had permitted it.³

The Shah's army, forming the advanced guard, reached the banks of the Indus on the 15th January, having sustained little loss except in camels, great numbers of which perished from fatigue and change of forage. Desertion had, however, already become frequent in the Shah's ranks, the hardships of that wearisome march inspiring the most dismal apprehensions in the feeble inhabitants of Hindostan. Their forebodings proved too well founded. The army consisted of 9500 fighting men, 38,000 camp-followers, and 80,000 camels;

and it was with the utmost difficulty, and only by the most strenuous efforts on the part of the commissariat officers, that provisions could be got for the enormous multitude in their march over the plains which lay between Ferozepore and the Indus. But the army was, generally speaking, still in high spirits. The weather was clear, bright, and invigorating. Supplies were, by herculean efforts, obtained in abundance; and at length the long-wished-for waters of the Indus appeared, and the fortress of Bukhur, which commanded the passage, having been seized, partly by persuasion, partly by violence, the army was crossed over on a bridge of boats. But when they quitted the banks of the Indus the difficulties of the march appeared in appalling magnitude. In the vast expanse of sandy desert, not a spot of green pasture met the eye, not a sound of rushing water saluted the ear. The hard, salt-mixed sand cracked under their horses' feet as the cavaliers galloped over the wilderness in search of the promised land. But it was long of appearing. The march from Shikarpoor to Dadur, at the mouth of the Bolan Pass, is a hundred and forty-six miles, which was traversed in sixteen painful marches. Water and forage there were none to be had in that howling wilderness. The camels, parched with thirst, fell down dead by scores on the road-side; and the fainting troops threw themselves on the yet quivering remains in quest of the little store of water they carried in their intestines. At length, to their unspeakable joy, they reached Dadur; but as there were no provisions there, and only a month's supply remained on their beasts of burden, it was deemed indispensable to push on, and in the middle of March the Bengal army entered the formidable Bolan Pass.¹

Fortunately negotiation and gold, preceding the army, had there disarmed the hostility of the Beloochee tribes who held the pass, and no difficulties were to be apprehended but such as arose from the obstacles and impediments of nature. But they were so great as to occasion a very great loss to the army, and such as, if combined with any serious resistance from man, would have rendered the passage impracticable. The pass is nearly sixty miles in length, of continued and often very rapid ascent, shut in with stupendous precipices or wooded cliffs on either side. The joyful sound of rushing waters was here to be heard; but it little availed the thirsty troops, for the torrent which rolled by their side was polluted by the multitude of dead camels which had fallen or been thrown into it by the advanced columns. The road was composed of sharp flint-stones, which lamed the cattle, and such as fell behind were immediately seized by the marauding tribes which infested the flanks and rear of the army. The road was strewn with baggage, abandoned tents, and stores; and luxuries which a few weeks before or after would have fetched their weight in gold, were cast aside, or left to be trampled down by the cattle in the rear. At length the worn-out troops emerged from the pass, and beheld with unspeakable joy an open mountain-valley spread out before them. "The clear, crisp climate," says an eye-witness, "braced the European

¹ Kaye, i. 378-381; Thornton, vi. 156-161.

² Early difficulties of the march through Scinde.

³ Kaye, i. 38. ¹ Havelock, 140, 160; Kaye, i. 404-407; Thornton, vi. 160-169.

² Kaye, i. 380-385; Thornton, vi. 162-165; Martin, 436.

³ Passage of the Indus, and march through the Bolan Pass.

frame; and over the wide plain, bounded by noble mountain-ranges, intersected by many sparkling streams, and dotted with orchards and

¹ Havelock, 187, 194;
Kaye, i. 407-409; Thornton, vi. 169, 170.

vineyards, the eye ranged with delight; while the well-known carol of the lark, mounting up in the fresh morning air, broke with many home associations charmingly on the English ear."¹

On the 26th March the Bengal column reached Quetta, a miserable town, presenting no supplies whatever to the troops; and then the difficulties of his position began painfully to present themselves to the commanding officer.

Here Sir Willoughby Cotton had orders to wait for further instructions; but this had become impossible, for the supplies of the army were becoming very low, and although they were doled out in the scantiest measure to the unfortunate soldiers and camp-followers, yet they could not, even by the most rigid economy, be made to last much longer. The loaf of the European soldier was diminished in weight; the native troops received only a pound, the camp-followers half a pound, of flour a day. Starvation stared them all in the face. In this extremity Captain Burnes repaired to Khelat, and by the promise of ample subsidies obtained from the khan of that place some trifling supplies of grain and camels, but adequate only to the wants of a few days. Supplies could not be found in the country. The inhabitants were subsisting on herbs and grasses gathered in the jungle. It was only by bringing down sheep from the higher mountains that any addition to the food of the army could be obtained. To push on as rapidly as possible, and reach a more fruitful region, was the only course which could be followed; but though Cotton acted with promptitude and decision, he was forced to wait till Sir J. Keane came up and assumed the command. Then the army advanced rapidly, and at length, on the 25th April, Shah Soojah, accompanied by the British officers, reached Candahar, the second city in his dominions, and the wearied troops found rest and food in a fruitful country. The losses in the march, though wholly unopposed, had been enormous: 20,000 beasts of burden had perished, whose remains had for long furnished the chief food to the troops, whose ordinary rations had been reduced to a fourth part of their usual amount. The sufferings of the men, and still more of the animals, during the latter part of the march, were indescribable; and never before had been seen how dependent is man on the vital element of water. Horses, already half-starved for want of grain and grass, were throughout the day panting in all the agonies of thirst; and in the evening a few drops of water could not be obtained even to mix the medicines of the sick in the hospitals. Anxious looks were cast to every green mound in the arid waste, and its base searched by panting crowds in search of the limpid stream. If a stream was seen glittering through the trees on the side of the road, men, horses, and camels rushed with unbridled impetuosity to the side, and plunged their heads in the refreshing wave, drinking till they nearly burst. Often, when water was to be had only in small quantities, officers even of the highest rank voluntarily

shared the much-coveted fluid with the humblest privates, proving that the European had not degenerated from the time when, in the same desert, Alexander the Great, pouring away the helmet filled with water offered to him, quenched the thirst of a whole army.¹

The reception given to Shah Soojah in Candahar was very flattering, and such as to justify in a great degree the assurances held out by Captain Burnes and Mr. Macnaghten as to the disposition of the people to hail with joy the restoration of a prince of the ancient lineage. An immense crowd assembled to greet his approach; there were shouts, and the sound of music, and the noise of firing, and the countenances of the people evinced at least momentary pleasure. In the evening Mr. Macnaghten wrote to Lord Auckland—"The Shah made a grand public entry into the city this morning, and was received with feelings amounting nearly to adoration." But the pleasing anticipations formed from this reception were much dispelled by what appeared at a grand review of the army, held a few days after, when the restored monarch first ascended the "musnud," or throne of state. The pageant was magnificent, and the troops, now recovered from their fatigues, made a brilliant appearance. But there was no enthusiasm in the crowd; "no one said God bless him." The English officers surrounded the king in their splendid uniforms of scarlet and gold; but few Afghans approached him. Murmurs were openly heard against the Feringhees (infidels), who were come to exterminate the true believers; and it was already evident that the Afghan throne, in the person of Shah Soojah, could be maintained only by British bayonets.²

Soon after these operations were concluded by the army of Sir John Keane in western Afghanistan, the eastern Passage of the force, nominally under Prince Timour, but really under Colonel Wade's force, was engaged in the arduous task of surmounting the Khyber Pass. This was a service of very great difficulty, for not only was the defile of great length and terrific strength, but to force it Wade had only a motley crowd of 6000 Hindoos, Sikhs, and Afghans, upon the fidelity of whom it was impossible to rely. The operation, however, was conducted with more facility than, in the circumstances, could have been expected. The Afredis who held the pass had had ample time to mature their defenses during the long time that the British auxiliary forces lay at Peshawar; but such was the vigor of Wade's operations when he did advance, and such his diplomatic skill, that, partly by force, partly by address, all resistance was overcome. Prince Timour proved a weak, incapable man, who could never, unaided, have led his troops through the Khyber; but his deficiencies were amply supplied by the energy and ability of the British officers in command of the expedition. The pass was surmounted with but a desultory resistance, in overcoming which, however, the troops, regular and irregular, evinced the greatest spirit, and

¹ Havelock, i. 323, 324;
Thornton, vi. 173-175;
Kaye, i. 418-421.

² Reception of Shah Soojah in Candahar, April 25.

¹ Kaye, i. 426-428;
Thornton, vi. 176-178.

² Passage of the Khyber by Colonel Wade's force, July 25.

the Sikhs in particular gave token of those martial qualities which were destined ere long to try to the uttermost the prowess of the British soldier in the field. On the 25th July, the fortress of Ali-Musjid, which commands the entrance of the defile, was invested, and on the July 26. following day it yielded to the well-directed fire of the guns under Lieutenant Barr, of the Bengal artillery. This success, and the imposing aspect of the army which swept through the pass, broke up the confederacy of the tribes who were inclined to dispute the passage: some drew off their forces in despair; some opened their doors to the magic of a golden key. All opposition was finally overcome,

and on the 3d September, Wade and Prince Timour reached Cabul, Narrative, 89, which had previously been occupied by Sir John Keane's forces.¹

The commencement of this formidable war, and the plunging so large a part of the British forces into the distant defiles of Afghanistan, produced an immense sensation in India, and evinced the treacherous surface on

66.
Great sensation in India from these events.

which the British Government was reposing in fancied security. The native states on the borders were beginning to evince signs of feverish anxiety. From the hills of Nepal to the jungles of Burmah came threats, at first smothered, but ere long openly uttered, of invasion. Even in our own provinces, and those longest subjected to our rule, there was an uneasy restless feeling among all classes—the well-known and often unaccountable precursor of external catastrophe or internal revolution. This feeling was peculiarly strong among the Mussulman inhabitants, forming above fifteen millions in the upper provinces. It was akin to that which, eight-and-thirty years before, had alarmed Marquis Wellesley, when Zemaun Shah threatened a descent from the mountains with the whole forces of central Asia, to exterminate the haughty infidels who had so long oppressed the land. In their eyes the approaching conflict assumed the air of a religious crusade. It was believed that the Feringhees were preparing to scale the mountains—"the native guardians of the land"—in order to exterminate the race of true believers in their strongholds, but that the followers of the Prophet would rise up in countless multitudes, repel the vain assault, pour down over the plains of the Punjab and the Ganges, and wrest all the country, from the Indus to the sea, from the infidel usurpers. So general were these feelings, so common the panic excited, that they formed the topic of conversation in the bazars of Calcutta and Bombay, and occasioned a serious decline in the value of the public securities.²

But whatever might be the expectations and hopes of the Hindoo and Mohammedan powers in India, the march of events, in the first instance at least, was very different, and a signal triumph awaited the arms of Christendom in the very cradle of the rule of the Crescent in central Asia. The stay of the army of Sir John Keane in Candahar was very brief, and not more than was indispensable to enable them to recover from the toils and hardships of their long and exhausting march. It

was expedient to press forward, and take advantage of the disunion and consternation which the rapid advance and unexpected successes of the British army had occasioned among the Afghan tribes. The bloodless fall of Candahar had struck terror into the souls of the partisans of Dost Mohammed, though it had been expected by that sagacious chief himself, who was well aware it was the stronghold of the Douranee dynasty. But he had never anticipated the successful passage of the Bolan and Kojuk passes; still less that the terrors of the far-famed Khyber should have been surmounted by a mere motley array of Asiatics, led only by European officers. Disunion evidently prevailed in the country; the hopes of Feringhee gold had done more than the dread of the Feringhee bayonets. A powerful force was advancing against his capital, both by the eastern and western passes; he was obliged to divide his troops in order to oppose them, and he knew not on whom, in this strait, he could rely to repel the threatened invasion. His empire was crumbling to pieces before his eyes. This state of things made it advisable to press upon the enemy before he had recovered from his consternation, and accordingly Sir John Keane, in the beginning of July, 440, Thornset out on his march for Cabul by the route of GHUZNEE.³

This far-famed fortress lies on the direct road from Candahar to Cabul, distant

two hundred and thirty miles from the former, and ninety from the latter. The whole country on either side through which the road passes is open and level, fruitful and abounding with supplies, and presenting no obstacles to an advancing army. The town itself is inferior, both in importance and population, to either of these capital cities; but the strength of its citadel, which was universally deemed impregnable in Asia, as well as its position, commanding the principal road to Cabul, rendered it, in a military point of view, a post of the highest importance. The rampart, which is sixty feet high, of good masonry, is built on a scarped mount, thirty-five feet high, rising from a wet ditch, and defended by numerous towers, a fausse-braye, and various skillfully constructed outworks. The interior of the town by no means corresponds to this imposing exterior. Situated on the extreme point of a low range of hills, it is composed of mean houses and narrow streets; but the citadel contains spacious squares, overshadowed by lofty trees, handsome palaces, and stabling for an entire brigade of cavalry. The governor of the place, Hyder Khan, had a large garrison of trusty troops under his command. To guard against the gates being blown open, as had so often been done by the British in Indian warfare, they were all walled up, except the one to the northward leading to Cabul. The ramparts were lofty and massy, incapable of being breached but by heavy artillery and regular approaches. Dost Mohammed never supposed that the English general would attempt the reduction of a place of such strength, least of all by a *coup-de-main*. He thought they would mask it, and push forward toward Cabul, where he was prepared to meet them. With this view he had largely strengthened the garrison, and

Kaye, l. 438-440.
Thornseton, vi. 178-181.

68.
Description of Ghuznee, and plans of Dost Mohammed.

67.
Movement of the army toward Cabul. July 15.

stationed a body of irregular horse on the hills in the neighborhood, who were to sally forth and threaten the communications and rear of the invaders, while he himself arrested them in front, in a strong position which he had occupied twenty miles in front of Cabul, and commanding all the approaches to that city.¹

But Dost Mohammed's well-conceived plan was entirely defeated, for the British commander had no intention of merely masking Ghuznee. Abdool Rached Khan, a nephew of Dost Mohammed, had joined the British army on its approach to the fortress. He was a man of intelligence, and well acquainted with the fortifications; and he revealed to Major Thompson, the chief engineer, the important secret of the weak point where an assault might be hazarded with a prospect of success. Before the attack was made, however, a deplorable event occurred, which demonstrated both the desperate character of the fanatics with whom we had to deal, and the revengeful disposition of the sovereign whom we were striving to put on the throne. A band of frantic Mohammedans, named Ghazees, incited by the priests, had poured down upon the British camp, and were met and defeated by Nicolson's native horse and Outram's foot, and their holy standard, with fifty prisoners, was taken. They were brought into the presence of Shah Soojah, and then, after reviling the king in his own presence, one of them actually stabbed one of the royal attendants under his very eyes. Upon this Shah Soojah ordered *them all* to be put to death, and they were hacked to pieces at his feet. This atrocious massacre was never forgotten in Afghanistan; it increased the indisposition of the people to receive the sovereign sought to be forced upon them, and led to an awful retribution, when the Afghans got the upper hand, and the wild cry of the Ghazees was heard in the Coord Cabul Pass.²

Relying upon the important information obtained from Abdool Khan, Sir John The assault. Keane and Major Thompson resolved upon an attempt to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*. For this purpose a storming party was formed, consisting of the light companies of the four European regiments, the 2d, 13th, and 17th, with the Company's European regiment, who formed the advance, followed by the other companies of the same regiments in support. The advance was under the command of Colonel Dennie of the 13th regiment, the support under Brigadier-general Sale. The night was dark and gusty; the wind wailed aloud, but its blasts were drowned in the roar of the artillery, which kept up a heavy fire at random upon the ramparts, on the side opposite to that where the assault was intended to be made. Meanwhile the stormers were silently formed on the Cabul road, and at three in the morning all was ready for the assault. Beguiled by the false attack, the Afghans manned all the ramparts against which the fire was directed, and a row of blue lights, suddenly lit up along the walls, showed that they expected and were prepared for an escalade. But the

stormers were not idle during this violent cannonade. In profound silence, and unobserved, under cover of the darkness, they silently piled the powder-bags against the Cabul gate; the fusee was fired by Lieutenant Durand, and the explosion took place. Above the blasts of the tempest and the roar of the artillery, the mighty sound was heard by all, whether in the city or the camp, and every eye was turned toward the quarter from which it arose. A column of black smoke was seen to arise; down with a heavy crash came the huge masses of masonry and rent beams which had been lifted up; and amidst the silence which followed the awful sound, a bugle was heard sounding the advance. On rushed Dennie, at the head of the stormers, into the scene of ruin; the opening was gained before the defenders could man it, and soon the bayonets of the British were crossing with the swords of the Afghans. A few moments of mortal strife took place in the dark, but the British gained ground, they caught a glimpse of the first streaks of dawn on the eastern sky within the walls, and soon three loud cheers—so loud that they were heard through the whole camp—announced that the stormers had entered Ghuznee.³

But the fortress, though entered, was not yet taken. Sale was eagerly advancing with the main column in support, when he met an engineer officer who had been blown down by the explosion, who reported that the entrance was blocked up by the ruins, and that Dennie could not force his way in. Uncertain what to do, Sale halted his column, and a short interval of doubt and anxiety took place. But soon the bugle was again heard sounding the advance, where a desperate strife awaited the assailants. The Afghans, now thoroughly alarmed, and aware of the scene of danger, came crowding in from all quarters, and a scene of matchless horror and confusion ensued. Dennie, with his small but dauntless band, was holding his ground with invincible tenacity, and pouring in volley after volley on the infuriated crowd. Into the midst of the throng Sale rushed at the head of his men; he was cut down by the sabre of an Afghan, but after a desperate struggle he regained his feet, and clove his opponent's head, by one blow, to the teeth. The support under Captain Croker rapidly came up, followed by the reserve under Colonel Orchard; the pass was won, and ere long the colors of the 13th and 17th were seen waving above the smoke in the strong morning breeze.* A loud cheer burst from the camp of the besiegers at the joyful sight, which was re-echoed by fearful cries from the fortress, for the Afghans rushed, sword in hand, from their covers, and plied their sabres with frantic resolution against the bayonets of the assailants. A terrible strife, a fearful carnage, took place before the fortress was completely won; but in the hour of triumph mercy was not forgotten; the unresisting were spared, the women were respected, and not an inmate of Hyder Khan's zenana suffered outrage.⁴

* The colors of the 13th were first planted on the ramparts by Ensign Frew, nephew of the Hon. John Hookham Frew.

Melancholy tragedy before Ghuznee, and plan of the attack. July 22.

¹ Kaye, i. 444; Have-lock, ii. 69; Outram's Rough Notes, 112; Dr. Keane's Narrative, ii. 39-41.

² Kaye, i. 446, 447; Have-lock, ii. 78, 80; Thornton, vi. 192-195.

³ Capture of the fortress.

⁴ Kaye, i. 447-449; Thornton, vi. 191-194; Have-lock, ii. 99-100.

The fall of Ghuznee, which was immediately followed by the capture of the governor, Hyder Khan, and such of the garrison as had not been slain in the assault, 1600 in number, was a mortal stroke to Dost Mohammed. The booty taken was immense; vast stores of ammunition, guns, and provisions fell into the hands of the victors, who had only to lament the loss of seventeen killed and a hundred and sixty-five wounded; of these, eighteen were officers—an unusually large proportion, affording decisive proof how gallantly they had conducted themselves in the desperate struggle. Five hundred bodies of the Afghans were buried in the town, besides a great number who fell under the sabres of the cavalry in the pursuit. But the moral effects of the victory were even greater than its material results. Having been universally considered as impregnable, and the principal bulwark of Afghanistan, its rapid and apparently easy capture diffused universal consternation. It struck terror into the intrepid soul of Dost Mohammed, who thenceforward became impressed with the idea that the British were invincible, and that it was in vain to contend with the evident decree of destiny in their favor. Afzul Khan, one of his sons, who was hovering in the neighborhood, prepared to fall on the beaten army, was struck with such terror, when he saw the British colors waving on the ramparts of the far-famed citadel, that, abandoning his baggage, elephants, and camp-equipage, which

fell into the hands of the victors, he fled back to Cabul. Nothing remained capable of arresting the British in their advance to the capital.¹

Thither accordingly they advanced, after a halt of a few days at Ghuznee. Dost Mohammed, with a resolution worthy of the highest admiration, desired all who wavered in their allegiance to leave his camp, and himself moved forward, with such as he thought he could rely on, to Urghundeh, where he parked his artillery and prepared to give battle. But it was evidently in vain; the seeds of dissolution were sown in his army. The venal Kuzilbashes, the treacherous Afghans, were fast deserting his camp. All sought to pay their court to the victors: it was the counterpart of Napoleon at Fontainebleau. He besought them to make a stand, and rally like true believers around the standard of the Prophet, but it was in vain. "You have eaten my salt," he said, "for thirteen years. It is too plain you are resolved to seek a new master; grant me but one favor in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness; enable me to die with honor; stand by the brother of Futteh Khan while he executes one last charge against the cavalry of these Feringhee dogs; in that onset he will fall; then go and make your own terms with Shah Soojah." But the heart-stirring appeal was made in vain: none responded to it; terror or treachery had

frozen every heart.² With tears in his eyes the gallant chief turned his horse's head, and, abandoning his recreant followers, fled to Cabul, whence he made for the wilds of

the Hindoo Coosh, to seek in its icy solitudes, and amidst the savage Oosbegs, beyond the Baman Pass, that fidelity which he could no longer hope to find among his own countrymen.

A detachment of cavalry, under Captain Outram, who volunteered for the service, dashed off in pursuit of Dost Mohammed, and for several days had him almost in sight. He would certainly have been taken, had not an Afghan chief, Hadjee Khan,³ who had betrayed Dost Mohammed and undertaken to be their guide, proved a second time a traitor, and purposely delayed the march to give his former master time to escape. The British army broke up from Ghuznee on the 29th July, and after an unresisted march of eight days, arrived before Cabul, which they entered in triumph on the 7th August. Gorgeous in gay apparel, glittering with jewels, and surrounded by a brilliant staff, in which the scarlet and gold of the English uniforms shone forth conspicuous, Shah Soojah traversed the city of his fathers, and proudly ascended the Bala-Hissar, the venerated palace of his race. But though a vast crowd was assembled to witness his entry, there was no popular enthusiasm, no indication of a gratified national wish. Slowly, and in majestic pomp, and with the air rather of conquerors than allies, the procession wound up the ascent. But when they reached the summit, and entered the gates of the palace, the dethroned monarch's joy could no longer be concealed. With almost infantine delight he went through all the long-left but unforgettens rooms and gardens, and received with undisguised transports the congratulations of the British officers upon his restoration to his dominions.⁴

The unexpected and rapid success of the British army in Afghanistan, and the restoration of Shah Soojah to what was fondly hoped to be an undisputed throne, gave the greatest satisfaction to the British Government and people. Honors and rewards were showered with a liberal but not undeserved hand on the officers engaged in the expedition. Lord Auckland was advanced to the dignity of earl; Sir John Keane was made a peer, with a pension of £2000 a year; Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Henry Pottinger were made baronets; Colonel Wade, a knight; while Sir Willoughby Cotton, Colonel Sale, and several others, were created Knights Commanders of the Bath. The splendor of the success, and the comparatively small loss with which it had been achieved, stilled for a season the voice of discontent; and though the Duke of Wellington, Marquis Wellesley, and a few other sagacious observers, still maintained that our difficulties were only about to commence, and that we had better take warning from the fate of the Moscow expedition, yet the great majority gave way to no such apprehensions, and fondly hoped that, after reposing a while on its laurels, the force engaged, leaving Shah Soojah, a faithful and devoted ally, firmly seated on the throne, with the keys of India in his hand, would return in safety to the plains of Hindostan.⁵

¹ Thornton, vi. 193-197; Kaye, i. 449-451; Havelock, ii. 104-107.

² Vain efforts of Dost Mohammed to make a stand, and his flight.

³ Havelock, ii. 124-130; Kaye, i. 452-454; Thornton, vi. 190-197.

⁴ Entry of the British into Cabul. Aug. 7.

⁵ Kaye, i. 459-461; Havelock, ii. 118; Kennedy, ii. 62; Major Houghton, 251; Thornton, 197, 193.

⁶ Honors bestowed on those engaged in the expedition.

⁷ Thornton, vi. 267.

Meanwhile Colonel Wade, with a force which had passed the Khyber, after making itself master, on the way, of Jellalabad, had arrived at Cabul on the 3d of September, so that an imposing force of 15,000 men, British and auxiliaries, was assembled in the Afghanistan capital. This large force enabled Sir John Keane to extend his detachments in different directions up the valleys of Afghanistan, one of which, advancing to the foot of the Hindoo Coosh, chased Dost Mohammed over its snowy summit, to seek an asylum amidst the huts of the distant Oosbegs. To appearance, the country was not only entirely subdued, but in a great measure tranquilized; and though a few small expeditionary parties were cut off, yet this was no more than might have been expected in a mountainous country, amidst a warlike people, upon whom a new government had been violently imposed by foreign bayonets. Supplies came in on all sides in great abundance. The never-failing magnet

of gold drew forth all the resources of the country, and the refractory chiefs were every day sending in their adhesion.¹

In the midst of these flattering appearances there was no solid ground for confidence; and not the least part of the embarrassment of the Indian Government arose from the very magnitude and decisive nature of its success. Shah Soojah, it was true, was seated on the throne, and from his palace on the Bala-Hissar might view without immediate alarm the figure of Dost Mohammed flitting behind the clouds and snows of the Bamian Pass, amidst the uncouth and shivering Oosbegs. But it had already become evident that he had no confidence in his own position, that he was unpopular with the great majority of his countrymen, and that the withdrawal of the British troops would be the immediate signal for his fall. If so, the restored government of Dost Mohammed would immediately, alike from policy and the desire of revenge, ally itself in the closest manner with Russia, and the whole objects of the expedition would not only be lost, but the very danger enhanced which it was its chief object to avert. Yet how was the army to be kept in its present position in Afghanistan without a strain upon the Indian empire, which its resources, great as they were, might prove incapable of standing? The country now occupied by the British troops was of great extent, a thousand miles from its base of operations in Hindostan, and inhabited by warlike and hostile tribes inured to warfare, and with arms in their hands, which they well knew how to wield. To retain a great force in such a situation would prove an irremediable drain upon the resources of India, and to leave a small one only was to expose it to imminent hazard of being cut off.²

Lord Auckland, after carefully reviewing every side of this difficult question, was of opinion that, although the British army beyond the Indus could not with safety be entirely withdrawn, yet it would be sufficient to leave an auxiliary force of five or six regi-

ments to aid in keeping Shah Soojah on the throne. To carry into execution this design, it was proposed to withdraw the Bombay army entire by the Bolan Pass, and a portion of that of Bengal by the Khyber, leaving British troops at Cabul and Candahar to support the government, and in Ghuznee and Quetta on the west, and Jellalabad and Ali-Musjid on the east. These designs were only partially carried into effect; it was found to be necessary to leave a much larger force in the country than was at first intended. The general orders announcing the ultimate decision of Government were looked for with much anxiety, and they at length made their appearance on the 2d October. A comparatively small force, consisting of the 16th lancers, with two regiments of native horse and a large part of the horse-artillery, was to return to India under Sir John Keane; but the whole of the 1st division of Bengal infantry, with the 18th Queen's regiment of infantry, were to remain in Cabul and Candahar; Ghuznee and Jellalabad were to be strongly occupied by native regiments. Sir Willoughby Cotton was intrusted with the command-in-chief. The forces in Ghuznee were under the immediate command of Major M'Laren, those in Candahar of General Nott, and in Jellalabad of General Sale. In addition to this, a detachment of infantry, with a troop of horse-artillery under Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, with a Ghoorka regiment, was sent forward to the very extremity of the Shah's dominions to the northward, to keep an eye upon Dost Mohammed, who had found refuge among the Oosbegs on the other side of the lofty mountain-range of the Hindoo Coosh. This little army, by incredible exertions, made its way through these dreary wildernesses, reached the Pass of Bamian in safety, and prepared to pass the winter in caverns amidst the ice and snow of the great Caucasian range.¹

The homeward march of the Bombay army was signalized by the capture of the strong fortress of Khelat, the Khan of which was judged to have merited deposition by the hostility and treachery he had shown. The citadel, which stands on a high rock, overlooks the town; and on the north were three heights of nearly equal elevation, which the Khan had lined with infantry, supported by five guns in position. The attacking force consisted of the 2d and 17th regiments, a native regiment, six guns, and a detachment of local force, under General Willshire. The assault was directed, in the first instance, against the infantry on the hills, and the shrapnell shells from Stephenson's guns soon compelled them to seek refuge in the walls of the fortress. The guns were immediately pushed forward to within two hundred yards of the gate, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the matchlockmen of the enemy; and after playing for some time, it at last gave way. Pointing to the cleared entrance, Willshire gave the word to advance, and the British soldiers, springing up with a loud cheer from the rocks and bushes by which they had been covered, rushed forward, headed by Pennycuik and his men, to the assault. The other companies quickly followed, and the entrance was won; but a desperate struggle ensued before the

76. Flattering appearance of the country.

¹ Kaye, i. 463, 464; Thornton, vi. 208.

77. Real causes of embarrassment to the Indian Government.

² Kaye, i. 464-466.

78. Plans of Lord Auckland for the future in Afghanistan. Oct. 2.

¹ General Orders, Oct. 2, 1839, Calcutta Gazette; Kaye, i. 465, 473; Thornton, vi. 200, 201. Nott's Memoirs, i. 142-145.

79. Attack on Khelat.

citadel was taken, for every inch of the ground was manfully contested. At its entrance Mehrab Khan and his chiefs stood, sword in hand, prepared to give battle for his last strong-hold. But nothing could in the end stand the fierce attack of the British. Volley after volley was poured in by the leading companies with deadly precision of aim; the Khan and eight of his principal officers fell dead or wounded; and at length, being convinced by Lieutenant Loveday, who went up alone to a parley, that further resistance was vain, they surrendered at discretion. The loss of the British was thirty-two officers and men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded.¹

The autumn and winter which succeeded this brilliant campaign passed pleasantly to the officers and men of the army of the Indus. The fine climate, which felt deliciously cool after the sultry gales of Hindostan, the keen bracing air, the fine forests and finer scenery, the ice-cold water of the environs of Cabul, rendered the place at first an earthly paradise to men who had been toiling for months under a burning sun, in a long and fatiguing march from the plains of India. There were shows, spectacles, and amusements; the officers rode races to the no small astonishment of the Afghans; reviews on a grand scale, and with princely magnificence, were held; and the king, who delighted in scenes of pageantry, established an order of knighthood, and distributed the insignia, to the persons selected to receive them, with grace and dignity. Amidst these scenes of festivity and amusement the time passed pleasantly away, as it ever does when it "only treads on flowers;" and the officers who were left, deeming the campaign at an end, and that they were only destined to reap its fruits,

sent for their wives, and scarcely envied those who, on the 18th September, commenced their march back to India, by the route of the Kojuk and Bolan passes.²

But the thorns were not long of showing themselves; and the British officers were soon taught, to their cost, that their military occupation of Afghanistan was not to be entirely of a pacific character. The detachments sent out in different directions did not meet with any open opposition in the field, but they soon found that they were surrounded by secret enemies, and that the great majority of the clans wanted only a leader, and some prospect of success, to break out into insurrection. Even in the capital, notwithstanding the presence of government and five thousand British troops, and the occupation of the Bala-Hissar, impregnable to the whole forces of Cabul, unmistakable symptoms of discontent appeared. The prices of every thing had risen seriously, in some articles doubled; the necessary result of a commissariat which, at extravagant prices, bought up all provisions within their reach; and all this, which told severely upon the poor classes, was set down, not without justice, to the hated presence of the Feringhees. Severe oppression was exercised by Prince Timour's troops on the natives, which at length reached such a pitch that General Nott

flogged one of the marauders in his train in his own presence. The evils of a tripartite government, almost equally divided between Shah Soojah, the nominal sovereign; Sir William Macnaghten, the political agent; and Sir Willoughby Cotton, the military commander-in-chief, were already beginning to be felt. Power so divided became impotent. Responsibility was no longer felt when it could so easily be devolved on another. To these many sources of danger were ere long added others, less formidable in appearance, but scarcely less so in their ultimate results. The idle hours of the officers were soon beguiled by more exciting pursuits than the race-course; the zenana presented greater attractions than the hunting-field; and the general partiality of beauty for military success inflicted wounds on the Afghan chiefs more painful than those of the sword, and excited a thirst for vengeance more intolerable than the subjugation of their country, or the forcible change of their government.³

While difficulties were thus besetting the English army in Afghanistan, the early and unlooked-for success of the Russian expedition had fixed the attention and excited the jealousy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Something required to be done to re-establish Russian influence in central Asia, and counterbalance the check it had received from the failure before Herat, and the triumphant march of the British to Afghanistan. For this purpose advantage was taken of numerous acts of violence committed by the Khiva chiefs upon the Russian merchants carrying on trade with central Asia, and who had been, in a great many instances, slain or carried into captivity by those ruthless marauders, to demand reparation and the punishment of the offenders; and upon this being refused or delayed, an expedition was prepared to invade and occupy the country.* The Russians had ample cause for aggression—much more so than the English had for their expedition into Afghanistan—and, like it, they shared the fate of all the incursions which the powers of Europe have made into central Asia. After gaining, as is usually the case, considerable advantages in the outset, it was entirely defeated, and with frightful loss, in the end. The climate, the snows, pestilence, famine, and the inconceivable difficulties of the land carriage, proved fatal to a powerful body of brave men, 6000 strong, with twelve guns, amply provided with all the muniments of war, very few of whom ever returned to tell the melancholy tale of their disasters to their countrymen.⁴

Scarcely was the British Government in India relieved from the dread awakened by this ap-

* "Not one of the Russian caravans can now cross the desert without danger. It was in this manner that a Russian caravan from Orenburg, with goods belonging to our merchants, was pillaged by the armed bands of Khiva. No Russian merchant can now venture into that country without running the risk of losing his life or being made a prisoner. The inhabitants of Khiva are constantly making incursions into that part of the country of the Kirghiz which is at a distance from our lines, and, to crown all these insults, they are detaining several thousand Russian subjects in slavery. The number of these unfortunate wretches increases daily, for the peaceful fishermen on the banks of the Caspian are continually attacked and carried off as slaves to Khiva."—Proclamation of Emperor, October 28, 1839; *Aloniteur*, 14th November, 1839.

¹ Kays, i. 499-491; Thornton, vi. 201-205.

² Pleasant quarters of the troops in Cabul in autumn and winter.

³ Kays, i. 471, 472; Havellock, ii. 136, 147; Thornton, vi. 201.

⁴ Growing difficulties of the British position.

¹ Kays, i. 480, 614; Nott, i. 194-206.

² Russian expedition against Khiva, October, 1839.

³ Kays, i. 498, 504, 511.

parition of the Muscovite battalions on the table-land of central Asia, when they had more serious grounds for apprehension from the difficulties in Afghanistan, which were daily thickening around them. The skill of the British officers, however, who were in command of the different detachments which occupied the country, the bravery of the troops employed under them, and the superiority of their arms, especially in artillery, of which the Afghans were nearly destitute, for long chained victory to our standards, and preserved the country to appearance quiet, when in reality convulsed with angry passions. Favorable accounts at first came in from nearly all quarters. The Bamian Pass was occupied without resistance; the Khyber, though not without much fighting and considerable loss, was kept open by the aid of detachments from Jellalabad and the downward passage of Keane's army; and so confident was Macnaghten that the country was quietly settling down under the restored rule of the Douranee prince, that he sent for his wife from Hindostan, and dispatched a body of horse under Edward Comolly to escort her from the plains of India. In vain Nott warned the Government of the coming dangers; his voice, as is
 1 Kaye, i. 484, generally the case with advice at 486: Nott, l. 283, 238. variance with preconceived opinions, was disregarded.¹

Meanwhile intelligence of the most disquieting nature was received from Herat. The liberality of the British Government to its Khan had been extreme; twelve lacs of rupees (£120,000) had been sent to its ruler, and two men of distinguished ability, Captains Todd and Shakespeare of the artillery, with Mr. Abbot, had been long in the city to superintend the expenditure of that large sum on the fortifications. But in spite of all that they could do, great part of the money was misapplied or wasted by the venal or corrupt Afghan authorities, and at length it was discovered that the vizier, Yar Mohammed, while living in affluence on British bounty, was superadding to his innumerable other treacheries that of intriguing with the Persians. So evident was the perfidy of this hoary traitor, that Macnaghten did not hesitate to recommend offensive measures against him, and the annexation of his state to the dominions of Shah Soojah. But Lord Auckland, who had his hands sufficiently full nearer home, and was beginning to feel, in the ceaseless demands for men and money from Afghanistan, the cost of operations in those distant mountain regions, wisely declined the proposal, and endeavored to effect the object by increased advances of money. These Yar Mohammed willingly received, and meanwhile continued his intrigues with the Persian government, and carried his effrontery so far as actually to boast, in a letter to Mohammed Shah, the Persian ruler, which was afterward laid before the Governor-
 2 Kaye, i. 515, general, that he was cajoling the English, who were freely spending their army at Herat while he was throwing himself into the arms of Persia.²

The accounts from the Punjab also were of a kind to excite some apprehensions, and evince the immensely increased circle of hostility in

which the operations beyond the Indus had involved the British Government. The old chief who had founded the empire of Lahore, and, amidst all his faults to others, had ever been faithful in his alliance with the English, had expired shortly before the entrance of our troops into Cabul, and Nao-Nehal Singh, and the Sikh chiefs generally, who had succeeded to his power, were by no means equally well disposed toward us. The continued and apparently interminable passage of troops through their territories had not unnaturally excited their jealousy; and they asked themselves, not without reason, what chance the Sikh monarchy had of maintaining its independence, if the British power was established in a permanent manner in Afghanistan, and their dominions were used only as a stepping-stone betwixt it and Hindostan? Symptoms of disaffection had appeared in the auxiliary Sikh forces; one entire regiment had turned about when led to the attack of the Khyber, and never ceased flying till they were out of the pass; and the demands of the Sikh authorities for money, on account of the alleged damage done by the passage of the troops, were daily increasing. Already Macnaghten had declared, that unless the proceedings of their generals were checked, he did not see how a rupture with the
 3 Mr. Mac-Sikhs was to be avoided, and that
 "we should be in a very awkward predicament, unless measures are adopted for macadamizing the road through the Punjab."³

In the mean time, affairs in Afghanistan itself were daily becoming more alarming. The Ghilzyes, a clan peculiarly hostile to the Douranee dynasty, were in open arms between Candahar and Cabul, and had entirely cut off the communication between these two places. Captain Anderson, of the Bengal artillery, with a regiment of foot, four guns, and three hundred horse, attacked a body of two thousand of them on the 16th May, and defeated them, after an obstinate fight, with great slaughter. This victory for a time stifled the insurrection in that quarter, but it only tended to increase the smothered hostility of the Ghilzyes, which was daily spreading and becoming more inveterate. The southern provinces were all in a blaze. Quetta had been besieged, Kahun invested by the insurgents, and the newly-won fortress of Khelat was wrested from the chief to whom it had been assigned by the British, and Captain Loveday, who had distinguished himself in the assault, barbarously murdered by the Beloochees, who had risen in arms. Yet, amidst all these serious and daily increasing difficulties, which threatened in so alarming a manner his rear and communications, Macnaghten still persisted in the belief that nothing serious was to be apprehended; that Afghanistan might be considered as pacified; and that now was the time to consolidate British power in central Asia, by an expedition against Herat, and its annexation to the dominions of Shah Soojah.⁴

During the summer of 1840 the little detach-

¹ Kaye, i. 515, 521: Thornton, vi. 207-209.

² Kaye, i. 524, 535; Sir W. Macnaghten to Lord Auckland, Aug. 13, 1840: *Ibid.* 533.

³ Thornton, vi. 213-214; Kaye, i. 524, 535; Sir W. Macnaghten to Lord Auckland, Aug. 13, 1840: *Ibid.* 533.

ment which had been sent to the Bamian Pass to watch the movements of Dost Mohammed, and had passed the Bamian Pass. winter amidst ice and snow in the caverns of that inhospitable region, was released from its forced inactivity, and pushing across the great mountain-range, it occupied the fort of Rajgah, which was found deserted, on the other side. But it soon became apparent that the occupation of this distant and isolated fort, surrounded by a hostile population, had been a mistake. Two companies of the Ghoorka regiment, sent out to escort an officer into it, were met by a superior body of Oosbeg horsemen, and only rescued from destruction, after having sustained a severe loss, by the opportune arrival of reinforcements sent out to extricate them from the fort. Meanwhile Dost Mohammed had been thrown into prison by the cruel and perfidious Khan of Bokhara, with whom he had taken refuge. He nearly fell a victim to a treacherous attempt upon his life; and having afterward made his escape, his horse fell dead from fatigue, and he avoided detection only by dyeing his beard with ink, and joining a caravan which he accidentally overtook. At length he succeeded in joining the Wullee of Khooloom, an old ally, who received him in his misfortune with unshaken fidelity. Sheltered by this supporter, he again raised the standard of independence, and the Oosbeks having all flocked around him, he, early in September, advanced toward the Bamian Pass at the head of six thousand men. When reminded that his

wives and children were in the hands of the British, he replied, "I have no family; I have buried my wives and children."¹

This fresh inroad of Dost Mohammed was soon attended with serious consequences, and excited the utmost alarm in the whole northern provinces of Afghanistan. Surrounded by an insurgent and inveterately hostile population, it was soon found to be impossible to maintain the posts which had been occupied beyond the Hindoo Coosh, and accordingly both Rajgah and Syghan were evacuated by the Ghoorka regiment which held them, who retired, after sustaining severe loss, to Bamian. An Afghan regiment, which had been raised to support Shah Soojah, openly went over to the enemy. These successes spread the flame all through Afghanistan; the ferment soon became very great, both in Cabul and Candahar; and it was universally believed that Dost Mohammed had raised the whole strength of Central Asia to the south of the Oxus, and was advancing with an innumerable army across the Hindoo Coosh to exterminate the Feringhee dogs, who were devouring the land of the true believers. So far did the panic proceed, that people in Cabul shut up their shops, and began to pack up or hide their effects; and the military authorities, to be prepared for the worst, occupied a gate of the Bala-Hissar by a company of British soldiers.²

But at this very time, when affairs appeared most alarming, and the star of Dost Mohammed seemed again in the ascendant, an unexpected event occurred, which entirely changed the as-

pect of affairs, and postponed for a year the final catastrophe. His first step in advance had proved eminently unfortunate. Advancing, on the 18th September, with his brave but undisciplined Oosbeks, down the valley of Bamian, he was met by Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, with two companies of sepoy, two of Ghoorkas, two guns, and four hundred Afghan horse. Despite the overwhelming superiority of numbers, which were at least five to one, Mackenzie advanced with the utmost intrepidity to the attack. Never was proved more clearly the superiority of European arms and discipline over the desultory onset of Asia than on this occasion. The Oosbeks, confident in their numbers, and animated with the strongest fanatical zeal, at first stood their ground firmly; but when the guns, which were nobly served, were brought to bear upon them, they broke and fled, and were cut down in great numbers by the cavalry in pursuit. Dost Mohammed and his sons owed their escape to the fleetness of their horses; and soon after, Colonel Den-
nie, who had been advanced in support, had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty with the Wullee of Khooloom, on the summit of the lofty Dundun-i-Shygun, by which all the country to the south of Syghan was yielded to Shah Soojah, that to the north being reserved to the Wullee; and the latter agreed no longer to harbor Dost Mohammed, or give any support to his cause.³

"I am like a wooden spoon," said Dost Mohammed, after this defeat; "you may throw me hither and thither, but I shall not be hurt." His deeds soon proved the truth of his words. Defeated on the Hindoo Coosh, he reappeared in the Kohistan, and again raised his standard. Macnaghten and the British officers in Cabul were in the middle of their rejoicings for his signal defeat in the Bamian Pass, when intelligence was received of his arrival, and the rapid progress of insurrection in that province. A force under Sir Robert Sale was dispatched to the spot, to make head against the insurgents. He came up with them at a fortified post, called Tootumdurrah, which was speedily forced, and the Afghans put to flight, though with the loss of Edward Conolly, a lieutenant of cavalry—a noble youth, who had volunteered for the assault. Another fortified post, named Joolgah, was next attacked by Sale, of greater strength than the former; but though the stormers assaulted in the most gallant manner, led by Colonel Tronson, of the 18th, the defenses were too strong to be overcome, and the column of attack was withdrawn. The place was evacuated next day, and the works destroyed by the British; but this did by no means compensate the previous repulse, in a country where they were surrounded by an insurgent population so much their superiors in numbers, and every thing depended on their keeping up their character for invincibility.⁴

But the career of Dost Mohammed, in active warfare at least, was drawing to a close, and that, too, in a way so strange and unaccountable, that it savors rather of the colors of ro-

^{89.} His defeat at the Bamian Pass. Sept. 18.

¹ Macnaghten to Rawlinson, Sept. 21, 1840; Kaye, i. 553, 555.

² Fresh efforts of Dost Mohammed.

³ Sept. 29.

⁴ Oct. 23.

⁵ Thornton, vi. 222, 223; Kaye, i. 554, 555.

mance than the sober tints of reality. Sale, with two thousand men, advanced farther into Kohistan, and came up with the Dost on the 18th, at a fortified place of great strength, occupied by him with two thousand Afghans. The terror was very great in Cabul, from which he was only fifty miles distant, and preparations for a siege were already making in the Bala-Hissar. Macnaghten, therefore, urged upon Sale an immediate attack; but before the guns could be got up to breach the works, Dost Mohammed abandoned the position, which was taken possession of by the British. His cause, however, seemed to be daily gaining strength; volunteers flocked to him from all quarters, and some of Shah Soojah's soldiers deserted their British officers and joined the enemy. Encouraged by these favorable circumstances,

Oct. 27. Dost Mohammed again moved forward, and marched straight toward the capital. Having received intelligence of his movements, Sale advanced to meet him, and on the 2d November they came unexpectedly upon his force in the valley of Furwandurrah, occupying in strength the hills on one side, while the British were posted on the other.¹

Dost Mohammed had no intention at that time of giving battle, but an accidental circumstance precipitated a collision attended with the most important consequences. He was withdrawing his troops up the hills, when a body of sepoy horse approached to turn his flank and disquiet his retreat. At the head of a small but determined band of Afghan horse, Dost Mohammed advanced to meet them. "Follow me," he cried, as he moved forward, "or I am a lost man." The Afghans followed in a manner worthy of such a leader, and the British officers gallantly pressed on to the encounter. Already they had broken through the first troopers of the enemy, when, on looking round, they perceived that, so far from being followed they had been deserted by their men. Either from disaffection or cowardice, the Hindoo horsemen had turned about and fled, without so much as crossing sabres with the enemy. Nothing remained to the officers but to cut their way back, which they did with heroic courage, though a very heavy loss. Lieutenants Crispin and Broadfoot were slain, after a desperate fight; a treacherous shot and the dagger of an assassin dispatched Dr. Lord, and Captains Fraser and Ponsonby only extricated themselves severely wounded from the fight. The swords of the Afghans were soon reeking with the blood of the recreant troopers who had occasioned the disaster, and they stood for some time waving their standards in front of the British line, without any one venturing to attack them. So disconcerted was Sir Alexander Burnes, who was with the detachment, at this disaster that he wrote to Sir William Macnaghten that nothing remained but to fall back to Cabul, and that he would do well immediately to concentrate all the available troops there.²

Macnaghten was making arrangements to carry into effect this disheartening advice, when it was announced to him, as he returned from

his evening ride, that an Ameer requested to speak to him. "What Ameer?" asked Sir William. "Dost Mohammed Khan," replied the troop-er who brought the message; and at the same instant Dost Mohammed appeared. Throwing himself from his horse, he surrendered his sword to the envoy, saying he was come to claim his protection. Sir William courteously returned the sword, and desired the Ameer to remount, which he accordingly did. He had been twenty-four hours in the saddle, and ridden above sixty miles, but he exhibited no symptoms of fatigue. A tent was pitched for him, in which he was indulged with every luxury, and scarcely guarded. He declared that he had no desire to escape, and that, having chosen an asylum, he would keep it. He wrote the same evening to his sons and his family, who were already in the hands of the British, whom he eagerly inquired after. The only anxiety he evinced was when a report got up in the camp that it was the intention of the British Government to *banish him to London*; but he was soon appeased on being assured that this was not the case. It would appear that, since the storming of Ghuznee and the defeat in the Bamian, he despaired of the ability of Afghanistan to contend in the long-run with Great Britain; and that he purposely chose the day succeeding a brilliant exploit to withdraw from a contest become hopeless, but from which he could now retire with unstained personal honor. He had no reason to complain of his reception, for he was treated in the camp with the very highest distinction, and waited upon by all the principal officers in the army. On the 12th November he set out from Cabul, under a strong escort, for Hindostan. "I hope," said Macnaghten to the Governor-general soon after, "that the Dost will be treated with liberality. The case of Shah Soojah is not parallel. The Shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his dominion; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim."³

The surrender of Dost Mohammed was an event of immense importance to Afghanistan. Though it did not remove the causes of discontent, nor abate the animosity of the natives at the hated Feringhees, yet it deprived them of a head, and took from their combination its most formidable character—that of unity of direction. The insurgents, generally defeated and universally dispirited, returned to their homes, leaving the British posts unassailed. Sir William Macnaghten, deeming the insurrection at an end, wrote to the Governor-general that now was the time to secure a safe passage for the troops through the Panjab; and the officers of the army, who had so recently complained of being overworked, now declared that they were dying of *ennui*. Two events, which occurred at the same time as the surrender of Dost Mohammed, contributed eminently to tranquilize the country. On the 8d November, General Nott reoccupied Khelat, which had been abandoned by its garrison, and on the same day

¹ Kaye, i. 562, 563; Thornton, vi. 225, 226.

² Sir A. Burnes to Sir W. Macnaghten, Nov. 4, 1840; Kaye, i. 563, 564; Thornton, vi. 226, 227.

³ Kaye, i. 566, 567; Thornton, vi. 228, 229; Sir W. Macnaghten to Mr. Robertson, Jan. 12, 1841, M.S. Correspondence; Kaye, i. 568.

Major Boscawen defeated a considerable body of insurgents, under the son of the ex-chief of that

Dec. 1. fortress. On the 1st December a still more important action took place near Kotree, where the same chief was attacked by Colonel Marshall, with nine hundred sepoy, sixty horse, and two guns, and, after a gallant action, totally defeated, with the loss of five hundred men slain on the spot, including all the chiefs, and their whole guns and baggage. This signal defeat, and the severity of the weather, closed all efforts on the part of the enemy in that quarter for the remainder of the year.¹

While the snow lay on the ground, which it did for four months, this state of compulsory quiescence continued without interruption. The first symptoms of a renewed insurrection occurred in the end of the year, in the neighborhood of Candahar. The political direction of that province was in the hands of Major Rawlinson,* an officer of equal talent, judgment, and address, intimately acquainted with Eastern customs and feelings; and the military under the direction of General Nott, a noble veteran of the Indian army, deservedly beloved by the soldiery, but blunt in manners, free of speech, and somewhat difficult to act with in a subordinate situation. Unfortunately, a coldness existed between him and Sir John Keane, owing to his having been superseded by the latter in command, in favor of General Williams, from a narrow-minded prejudice, of long standing in the Queen's army, against the Company's service. It was not long before Nott had an opportunity of giving proof of his talents in the field. Early in January a body of fifteen hundred insurgent horse showed itself in the neighborhood of Candahar. They were attacked by a detachment of sepoy under Captain Farrington, broken and dispersed. But, notwithstanding this check, the insurrection continued and spread, inasmuch that one of our best-informed political agents began to entertain suspicions that Shah Soojah himself, weary of the perilous protection of the British troops, was no stranger to the movement. Certain it is that the spirit of disaffection was even stronger among the Douranee chiefs than the Ghilzyes, and that delegates from them were traversing the whole country, instigating the people to revolt. In addition to this, intelligence was received from Herat to the effect that Yar Mohammed, the faithless vizier of that place, in addition to his innumerable other treacheries, had now, when enriched by British subsidies, openly joined the Persians; inasmuch that Colonel Todd had broken up the British mission there, and was on his way back to Afghanistan. Such was the animosity of the old vizier that Shah Kamran, the sovereign, told one of the English officers,

in a private audience, that but for his protection "not a Feringhee would have been left alive." As it was, the seizure of all their property was openly discussed in the vizier's council;² and it was only by their precipitate retreat that the

members of the mission were saved from indignities of the worst kind.

It appeared ere long that this open defection of the government of Herat was part of the general combination for the expulsion of the British and Shah Soojah from Afghanistan, of which the irruption of Dost Mohammed over the Hindoo Cooch was the commencement. Early in May the Ghilzyes in western Afghanistan appeared in great force in the neighborhood of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, in order to disturb the operations in progress for the rebuilding of the walls of that fortress, so important as commanding the road from Candahar to Cabul. Nott sent Colonel Wymer, an able officer, with 1200 infantry, some horse, and four guns, to dislodge them. The enemy's force, before the action began, had increased to 5000 men, and they advanced in three columns, with great steadiness, to the attack. They were received with the utmost gallantry by Wymer's infantry and Hawkins's guns, the steady well-directed fire of which, after a desperate battle of five hours' duration, obliged them to retire with very heavy loss. This was a glorious victory, reflecting the utmost credit on the officers and men engaged in it; but the courage with which the enemy fought foreshadowed a serious and exhausting contest; and it was discovered after the action that the natives had had too good cause for exasperation in the oppressive conduct of some of the British subordinate agents, especially in the collection of the revenue, and the open extortions of Prince Timour's followers.¹

While these operations were going on in western Afghanistan, the proceedings of the Douranees in the eastern province were not less alarming. In the beginning of July, Akhtar Khan, an indomitable chief, was in arms before Ghirek with 8000 men. Captain Woodburn, a dashing officer, who commanded one of the Shah's regiments, was sent against him with 900 infantry, two guns, and a small body of Afghan horse. The enemy made a spirited resistance; but the discharges of Cooper's guns, and the steady fire of Woodburn's infantry, repulsed every attack, though the treachery of the Afghan horse rendered it impossible to follow up the success in the way that might otherwise have been effected. The moral effect of these victories, however, was very considerable, inasmuch that the month of August passed over with greater appearances of peace than any which had occurred since the British troops occupied the country. So flattering were these appearances, so firmly did the British power appear to be established by repeated victories, and so much were the Afghans disheartened by the numerous defeats they had experienced, that had not infatuation subsequently got possession of the military chiefs at Cabul, and cruel acts of oppression alienated the natives,² there seems no doubt that the expedition, notwithstanding the obvious dangers with which it was environ-

^{96.} Victory of Colonel Wymer near Khelat-i-Ghilzye, May 19.

¹ Nott, i. 194, 207; Burnes to Lynch, June 30, 1841; Macnaghten to Rawlinson, May 5, 1841; Kaye, i. 588-593.

^{97.} Progress of the insurrection of the Douranees in eastern Afghanistan.

² Nott, i. 256; Kaye, i. 599-603; Thornton, vi. 237-239; Macnaghten to Robertson, Aug. 30, 1841; Kaye, i. 602.

* Now Sir Henry Rawlinson, the celebrated Assyrian traveler and antiquarian.

ed, might have been attended with entire success.

Appearances in the course of the autumn, however, gradually became more serious. Several of the Douranee chiefs withdrew from the court of Shah Soojah, the ostensible grounds of complaint being the withdrawal of some pecuniary allowances which they had been accustomed to receive as a consideration for keeping the country under their orders quiet. Having taken their leave, the first thing they did was to begin plundering caravans, a proceeding too much in accordance with the usual habits of Afghanistan to excite much attention. But it was soon evident that it was done systematically, and with the design of raising the country. Akhtar Khan was soon at the head of the insurrection in western Afghanistan, which spread so rapidly and assumed such proportions that Rawlinson wrote in the most anxious terms concerning it to Macnaghten, who could only recommend him to seize the rebel chief, and hang him as high as Haman.

Early in August, Captain Griffin was sent out against him with 850 sepoy, 800 horse, and four guns. On the 17th he came up with him, strongly posted, with 3500 men, in a succession of walled gardens and mud forts, from which a heavy fire was kept up on the assailants. The attack, however, was completely successful. The inclosures were carried by the foot soldiers with the bayonet, the horse charged with terrific effect, and the Douranees were defeated and dispersed with great slaughter.

Aug. 5. Shortly before, Colonel Chambers, with a detachment of 1500 men, came up with and dispersed a body of Ghilzyes, who were for the most part cut down or made prisoners.¹

These repeated victories were followed by a lull for the time, and gave hopes of an State of entire and final pacification of the affairs at Cabul. But in reality they had the very opposite effect, and became instrumental, from the false confidence they inspired in the political and military authorities at Cabul, in inducing the terrible calamities which so soon followed. Macnaghten looked around him, and, as he himself said, saw "that every thing was quiet from Dan to Beersheba;" and so persuaded was he that the whole Afghanistan difficulties were over, that he was about to retire in honor and affluence from a life of incessant anxiety and activity. The military command at Cabul was in the hands of General Elphinstone, Sir Willoughby Cotton having retired in the preceding spring. Elphinstone was a veteran of the Wellington school, who bore a Waterloo medal, where he had commanded a regiment; and a man of high connections, aristocratic influence, and most agreeable manners.* But he was entirely unacquainted with Eastern warfare, advanced in years, a martyr to the gout, which rendered him utterly unfit for personal activity, or even sometimes to sit on horseback, and, as the event proved, though personally brave, possessed of none of the mental energy or foresight which might supply its place. How he should have been selected by Lord Auckland for this

arduous situation, in the full knowledge of these disqualifications, when such men as Pollock, Nott, and Sale were on the spot, ready and qualified to have discharged its duties, is one of the mysteries of official conduct which will never probably be cleared up, for every one now shuns its responsibility. High aristocratic influence at home, coupled with an illiberal and unfounded jealousy of the Company's service on the part of our military authorities, were probably the secret springs of the movement. The nation would do well to ponder on them, for they all but lost us our 612; Nott, ii. 256-348.

* He was a relation of Lord Elphinstone, at that time Governor of Bombay.

It was not long before the fatal effects of this appointment appeared; but in justice to the memory of a gallant but ill-fated officer, it must be added, that grave faults had been committed at Cabul before he took the command. The force now at or near Cabul was very considerable, and had it been judiciously posted and skillfully directed, was perfectly adequate to have maintained that important post against any forces the Afghans could have brought against it. It consisted of the 18th and 44th Queen's foot, the 6th, 35th, 87th, and 54th Bengal native infantry, the 5th Bengal native cavalry, a troop of foot, and another of horse artillery, two regiments of the Shah's infantry, a train of mountain guns, and some Hindostanee and Afghan horse. Of these, however, the Queen's 18th, the 35th, and 87th native infantry, and some of the cavalry and artillery, were under Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, or keeping up the communication with the capital by Gundamuck and the Coord Cabul Pass. Thus the force actually at Cabul, or in its immediate vicinity, consisted of one European regiment (the 44th), two sepoy, and two Afghan regiments, and a native regiment of cavalry, with the artillery; in all 5000 fighting men, who were encumbered with 15,000 camp-followers. But they enjoyed two advantages which gave them a decided superiority over the enemy. The first of these was the possession of a train of artillery, with ample ammunition, far superior in weight and efficiency to any which the Afghans could bring against them. The second, the possession of the Bala-Hissar, a citadel of great strength, situated on a steep height commanding every part of the city, and utterly impregnable, when garrisoned by British troops and defended by British guns, against the whole collected forces of Afghanistan.²

With an infatuation so extraordinary that it almost seems to afford an instance of the old saying, "Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat," all those advantages had been voluntarily thrown away, and the troops placed in positions where, so far from being able to act offensively against the Afghans, they were unable to take any effective steps to defend themselves. Instead of locating the British forces and their magazines in the Bala-Hissar, where there was ample accommodation for them, and they would have been in perfect security, they were placed in cantonments outside both the citadel and the walls, in a low situation, commanded in different directions by heights and buildings which swept them on every side.

Infatuation of the defensive arrangements at Cabul.

101. Infatuation of the defensive arrangements at Cabul.

These cantonments, so situated, were of great extent, above a mile in circumference, and surrounded by a rampart so low that a British officer backed a small pony to scramble down the ditch and over the wall. The troops who had been at first placed in the Bala-Hissar were withdrawn by Macnaghten's orders to *make way for a hundred and sixty ladies of the harem*. To crown the whole, the entire commissariat stores, with the provisions for the army for the winter, were placed neither in the Bala-Hissar nor the cantonments, but in a small fort outside both, and connected with the cantonments by an undefended passage, commanded by an empty fort and a walled garden, inviting the occupation of the enemy. And this under the direction of officers trained in the Peninsular Calcutta War, and boasting of having been bred Review. in the school of Wellington!¹⁰⁰

These infatuated measures had been commenced before, and were in progress 102. Conduct of when General Elphinstone assumed the British the command; so that he is responsible only for their having been carried on and persisted in during the summer and autumn, when every day was adding to the proofs of the enormous peril with which they were attended. One fifth of the sums lavished upon the traitor Yar Mohammed to add to the fortifications of Herat, would have rendered the Bala-Hissar utterly impregnable, and placed the British force in perfect security. "The fine climate," says the eloquent annalist of the war, "braced and exhilarated the British officers. There was no lack of amusement; they rode races, they played at cricket, they went out fishing, they got up dramatic entertainments. When winter came, and the lakes were frozen, they astonished the natives by skating on the ice. But amidst these harmless amusements there were others which filled the natives with the intensest hate. The inmates of the zenana were not unwilling to visit the quarters of the Christian stranger. For two long years had this shame been burning into the hearts of the Cabulese; complaints were made, but they were made in vain. The scandal was open, undisguised, notorious; redress was not to be obtained; it went on till it became intolerable; and the injured began then to see that the only remedy was in their own hands."¹⁰¹

But the hand of fate was upon them; and an aggression upon an independent 103. State, alike unjustifiable in right and indefensible in expedience, was about to be overtaken by a terrible retribution. For some time it had been observed that symptoms of

hostility were evinced by the inhabitants of Cabul toward the British troops, and that stones were thrown at the sepoy from the roofs of the houses; but these incidents excited little attention, so resolute were all concerned not to admit that there was any ground for apprehension. On the evening of the 1st November, Burnes congratulated Macnaghten on his approaching departure during a period of profound peace, and at that very moment a conclave of chiefs was held in his immediate vicinity, to concert the means of an immediate and most formidable insurrection. It broke out simultaneously in several places at once in the city, and with the utmost violence. Instantly the shops were plundered, the houses of the British officers attacked, and their servants insulted and threatened. Among the first houses assailed were those of Sir Alexander Burnes, and Captain Johnson, the paymaster of the Shah's forces. Burnes had been warned of his danger, and recommended to retire to the Bala-Hissar; but he bravely resolved to remain at his post. With a mistaken lenity, he forbade his sepoy guard to fire on the insurgents, and preferred haranguing them from a gallery in the upper part of his house. He might as well have addressed so many wild beasts. Nothing was heard in the crowd but angry voices clamoring for the heads of the English officers, wild, dissonant cries, and threats of vengeance. Presently shots issued from the infuriated multitude thirsting for blood and plunder, and a general assault upon the houses was made. Broadfoot, who sold his life dearly, was the first to fall; a ball pierced his heart. Meanwhile a party of the insurgents had got possession of Burnes's stables, and found their way into his garden, where they were calling upon him to come down. He did so in disguise, seeking to escape; he was recognized, set upon, and murdered, with his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, of the Bombay army. The sepoys who composed the guard fought nobly when permitted to do so, but they were overpowered by numbers, and cut off to a man. From this scene of murder the mob proceeded to the treasury, which they forced open by setting fire to the gateway. The guard of sepoys, twenty-eight in number, were massacred, every human being in the house was murdered, treasure to the amount of £17,000 carried off, and the building set on fire and burned to the ground. Emboldened by the impunity with which these crimes were committed, the mob now gave full rein to their passions, burning houses, plundering shops, and massacring men, women, and children in every part of the city indiscriminately; and all this when five thousand British troops were in cantonments within half an hour's march, not one of whom was ordered out to arrest the disorders! The Afghans themselves admitted that a hundred men, resolutely commanded, would have sufficed at the outset to crush the insurrection!¹⁰²

* The engineer officers must be entirely relieved from this reproach. They strongly urged the placing the troops in the Bala-Hissar, and the erecting of additional works and barracks on that important fortress, but in vain. Durrand, the chief engineer, was particularly urgent on this point. The responsibility of neglecting or overruling his advice rests with Sir William Macnaghten, who sacrificed every thing to a show of security.—KAYE, I. 613, note.

† "I told the envoy what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Afghan women being taken to Burnes's moon-shoe, and of their drinking wine at his house; and of women having been taken to the Chasme, and of my having witnessed it."—SHAH SOOJAH to LORD AUCKLAND, January 17, 1842. MARTIN, 438.

* Not only I, but several other officers, have spoken to Afghans on the subject; there has never been a dissenting voice that, had a small party gone into the town prior to the plunder of my treasury and the murder of Burnes, the insurrection would have been instantly quashed. This was also the opinion of Captain Trevor, at that time living in the town. Captain Mackenzie has given an equally emphatic opinion to the same effect. The mob

1 Thornton, vi. 252-254. Martin, 438, 439. KAYE, II. 5-15; EYRE'S Journal, 18, 30.

During this eventful day, big, as the event proved, with the whole fate of the Afghanistan expedition, a brigade of troops, under General Shelton, was moved, with four guns, into the Bala-Hissar, but the remainder of the troops were kept in cantonments.

No step was taken to send assistance to Sir Alexander Burnes or Captain Johnson; and the only effort attempted to check this revolt was by the Shah, who dispatched a small body of troops, with two guns, against the insurgents, who were too weak to effect any thing at the late period when they were brought into action, and with difficulty effected their retreat with their guns. Brigadier Shelton in vain urged that not a moment should be lost in acting vigorously against the enemy. Orders were sent

Nov. 3. to Captain Trevor, who with a regiment of sepoy's lay at Coord Cabul, to advance to the capital, which he immediately did, and next day orders and counter orders were given, but nothing was done. Major Griffiths also came up from the same place, having bravely fought his way through several thousand insurgents; yet nothing was attempted to avenge Burnes's murder, or the outraged majesty of the British name. The consequence was that the insurgents, emboldened by impunity, increased rapidly in numbers, spread themselves out in every direction, occupied post after post as they were successively abandoned by the British, and before nightfall on the second day

¹ Shelton's Report, Nov. 2, 1841; Kaye, ii. 21-23; Thornton, vi. 254, 255. the whole capital was in their possession. The only attempt made to impede them was with three companies and two guns, who were of course unable to effect any thing.¹

The extreme danger of the British position was now apparent to all, and Mac-naghten, seriously alarmed, wrote urgent letters both to Captain M'Gregor to send up Sale's forces from Jelalabad, and to Candahar to stop the return of the troops on their march to India through that city, and send them back to his relief. But neither of these succors could be expected for some weeks, and meanwhile the danger was pressing, and such as could only be met by instant and decisive measures. The artillery, always weak, and inadequate to the wants of the troops, was divided between the cantonments and the Bala-Hissar, so that neither had an adequate amount of that necessary arm. The Commissariat Fort, as already mentioned, was situated outside both the Bala-Hissar and the cantonments, and though it contained the whole provisions and stores of the army, it had no guns, and was garrisoned only by eighty sepoy's, under Ensign Warren. Between this fort and the cantonments was another fort, called the Shereef's Fort, which commanded the passage between the two. General Elphinstone had on the preceding day proposed to occupy

at first did not exceed a hundred men—thirty only, in the first instance, were sent to surround Burnes's house. One and all of the Afghans declared that the slightest exhibition of energy on our part in the first instance, more especially in reinforcing my post and that of Trevor, would at once have decided the Kuzilbashes, and all over whom they possessed any influence, in our favor."—Johnson's MS. Journal; EYRE's Journal; KAYE, ii. 17, 18.

this fort with his own troops, but Macnaghten opposed it, declaring it would be impolitic to do so. The consequence was it was occupied by the enemy, whose marksmen swarmed around it in every direction, and kept up from behind the stone inclosure which surrounded it a deadly fire upon any reinforcements sent out to support Warren's little party in the Commissariat Fort. In vain that officer sent message after message to Elphinstone to announce that he was hard pressed, and if not relieved would either perish or be obliged to evacuate his post. With characteristic indecision, the old General listened to every thing but did nothing; orders were repeatedly given and counter- Nov. 4. manded for the march of a detachment to reinforce Warren; and at length Captain Boyd, of the commissariat, obtained an order for the troops destined to that service to march at two in the morning. But it was again delayed till daybreak, when it was too late. The little garrison, seeing no prospect of relief, had escaped by working a hole from the interior of the fort, with tools sent the preceding night, intended to facilitate the withdrawal of the stores. All the magazines, including the whole supplies for the army, with the exception of another in a still more exposed situation, to be im- Elphinstone's Report, Nov. 5, 1841; Kaye, ii. 29, 33; Thornton, vi. 258-260. mediately noticed, fell into the enemy's hands, among whom this easy and unlooked-for advantage excited unbounded confidence and enthusiasm.¹

This disaster was immediately followed by another hardly less serious. In May, 1841, 17,000 maunds of ottah or Further loss ground wheat, in general use in the of stores. country, had been stored by Captain Johnson in the Bala-Hissar for the use of the Shah's troops; but Macnaghten, in spite of that officer's remonstrances, insisted on its being removed, and placed in some camel-sheds on the outskirts of the city, where it was almost entirely undefended. Early on the morning of the 2d November, this important post was attacked by a large body of insurgents. Captain Mackenzie was in charge of it, with a small garrison, encumbered with women and children. He made a noble defense, and held the fort till his men had expended every cartridge in defending it. In vain reinforcements or succor of some sort were urgently applied for; in vain "every eye was turned toward the cantonment, looking for the glittering bayonets through the trees." Not a man came to their relief, although even a trifling demonstration from head-quarters would have turned the scale in their favor, and brought the whole Kuzilbashes to their side. At length, after having defended the fort for two entire days, and fired away his last cartridge, Mackenzie, finding that no succor was to be sent to him, yielded to the entreaties of his men, who prayed to be led against the enemy, and with heroic valor cut his way through them back to the cantonments. The fort itself, with the whole grain it contained, fell into the enemy's hands.²

The loss of these two forts, with the whole magazines and commissariat stores of the army, was decisive of the Fatal effect of these losses. fate of the campaign, not only from

104. Inactivity and supineness of those in command of the troops.

¹ Shelton's Report, Nov. 2, 1841; Kaye, ii. 21-23; Thornton, vi. 254, 255.

106. Loss of the Commissariat Fort. Nov. 5.

² Johnson's Journal; Mackenzie's Journal; Kaye, ii. 33, 34; Eyre's Narrative, 44, 47, 50; Thornton, vi. 256, 257.

the starvation which it brought home to the door of the British forces, but from the depression which it produced among our men, and the corresponding exaltation which it induced in the enemy. Every man on both sides now saw that the maintenance of the capital through the winter by the invaders was impossible, for they had lost their whole supplies and magazines, and it was out of the question to think of forming others, with the ground covered with snow, and every village in the hands of hostile multitudes, with weapons which they knew well how to use in their hands. Reinforcements from India were only likely to augment the danger, even supposing they could make their way through the terrible defiles and insurgent population of Afghanistan, for they would only augment the number of useless mouths in the garrison. The knowledge of these circumstances excited the utmost indignation and despondency in the British forces, and in a similar degree excited and encouraged the Afghans. The charm of British invincibility was broken. The intelligence of the capture of the Commissariat Fort spread like wild-fire, and brought thousands upon thousands into the scene of conquest to share in the plunder of the Christian dogs. The forts soon resembled so many ant-hills, where multitudes were swarming, every one carrying off some part of the spoil; and all this within four hundred yards of a fortified cantonment, where five thousand British troops, in indignant silence and constrained inactivity, were witnesses of the disgraceful scene!¹

At length the loud clamor of brave men, restrained by incapacity and irresolution in their chiefs from doing what their own courage prompted, became so violent that it was resolved to attempt something. On the 6th a storming party, consisting of one company of the 44th and two sepoy regiments, was told off to assault Mohammed Sherreef's Fort, the possession of which by the enemy had told so severely upon us in the preceding days, and it was carried with a vigor worthy of British troops. Ensign Raban, who commanded the forlorn hope, was killed as he planted the colors on the breach. A variety of desultory actions ensued, in which the British were so successful, that it was evident, if they had been directed with ordinary capacity and resolution, a general battle might have been brought on, and the enemy totally defeated. At the same time, the activity and intelligence of the commissariat officers, Captains Boyd and Johnson, procured supplies from the neighboring villages; and the troops having been put on half rations, the difficulty of subsistence, which at the moment was the most pressing, was surmounted. But General Elphinstone apprehended an equally serious want, which was that of ammunition; and such was his alarm, that on the same day he wrote to Sir William Macnaghten, recommending a capitulation.* In point of fact, the event

proved that there was ammunition in abundance for two months' consumption. Plans were submitted to the General for recapturing the Commissariat Fort, but he could not be prevailed on to adopt any of them. He was evidently desperate, and thought only of arranging a capitulation. Attempts were made to buy off the rebel chiefs; but though 500,000 rupees (£50,000) was offered, nothing effective was done; and it had become evident that matters had come to that pass that it was by iron, not gold, that deliverance could alone be looked for.¹

The extremely debilitated state of General Elphinstone's health rendered it absolutely necessary that he should have a coadjutor of younger years and greater vigor, and Brigadier Shelton was sent from the Bala-Hissar, with a gun and a regiment of the Shah's troops, for that purpose, into the cantonments. His arrival was hailed with joy by the troops, who regarded him as a deliverer. He did not possess popular manners, and it was soon painfully apparent that no cordial co-operation between him and General Elphinstone was to be expected; but he was known to have many qualities and undoubted personal courage. The great extent of the fortifications, the slender supplies of provisions, the desponding faces of officers and men around him, at once revealed the critical nature of their situation. They had only provisions for three days' consumption in store, and the works required so large a force to guard them that few could be spared for external operations. Shelton endeavored to correct what he conceived defective, and to put the cantonments in a better posture of defense; but he was thwarted by the jealousy of Elphinstone, who reminded him that he was the commander-in-chief, and complained that he did not receive from his brigadier that cordial co-operation which he was entitled to have expected. Thus orders were given and countermanded; plans were discussed, and their decision adjourned; and it soon became too evident that Shelton's arrival, by producing disunion in the military councils, would render the position of the troops, if possible, worse than it had been before.²

Macnaghten, with whom every bold counsel from this time forward originated, had strongly urged an attack on the Ricksa-bashee Fort, situated at the northeastern angle of the cantonments, and from which the walls were commanded, and he had even taken upon himself the whole responsibility of the undertaking. Elphinstone at last consented, and two thousand men were put under Shelton's command for the assault. But before the orders to move forward were given Elphinstone's old irresolution returned, and the expedition was

* "We have temporarily, and I hope permanently, got over the difficulty of provisioning. Our next consideration is ammunition, and it is a very serious and awful one. We have expended a great quantity, and therefore it becomes worthy of thought on your part how desirable it is that our operations should not be protracted by any thing in treating that might tend to a continuance of the

present state of things. Do not suppose from this that I wish to recommend or am advocating humiliating terms, or such as would reflect disgrace on us; but the fact of ammunition must not be lost sight of. Our case is not yet desperate. I do not mean to impress that, but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast."—GENERAL ELPHINSTONE TO SIR W. MACNAGHTEN, November 6, 1841; *Kaye*, ii. 39.

Lady Sale's Journal, 47; Macnaghten to Mohun Lal, Nov. 7, 1841; *Kaye*, ii. 39-41; *Eyre*, 60-64; *Thornton*, vi. 264-266.

109. Jealousy between Elphinstone and Shelton.

2 Shelton's Statement; Elphinstone's Statement; *Kaye*, ii. 48-51; *Thornton*, vi. 263, 264.

110. Storming of the Ricksa-bashee Fort. Nov. 10.

delayed. It was undertaken next day; but by that time the fort had been much strengthened, and the Afghans were as much elated as the British were dispirited by the delay. Two European companies of the 44th, and four native companies, were told off for the assault, under the command of Colonel Mackrell, who led the storm in the most gallant manner. Colonel Mackrell and Lieutenant Bird, of the Shah's 6th infantry, forced their way into the fort, and already the shout of victory was heard within its walls, when the column of sepoys, advancing in double-quick time in support, being charged in flank by a body of Afghan horse, took to flight, drawing a large part of the stormers, both European and native, after them. They were rallied by Shelton, who evinced in that trying moment the courage of a hero, and again brought up to the assault. A second time they were charged in flank, and fled; again they were rallied and brought back to the attack by Shelton. Meantime the brave men, a mere handful in number, who had forced their way with Mackrell and Bird into the fort, being unsupported, were beset by a crowd of Afghans who had fled on the first storm, but now, seeing the repulse of the column in support, returned with loud shouts to the attack. Mackrell fell mortally wounded, after defending himself with undaunted courage. Bird, with two sepoys, sought refuge in a stable, the door of which they barricaded, and before they were relieved had slain thirty of the enemy with their own hands. At length the fort was carried by Shelton at the head of the support, and the gallant three liberated from their perilous prison.^{1*}

On the fall of the Ricks-bashee Fort, several smaller ones in the vicinity were abandoned by the enemy, in one of which a considerable supply of grain was found. Shelton followed the enemy, who showed themselves in some force on the hills; but the horse-artillery opened on them with such effect that they retired into the city. Although the capture of the fort was checkered by disaster, and far from being creditable to the arrangements of the generals-in-chief, who, with a large force of cavalry in the cantonments, had allowed the storming columns to be charged in flank by the Afghan horse, yet its ultimate success was eminently favorable to the British arms. The envoy declared it had averted the necessity of an inglorious retreat. There can be no doubt that, had it been vigorously followed up, it promised the most auspicious results. For several days after it the Afghans desisted from their attacks; they were obviously checked in their career. The commissaries, whose activity was above all praise, turned the breathing-time to good account in the purchase and securing of provisions.² The villagers, relieved from their apprehensions, began to bring supplies freely into the camp; and the envoy, seeing the military commander hopeless of extrication from the surrounding difficulties by

honorable means, renewed his efforts to sow dissension among the chiefs by profuse offers of money.

But this lull was of short duration. The Afghans, seeing that the success of the 10th was not followed up, again showed themselves a few days after in great force on the heights overlooking the camp, and began to cannonade the cantonments. With the utmost difficulty Macnaghten persuaded the General to send out a force to dislodge them, and this was done only by his taking upon himself the whole responsibility of the measure. A strong detachment of foot and horse, embracing six companies of the 44th with two guns, was sent out under Brigadier Shelton, and it advanced to the attack with great vigor and intrepidity. But again the Afghan horse charged them in flank; the assailed British fired wildly and without aim, chiefly in the air, and the enemy's cavalry went clean through them from side to side. But the check was only momentary. The British troops re-formed at the foot of the hill; Eyre's guns were brought to bear upon the enemy, and by a gallant charge of Anderson's horse up the slope, the enemy were beaten back and the guns taken. Macnaghten dispatched the most urgent orders to complete the triumph of the day by bringing both guns into the cantonments, but one only could be got off. The other was exposed to so heavy a fire from the Afghan marksmen, that it was found impossible to bring it away.¹

This success again rendered the enemy quiet for some days; and Macnaghten took advantage of it to send the most urgent letters, both to M'Gregor, the political agent at Jellalabad, and to Rawlinson at Candahar, to send their whole disposable forces up to the relief of the troops now besieged in the capital.* These able officers were placed in a situation of great difficulty by these requisitions. On the one hand, the envoy at Cabul was their superior officer, whose orders they were bound to obey; and the very existence of the troops in the capital might depend on succors being instantly sent forward to their relief. On the other hand, the state of affairs at Cabul seemed so desperate, from the destruction of the commissariat stores and the scanty supplies of the garrison, that it appeared to be running into certain destruction to bring up any additional mouths to share them. After much and anxious deliberation, M'Gregor and Sale resolved to disobey the order, and retain their troops at Jellalabad; and although Rawlinson and Nott dispatched a force from Candahar, yet it returned to that capital, after having proceeded a few marches toward Cabul, upon finding the draught-cattle perishing by the way. It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether or not Nott and Sale

* Such was the panic occasioned by the Afghan charge, even among the European troops, that when Major Scott of the 44th "called on volunteers to follow him, only one man answered the appeal. His name was Stuart, and he was most deservedly made a sergeant on the request of Sir W. Macnaghten."—THORNTON, vi. 265.

* "Our situation is a very precarious one, but with your assistance we should do well; and you must render it to us, if you have any regard for our lives, or for the honor of our country. We may be said to be in a state of siege, and had we not made two desperate sallies, we should ere now have been annihilated. We have provisions for only ten days, but when you arrive we shall be able to command the resources of the country."—MACNAGHTEN to M'GREGOR, Nov. 14, 1841, KAYE, ii. 63.

did right in taking upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying their orders, for disaster stared them in the face whatever they did. On the one hand, going forward to Cabul seemed only swelling the array of Afghan captives or victims, and depriving the British Government of the chief forces on which they could rely to preserve any part of their dominion in Afghanistan; on the other, to disobey the order was to leave the troops in the capital to their fate, virtually abandon Shah Soojah to the vengeance of his rebellious subjects, and relinquish the whole objects for which the expedition had been undertaken. In so difficult a matter, and when only a choice of evils remained to the British officers, history can not pass sentence one way or the other upon those exposed to the crisis. But in justice to Macnaghten and Elphinstone, it must be added that the non-arrival of the troops on which they relied from Jellalabad and Candahar, aggravated the dangers of their position at Cabul in a most material degree;* for possibly, if they had come up, the blockade of

¹ Macnaghten to M'Gregor, Nov. 14 and 17, 1841; Kaye, ii. 62, 73.

While disaster was thus closing its iron net round the British forces in the

114.
Destruction of the Ghoorka regiment in the Kohistan. November 13.

capital, calamities of a still more serious kind had befallen the British forces in other quarters. On the 15th November, Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton came in wounded from Charekar, and reported that the gallant Ghoorka regiment had been annihilated. This noble corps, second to none in the East in valor and fidelity, had been placed in some fortified barracks at Charekar, the defenses of which were only in course of construction, when the insurrection broke out, and they were immediately surrounded by several thousand armed men, whose hostile intentions, notwithstanding loud professions of fidelity and friendship, were soon too apparent. With characteristic treachery, the chiefs invited Pottinger, the political agent, and Ratray, who commanded a party in the neighborhood, to a conference, at which the latter was basely assassinated, and from which the former with difficulty escaped with his life. The Afghans now threw off the mask, and closely invested the fortified barracks. So numerous were the enemy's forces, that Havildar Mootre Ram, of the Ghoorka regiment, who escaped from the attack, said, "there were whole acres of gleaming swords moving toward us." Pottinger, throwing off, on the approach of danger, his political

character, took charge, as at the siege of Herat, of the guns; and the Ghoorkas supported by the fire of his artillery, made a heroic defense against repeated assaults by an enemy five times their number. Night found them still in possession of their position; but next day the garrison of a castle in the neighborhood, which commanded the barracks, was betrayed into surrendering, and the balls from it began to shower down on the position. Soon it was discovered that they had a worse enemy to contend with than even the matchlocks of the Afghans, for there was no water for the garrison. Every effort made to obtain a supply of this necessary element failed; and at length the sufferings of the men became so intolerable that they sallied out and found death from the Afghan marksmen, in the frantic desire to obtain a few drops of the precious fluid from a spring which gushed from a neighboring rock. The lips of the men became swollen and bloody; their tongues clove to the roofs of their mouths. Seeing destruction inevitable if they remained where they were, and disdaining, even in such desperate circumstances, to surrender, Pottinger and Haughton resolved on a desperate attempt to cut their way through the enemy. They put themselves, accordingly, at the head of two hundred men, all who remained of the regiment, and by almost superhuman efforts succeeded in forcing their way through. But numbers fell in the desperate attempt; still more perished of thirst on the way, or sunk under the balls or knives of the Afghans who crowded round the retreating column. Pottinger and Haughton alone, with a single sepoy, half dead with wounds and fatigue, but unsubdued, reached the cantonments at Cabul to tell the dismal tale. The whole remainder of the regiment, after struggling to the last with devoted valor under its worthy leaders, Ensign Rose and Dr. Grant, perished.¹

The only course which, amidst such accumulating difficulties, presented a chance even of escape to the British at Cabul, after it was ascertained that no reinforcements were to be looked for either from Jellalabad or Candahar, was to move the whole force, and all the provisions that could be got together, at once into the Bala-Hissar, where they would, in the mean time, have been free from molestation, and they might have securely sallied out in large bodies, and obtained supplies from the adjoining country. Shah Soojah favored this movement, and the engineers had earnestly counseled it from the very commencement of the insurrection. Shelton, however, opposed it in the most vehement manner, as dangerous, discreditable, and likely to be attended with great loss. Elphinstone had scarcely any opinion on the subject; Macnaghten unfortunately yielded to Shelton's arguments, and the removal of the force to the Bala-Hissar was given up. Yet it presented a very fair, and the sole chance of escape from disaster; for what had rendered the sallies from the cantonments hitherto so unfortunate was, that they were of such extent that, from the number required for their defense, few only could be spared for external operations; whereas, as the troops would

* "I have written to you daily, pointing out our precarious state, and urging you to return here, with Sale's brigade, with all possible expedition. General Elphinstone has done the same; and we now learn, to our utter dismay, that you have proceeded to Jellalabad. Our situation is a desperate one, if you do not immediately return to our relief; and I beg that you will do so without a moment's delay. We have been now besieged for fourteen days, and without your assistance are utterly unable to carry on any offensive operations. You can easily make Cabul in eight marches, and as the Ghilzyes are here, you would not have many enemies to contend with."—SIR W. MACNAGHTEN TO CAPTAIN M'GREGOR, Cabul, 17th November 1841; KAYE, ii. 73.

¹ Pottinger's Report, Nov. 17, 1841, MS.; Kaye, ii. 70-73; Thornton, vi. 268-270; Eyre's Journal, 146-152.

115.
Arguments for a removal into the Bala-Hissar.

have been safe in the citadel, a much greater and more imposing force might have been spared for external foraging attacks. And if all the useless mouths had been removed from the Bala-Hissar, there were provisions in it enough to have served the whole fighting men in it and the cantonments till spring.¹

It being determined not to retire to the Bala-Hissar, nothing remained but to open negotiations for a capitulation with the enemy. The military authorities incessantly represented to the envoy "the distressed state of the troops and cattle from want of provisions, and the hopelessness of further resistance." These representations, coupled with the non-arrival of the expected reinforcements from Jellalabad and Candahar, and the addition of the Afghans under Akbar Khan, who had destroyed the Ghoorka regiment, to the besieging force, rendered it but too plain that this must be the ultimate issue of the struggle. Correspondence, accordingly, passed between the envoy and General Elphinstone on the subject; but before it could be brought to a point, an action, one of the most disastrous ever sustained by the British army, was fought. Notwithstanding the blockade, the commissaries, owing to the indefatigable activity of Captain Johnson, had hitherto daily drawn supplies of grain from the village of Beh-Meru; and the enemy, seeing this, planted troops upon the adjacent hills to prevent its continuance. Upon this, Macnaghten urged an immediate attack, to dispossess them of this commanding position; and although Shelton strongly represented the hazard of such a step in the fatigued and disheartened state of the men, it was finally determined that it should take place.

A feeble attempt to dislodge the enemy having failed on the 22d, preparations on a large scale were made for renewing the attack at daybreak on the following morning.²

The attack took place, accordingly, at the hour fixed on, and at first with un-
117. Action on looked-for success. The force consisted of seventeen companies, of whom five were Europeans of the 44th; three squadrons of native horse, a hundred sappers, and one gun. Why one only was taken when there were plenty in the cantonments, and an order of Lord Hastings forbade less than two guns ever to be taken out on any occasion, is one of the mysteries of that unhappy day which will probably never be cleared up. The single gun, however, did good service; sending a shower of grape at daylight into the village, it caused a panic among the enemy in it, which led the greater part of them to abandon it. Advantage, however, was not taken of the surprise to storm the village, part of which remained in the enemy's hands; and soon crowds of Afghans, on the alarm being spread, came pouring out of the city to give the Feringhees battle. Shelton, seeing his force, which did not exceed fourteen hundred men, greatly outnumbered, drew them up in two squares on the brow of the hill, with the gun in front and the cavalry in rear. The gun was splendidly worked, and for a time did terrible execution in the crowded masses of the Af-

ghans; but from being so often fired, it became so heated in the vent that it could not at length be used. Nothing remained then but the muskets of the men to reply to the matchlocks of the Afghans; and it was soon found that they would not carry so far as the long guns of the enemy. Securely posted at a distance, where the infantry's balls could not reach them, the Afghans, second to none in the world as marksmen, sent in a destructive fire into our squares, on which, as on the Russian masses afterward at Inkermann, every shot took effect. Their ammunition failed, and Shelton, whose courage never failed him in danger, in vain called on his men to use their bayonets. Not a musket was brought down to the charge, even in the English companies; and so completely were the troops depressed, that when the Afghans, in bravado, planted a standard within thirty yards of the British ranks, not a man would advance to take it. In vain the officers nobly stood in front, and in default of ammunition hurled stones at the enemy; the sepoys would not move. Seeing their advantage, the Afghans made a sudden rush on the column, and surrounded the gun. The gunners fought with desperate resolution, and were cut down at their post. Lieutenant Laing fell dead as he was waving his sword over the gun; Captain McIntosh shared the same fate. The gun was abandoned, and the infantry retired; but being rallied by Shelton, they charged with the bayonet, drove the enemy back in confusion, and retook it, and at the same time Abdoolah Khan, their leader, fell.³

The crisis of the day had now arrived, and if Elphinstone had sent a body of troops out of the cantonments to pursue the flying enemy, all might have been restored, and a glorious victory gained. The envoy warmly urged such a step upon General Elphinstone, but he said it was a wild scheme, and negatived the proposal. Fresh horses, however, and a new limber, were sent out for the gun, which was soon in full activity, and playing with great effect upon the enemy. But fresh multitudes issued from the city, and again it was found that the British musket was no match at a long range for the Afghan jezails. The troops fell fast under the deadly storm, and yet they were so demoralized that nothing could induce them to advance and close with the enemy. At this moment, when the officers were nearly all killed or wounded, and Shelton had five balls in his clothes, a party of Afghans who had crawled up a gorge unseen started up and poured in a fire on the British flank. In an instant a panic seized the whole force; horse and foot rushed precipitately down the hill, closely followed by the Afghan cavalry, which thundered in close pursuit. The gunners alone nobly sustained the honor of the British name. Intent only on the preservation of their gun, they dashed down the hill into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, and had nearly got through; but they were all killed or wounded, and the gun fell a second time into the enemy's hands.⁴ All order was now lost: Europeans and Asiatics, infantry and cavalry, rushed

¹ Shelton's Statement; Eyre's Journal, vol. 123, 124; Kaye, ii. 84, 85.

² Eyre's Journal, vol. 119, 122; Lady Sale's Journal; Thornton, vi. 270-274; Kaye, ii. 85-87.

³ Total defeat of the British.

⁴ Eyre's Journal, vol. 123, 130; Lady Sale's Journal, 131; Thornton, vi. 274-277; Kaye, ii. 87-91; Melville's Journal, MS.

in one confused mass into the cantonments; and it was only in consequence of the neglect of the Afghans, who retired, uttering shouts of triumph, into the city, to follow up this advantage, that the whole cantonments did not fall into their hands.

This disastrous defeat rendered it utterly hopeless to think of continuing the contest, and nothing remained but to arrange the best terms of capitulation that could be obtained. The sick and wounded in the cantonments amounted already to seven hundred; and such was the state of apathy and despair to which the troops were reduced, that all thought of external operations was of necessity abandoned. Removal to the Bala-Hissar, however practicable at an earlier period, was not deemed possible in the demoralized state of the army, though the King and Captain Conolly earnestly counseled it as the only means of safety, even at the eleventh hour. The enemy had made pacific overtures, and Macnaghten, after obtaining from Elphinstone a written opinion that the position was no longer tenable, agreed to go into the proposal. The Afghans, however, insisted on a surrender at discretion. To this the envoy positively refused to submit. "We shall meet, then," said Sultan Mohammed Khan, who commanded the Afghans, "on the field of battle." "At all events," replied Macnaghten, "we shall meet at the day of judgment." And so the conference broke off; but during its brief continuance amicable relations had already sprung up between the opposite parties. The Afghans, fully armed, came round the cantonments and gave vegetables to the soldiers of the 44th, who went out unarmed among them, and shook hands with those with whom they had so recently been engaged in mortal strife.¹

The immediate resumption of hostilities, however, was prevented, and the negotiations prolonged, by the arrival, next day, in the Afghan camp of Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, who was less inclined than Sultan Mohammed to push matters to extremities. His arrival as the representative of his father, the sovereign of their choice, was hailed with joy by the Afghan chiefs, and the British deemed his presence a guarantee for the granting of more favorable terms, as his father and brother were prisoners in the hands of the British. His conduct was from the first distinguished by prudence and sagacity. Wisely resolving not to endanger the military advantages already gained by pushing a desperate foe to extremities, he turned his whole attention to cutting off the supplies, and with such success that both the men and animals in the cantonments were reduced to the last extremities.* But meanwhile Abdoolah Khan and Meer-Mussi-

du, two of the chiefs most hostile to the British, died of their wounds, and the negotiation was resumed under such promising auspices that Macnaghten wrote that their prospects were brightening, "and if we had only provisions, which with due exertions ought to be obtained, we should be able to *defy the whole of Afghanistan for any period.*" Nov. 29. On the other hand, General Elphinstone wrote to the envoy: "Retreat without terms is almost impossible; few would reach Jellalabad. The only alternative is to renew the negotiation. With provisions we might hold out, but without them I do not see what can be done, or how we are to avert starvation." It was soon evident that the General's opinion was, as matters now stood, the better founded. On the 5th Dec. 5. December the Afghans burnt, in open day, a bridge, the sole means of retreat, which General Elphinstone had thrown across the Cabul river; Mohammed Shereef's Fort, the scene of such alternate victory and defeat, was abandoned next day, the moment the enemy showed themselves before it; and the day after, the guard for the protection of the cantonment bazar, which had hitherto been intrusted to the 44th regiment, was withdrawn from them, and given to a sepoy regiment. So demoralized had even the European soldiers become, from their long-continued sufferings, that Lieutenant Sturt, on being asked if the retaking of the Shereef's Fort was practicable and tenable, replied, "Practicable, if the men will fight; tenable, if they don't run away!" On the 8th December, provisions, even on the most reduced scale, only remained for four days, and a capitulation had become a matter of absolute necessity.¹

Two days after, intelligence was received of the brilliant success of Sir R. Sale at Jellalabad, which will be noticed in a succeeding chapter, but General Elphinstone held out no hopes to the envoy that it made any alteration in the posture of their affairs. The negotiation, accordingly, was resumed; and after a great many changes, a capitulation was finally agreed to, to the very last degree dishonorable to the British arms. By it, it was agreed that the British were to evacuate Afghanistan with all possible expedition, retiring by the way of Peshawar, and be treated with all honor, and receive every possible assistance in carriage and provisions on their march. On the troops reaching Peshawar, Dost Mohammed and his family were to be restored to Cabul, and Shah Soojah and his family return to India. The Afghans were to remain on terms of amity with the English, and contract no alliance with any foreign power without their consent. The troops at Ghuznee and Candahar were to retire by Cabul or the Bolan Pass, and be provided with carriages and provisions like those from Cabul. The necessity of concluding this convention was thus set forth by the envoy, in a report left unfinished at his death: "The whole country had risen in rebellion; our communications on all sides were cut off; almost every public officer, whether paid by ourselves or his

* "In the mean time our cattle have been starving for some time past, not a blade of grass, nor a particle of *khosak* nor grain procurable. The barley in store is served out as provisions to the camp-followers, who get half a pound for their daily food. Our cattle are subsisted on the twigs, branches, and bark of trees. Scarcely an animal fit to carry a load."—CAPTAIN JOHNSON'S *Journal*, MS. Records, 1st December, 1841. KAYE, II. 101.

121.
Capitulation with the Afghans.
Dec. 11.

Dec. 10.

Dec. 11.

Dec. 11.

Dec. 11.

Dec. 11.

Majesty, had declared for the new governor; and by far the greater part even of his Majesty's domestic servants had deserted him. We had been fighting forty days against very superior numbers, under most disadvantageous circumstances, with a deplorable loss of valuable lives; and in a day or two we must have perished from hunger, to say nothing of the advanced season of the year and the extreme cold, from the effects of which the native troops were suffering severely. I had been repeatedly apprised by the military authorities that nothing could be done with our troops, and I regret to add that desertions to the enemy were becoming of frequent occurrence among them."

¹ Treaty, Dec. 10, 1841; Sir W. Macnaghten's Report, Dec. 11, 1841; Kaye, ii. 123-127.

But however stern may have been the necessity under which this humiliating convention was concluded, and however favorable in appearance some of the terms agreed to, the British ere long received convincing proof that they would not be observed by the savage and treacherous enemy with whom they had to deal. On the 13th December, in pursuance of the treaty, the British troops, six hundred in number, evacuated the Bala-Hissar, leaving Shah Soojah and his native troops in it; and the moment they were out the gates were closed, and the guns opened on the retiring columns, without any distinction of friend or foe. The troops were obliged to halt on the ground before they reached the cantonments, and pass the night on the snow during intense cold, without food, fire, or covering of any sort. They could do nothing but stand "or walk about, looking for the rising of the morning star." The Afghan chiefs, instead of serving the men with provisions and carriages, as stipulated in the treaty, refused to give them any until the forts still held were surrendered. This was conceded, and on the 16th the Afghans were in possession of all the British forts, and their colors waved on the ramparts. Still provisions came in very slowly, so that the men were literally "living from hand to mouth," and no carriages at all were sent. The very grain brought out by our own men from the Bala-Hissar, amounting to sixteen hundred maunds of wheat, was abandoned to a worthless rabble, who pillaged and carried it off under the very eyes of our starving soldiers. Even after that supplies were brought in very slowly and irregularly by the Afghans; and as carriages were wholly wanting, it was impossible to set out on the march.

On the 18th snow began to fall in great quantities, and before evening was several inches deep; while the Afghans, growing hourly more insolent by the sight of our distresses, now rose in their demands, and insisted on the entire surrender of their arms and guns by the famishing and half-frozen multitude.²

On the 19th, intelligence was received of the return of M'Laren's brigade to Candahar, which closed the door against all hope of succor from that quarter, to which the envoy had clung with desperate tenacity, and orders were sent to the generals in

command in that station and at Jellalabad to evacuate them without delay, in terms of the convention. Driven by so many untoward circumstances, Macnaghten now turned a willing ear to certain proposals made to him by some chiefs of the rival factions, by which he hoped to sow dissension among them, and possibly enable him to shake himself loose of a treaty from which the Afghans had already openly receded. The proposal came from Akbar Khan, and was to the effect that Amen Oollah Khan, one of the most powerful of the hostile chiefs, should be seized and imprisoned, the Bala-Hissar and Mohammed Khan forts reoccupied by the British troops, who were to hold them some months longer, and then evacuate the country in a friendly manner; that Shah Soojah was to retain the sovereignty, but Akbar Khan to be declared his vizier, and receive a very large gratuity in money. It was added, that for a reasonable sum the head of the hostile chief should be sent to Shah Soojah. Macnaghten replied to the last proposal in terms worthy of a British diplomatist, "that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood;" but in the desperate condition of the British army, Macnaghten the previous ones appeared well to Mohun Lal, Dec. 21, 1841; worthy of consideration, and a meeting to discuss them more fully was arranged with Akbar Khan to take place on the following day.³

Macnaghten was not ignorant of the danger of attending any conference with such faithless and treacherous parties as the Afghan chiefs; but circumstances were so desperate that he clung to any ray of hope, however feeble; and as he said himself, "death would be preferable to the life of anxiety he had been leading for six weeks past." He went accordingly to the place appointed, accompanied by Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, his confidential staff-officers; and although warned by the latter that it was a plot, he persevered with devoted courage, deeming it the only possible way of averting destruction from the army, dishonor from the country. He merely left orders with Elphinstone to have two regiments and two guns got ready as quickly as possible to secure Mohammed Khan's fort, and left the General with some expressions of impatience at the remonstrances made against his imprudence. So impressed was Elphinstone with the idea that he was rushing on his destruction, that he wrote him a letter after he left him, entreating him to be cautious; but it never reached its destination. The parties met on a hillock near the banks of the river, about six hundred yards from the cantonments. The English officers and Afghan chiefs exchanged salutations, and Akbar Khan received with many thanks an Arab horse, which he had greatly coveted, and expressed his gratitude also for a pair of pistols he had been presented with on the preceding day. It was then proposed that the whole party should dismount, which was accordingly done. Akbar Khan asked Macnaghten if he was ready to carry out the proposals of the preceding evening? "Why not?" said the latter. The Afghans by this time were closing round the circle in great numbers, which Lawrence and Mackenzie observed, and requested that they might be removed to a greater dis-

^{122.} Faithlessness of the Afghans, and increased misery of the troops.

Dec. 13.

Dec. 16.

Dec. 18.

² Kaye, ii. 127-141; Eyre, 148-151; Thornton, vi. 289-291.

^{123.} Secret negotiation of Sir W. Macnaghten with Akbar Khan.

^{124.} His murder by Akbar Khan.

Dec. 23.

tance, as the conference was a secret one. The chiefs then lashed out with their whips at the closing circle, and at the same time Akbar said it was of no consequence, as they were all in the secret, and at the same time saying aloud, "Seize! Seize!" Scarcely were the words uttered, when the envoy and whole party were violently seized from behind. The envoy was dragged along by Akbar himself; and as he struggled violently, the Afghan drew one of the pistols with which he had been presented on the preceding day, and shot him through the back. A crowd of Afghans rushed in and completed his destruction with their knives, by which he was literally cut to pieces. His mangled remains were carried to the great bazar, where they were shown to admiring and applauding multitudes; and his right hand was cut off, and exhibited at a window. Trevor was massacred on the spot; Lawrence and Mackenzie almost by a miracle reached Mohammed Khan's fort prisoners, but alive.¹

In forming an opinion on this sad event, it is evident, in the first place, that Akbar around him were guilty of the foulest and most abominable treachery in the murders which were committed. The envoy was at a conference which they themselves had proposed, accompanied only by his staff officers; no hostility on his part was either designed or possible; the character of an ambassador is sacred by the laws of all nations, even the most barbarous. At first sight it seems that Macnaghten's conduct was also open to exception in point of morality as well as prudence, because he went to the conference in order to arrange a plan for the seizure of the forts ceded by the treaty, and some of the chiefs at that time in dubious and insincere alliance with the British. But in answer to this, it must be recollected that the envoy stood in a very different situation from what he would have done had he been dealing with European diplomats, with whom performance of engagements may generally be relied on. The Afghan chiefs had violated the treaty in every particular; rigidly exacting the performance of their obligations by the British, they had scarcely performed one of the stipulations agreed to by themselves. Sir William Macnaghten's position was a desperate one; he hazarded all upon a single throw, but that throw offered, in circumstances otherwise hopeless, a fair chance of saving the army and the honor of the country. History can not condemn him, if, dealing with an artful and treacherous enemy, with no other chance of escape for himself or his troops, he sought to circumvent him by his own method, and must applaud the magnanimity with which, even in the last extremity, he refused to stain his hands with blood, and freely offered his own life to a foe whose hostility he disdained to deprecate by the sacrifice of another.

So completely were the energies of the once brave and powerful British army paralyzed by the disasters they had undergone, and their want of confidence in the chiefs by whom they were led, that even this terrible disaster could not rouse them from the state of despair and apathy in which they were plunged.

"The envoy," says Kaye, "had been killed in broad day, and upon the open plain, but not a gun was fired from the ramparts of the cantonments, not a company of troops sallied out to rescue or revenge. The body of the British minister was left to be hacked to pieces, and his mangled remains were paraded in barbarous triumph about the streets and bazars of the city." Eldred Pottinger, whose heroism had saved Herat, and who had become political agent on Macnaghten's death, in vain endeavored to infuse into the other chiefs a portion of his own undaunted spirit. The day after the massacre the draft of a new treaty was sent in to General Elphinstone, substantially the same as the former one, but with this difference, that it was now proposed that "the guns, except six ordnance stores, and muskets, in excess of these in use, shall be given up, and six hostages given for the safe return of Dost Mohammed and his family." Pottinger strenuously opposed these conditions, and said that now was the time to fling themselves into the Bala-Hissar, or fight their way down, sword in hand, to Jellalabad. Letters were at the same time received from Jellalabad and Candahar, announcing the reinforcements which were on their way from India, and urging Elphinstone to hold out.* But Shelton pronounced the occupation of the Bala-Hissar to be "impracticable;" and after making the most strenuous resistance, Pottinger was obliged to give in, and agree to the terms proposed.¹

When the guns came to be given up, the agony of their humiliation burst at once on the unhappy soldiers; and the murmur was loud in the camp, that any attempt, however desperate, should be risked, rather than submit to such an indignity. But the chief saw no alternative, and all that Pottinger could do was to procrastinate, and give up the Shah's cannon two at a time only to the enemy. At length, however, the guns, muskets, wagons, and ammunition, except the six cannons reserved, were all given up, and the hostages put into the enemy's hands. The Afghans were very anxious to get some of the ladies and married men into their possession; but this was positively refused, and not further insisted on at that time. On the 29th December such of the sick and wounded as could not bear the journey down were sent into the city,

"The General, from his illness, was incapable of making up his mind; and the constant assertion of the impossibility by his second in command, outweighed the entreaties of the envoy when alive, and of mine after; and a retreat on Jellalabad was the only thing they would hear of, notwithstanding that I pointed out the very doubtful character of any engagement we might make with the insurgents, the probability that they would not make it good, and begged that they would spare us the dishonor, and the Government the loss, which any negotiation must entail. In a council of war held at the General's house, Shelton, Anquetil, Chambers, Grant, and Bellow present, every one voted to the contrary—so, seeing I could do nothing, I consented. At the time we had but two courses open to us, which, in my opinion, promised a chance of saving our honor and part of the army: one was to occupy the Bala-Hissar and hold it till spring—by this we should have had the best chance of success; the other was, to have abandoned our camp and baggage and encumbrances, and forced our way down. This was perilous, but practicable. However, I could not persuade them to sacrifice baggage, and that was eventually one of the chief causes of our disasters."—MAJOR POTTINGER to CAPTAIN M'GREGOR; *M.S. Records*. KAYE, II. 179.

¹ Eyre's Journal, 168-174; Kaye, II. 150-155; Thornton, VI. 292-294.

185. Reflections on bar Khan and the Afghan chiefs this event.

¹ Pottinger's Journal; Kaye, II. 177-179; Thornton, VI. 297-299.

127. Conclusion of the treaty. Jan. 1, 1842.

126. Fresh treaty, which is opposed by Pottinger.

and every preparation made for the march which circumstances would admit. But these circumstances were wretched in the extreme, and indicated too surely the fate which awaited the attempt. The Afghans, hovering round the walls, insulted the British at their very gates, interrupted the supplies obtained with such difficulty by the commissariat, and assailed the drivers. Already it was evident that no reliance whatever could be placed on the promise to furnish provisions to the troops on the march, and that the army would set out into a snowy wilderness of mountains without either ammunition, food, tents, or carriage. When these acts of depredation were complained of to the chiefs, they coolly answered that they could not prevent them, and that the British should themselves fire on the wretches concerned; but this was deemed too hazardous, as tending directly to a renewal of hostilities.¹

At length, on 6th January, the march commenced, under circumstances of depression unparalleled in the annals of mankind; for when the French set out from Moscow, their army, 90,000 strong, and with all their guns and ammunition complete, was, comparatively speaking, in a prosperous condition. The situation of the troops is thus described in the eloquent words of an eye-witness: "At length the fatal morning dawned which was to witness the departure of the Cabul force from the cantonments in which it had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, where every mountain defile, if obstinately defended by a determined enemy, must inevitably prove the grave of hundreds. Dreary, indeed, was the scene over which, with drooping spirits and dismal forebodings, we had to bend our unwilling steps. Deep snow covered every inch of mountain and plain with one unspotted sheet of dazzling white; and so intensely bitter was the cold, as to penetrate and defy the defenses of the warmest clothing. Sad and suffering issued from the British cantonments a confused mass of Europeans and Asiatics, a mingled crowd of combatants and non-combatants, of men of various climes and complexion and habits—part of them peculiarly unfitted to endure the hardships of a rigorous climate, and many of a sex and tender age which in general exempts them from such scenes of horror. The number of the crowd was large—4500 fighting men, of whom 700 were Europeans, with six guns and three mountain-train pieces, and upward of 12,000 camp-followers. The advance began to issue from the cantonments at nine in the morning, and from that time till dark the huge and motley crowd continued to pour out of the gates, which were immediately occupied by a crowd of fanatical Afghans, who rent the air with their exulting cries, and fired without scruple on the retreating troops, by which fifty men were killed. When the cantonments were cleared, all order was lost, and troops, and camp-followers, and horses, and foot-soldiers, baggage, public and private, became involved in one inextricable confusion. The shadows of night overtook the huge multitude while still pushing their weary course; but the cold

surface of the snow reflected the glow of light from the flames of the British residency, and other buildings, to which the Afghans had applied the torch the moment they were evacuated by our troops. Weary and desperate, the men lay down on the snow without either food, fire, or covering; and great numbers were frozen to death before the first rays of the sun gilded the summits of the mountains."¹

Disastrous as were the circumstances under which this terrible march commenced, they were much aggravated on the succeeding day. All order was lost—not a semblance even of military array was kept up save with the rear-guard; while numbers of Afghans, evidently moving parallel to the retreating multitude, showed themselves on the heights above, and, in open defiance of the capitulation, commenced a fire upon them. They even attacked the rear-guard, and after a violent struggle took the mountain-guns, which, though immediately retaken by Lieutenant White, could not be brought away, and were spiked amidst the gleaming sabres of the enemy. "Two other guns were soon after abandoned, as the horses were unable to drag them through the snow. Although at night-fall they had only accomplished six miles of their wearisome journey, the road was covered with dying wretches perishing under the intolerable cold. The sepoy, patient and resigned, sunk on the line of march, awaiting death. Horses, ponies, baggage-wagons, camp-followers, and soldiers were confusedly huddled, while over the dense mass the jezails of the Afghans, posted on the rocks and heights above, sent a storm of balls, every one of which took effect among the multitude. The enemy severely pressed on our rear the four remaining guns, which fell into their hands. The soldiers, weary, starving, and frost-bitten, could no longer make any resistance. There was no hope but in the fidelity of Zemaun Khan, who had always been true to us, and had now arrived on the spot; but although he had exerted himself to procure supplies, scarcely any were got. Meanwhile the attacks of the Afghans were continued without intermission."²

The army was in this dreadful state when it arrived at the entrance of the Coord Cabul defile. It is five miles in length, and bounded on either side with steep, overhanging mountains. It is so narrow the sun never penetrates its gloomy jaws; there is barely room for a rugged road or horse-track between the torrent and the precipices. The stream dashes down the whole way with inconceivable impetuosity, and requires to be crossed eight-and-twenty times in the course of the descent. To add to the horrors of this defile, the frost had covered the road and edges of the torrent with a coating of ice, on which the beasts of burden could find no secure footing, and in attempting to pass which great numbers slipped, fell into the water, and were swept down by its resistless rush. The heights above were crowded with Afghans, who, securely posted on the summits of precipices inaccessible from the bottom of the ravine, kept up an incessant fire on the confused and trem-

¹ Johnson's Journal, Jan. 1, 1842; Kaye, ii. 187, 188; Eyre's Journal, 190, 205; Thornton.

² 129.

¹ Eyre's Journal, 214, 220; Kaye, ii. 217, 223.

² Increasing horrors of the march. Jan. 7.

¹ Eyre, 226, 227; Kaye, ii. 224-226; Thornton, vi. 305, 306.

^{130.} Passage of the Coord Cabul defile.

bling multitude which was struggling through the defile beneath. All order was soon lost, if any still remained. Baggage, ammunition, property, public and private, were abandoned at every step, and so complete was the paralysis, that the sepoy allowed their muskets to be taken out of their hands without attempting any resistance. The massacre was terrible in this frightful defile. Three thousand perished under the balls or knives of the Afghans; and in the midst of the confusion of this scene of carnage, the English ladies, who accompanied the columns on horseback, often strained their eyes in vain to descry their children, lost in the horrors in which they were enveloped.¹

¹ Lady Sale's Journal; Eyre, 226, 227; Kaye, ii. 228, 231.

Such of the troops as contrived to get through this dreadful defile had fresh difficulties of a different kind to contend with. The road now ascended the high table-land of Coord Cabul, and the snow fell in great quantities, rendering it in many places impassable for animals or carriages. A cold, biting wind from the northeast swept over the lofty, bare surface, rendering it almost certain death to sit down, however weary the wretches might be. Here, however, the whole army were obliged to bivouac, without tents, fire, or shelter of any kind. There were only four tents left; one was given to the General, two to the ladies, and one to the sick. In compliance with a recommendation from Akbar Khan, the army halted for a day; but the inexpedience of this delay was so evident that a great part of the native troops and camp-followers moved on without any order, and the sepoy began to desert in great numbers. Akbar Khan, seeing the troops reduced to this woeful plight, now renewed his demand for the giving up of the married officers and their wives, he promising to keep them a day's march in the rear of the army, and in perfect safety. Heart-rending as this proposal was to honorable and gallant men, no resistance was made to it—so evident to all was the necessity of the case, and so certain the destruction which awaited them if they remained with the remnant of the troops; and soon after the whole ladies, with their husbands, escorted by a troop of Afghan horse, set out for the rear of the army, and were placed in the power of the treacherous barbarian who had so recently imbrued his hands in the blood of the confiding and honorable British envoy.²

The European soldiers were now almost the only efficient troops left. The sepoy, unaccustomed to a rigorous climate, had almost all sunk, or been slain by the Afghans. Nearly all of them were frost-bitten in the hands, face, or feet; few were able to hold a musket, much less draw a trigger; the prolonged march in the snow had paralyzed the mental and physical powers even of the strongest men. "Hope," says Eyre, "seemed to have died in every breast; the wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance." The end was now approaching. At the entrance of a narrow gorge, where the road passed between two hills, a strong body of Afghan marksmen appeared, who barred all far-

ther passage, and kept up so heavy a fire on the column as it approached, that the whole sepoy broke and fled. Seeing this, the Afghans rushed down, sword in hand, captured the public treasure, and all of the baggage which hitherto had been preserved. A hundred and fifty cavalry troopers, fifty horse-artillerymen, seventy of the 44th, and one gun, alone forced their way through, and formed now the sole remaining fighting men of the army. Akbar proposed a surrender to this little body; but they indignantly rejected the proposal, and pushed on, sword in hand, through the crowds of camp-followers, bands of Afghans, and the snowy wilderness.³

² Eyre, 236; Kaye, ii. 231-233; Thornton, vi. 314.

Still hovering round the rear-guard, the Afghan horsemen continued the pursuit of the miserable but undaunted band of men who, in defiance of all the retreat obstacles, continued their course. Oppressed by a crowd of camp-followers, and almost as much impeded by them as by their enemies, the wreck of the British force made its desperate way down the steep deserts of the Haft-Kotul, strewn with the melancholy remains of camp-followers, and soldiers who had formed the advance of the column. As they passed down a heavy fire was opened on the flanks of the column; but the rear-guard, led by Shelton, with invincible firmness repelled the assault, and for a time preserved the remnant of the force from destruction. Seeing ruin inevitable if a start was not gained upon the enemy, Shelton proposed a night-march, in the hope of shaking off the crowd of camp-followers which, from the very beginning, had clung to them, and proved as injurious as the jezails of the enemy. Having spiked their last gun, they set off at ten at night; but the alarm had spread to the camp-followers, and they clustered round them as ruinously as before. It was a clear, frosty night, and for some hours the march was unmolested; but before morning the enemy overtook the rear, and opened a fire on the dark, moving mass, which impelled the terrified crowd of camp-followers upon the few soldiers in front, and, blocking up the road, rendered it necessary for the rear-guard to force a passage through at the bayonet's point. When the way was at length cleared, a dense mass of Afghans was found barring any farther progress; but the little band of European heroes, led by Shelton, kept the enemy in the rear in check, and gallantly forced their way through to Jugdulluck. Here the men lay down in the snow to gain a few hours' rest, after thirty hours' incessant marching and waking; but hardly had they done so when a fire was opened upon them by the Afghans, and they were compelled once more to fight. The enemy, however, deterred by their resolution, fled on their approach; and the wearied column returned to Jugdulluck, where they remained, under the shelter of a ruined wall, but still exposed to the fire of the Afghans, all the succeeding day.⁴

Here the conferences were resumed, and Akbar Khan insisted upon General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson, remaining hostages in his hands for the evacuation of Jellalabad. This was not at first agreed

³ Eyre, 236; Kaye, ii. 231-233; Thornton, vi. 314.

² Eyre, 228, 236; Kaye, ii. 228-231; Thornton, vi. 311-313.

⁴ Eyre, 230, 246; Kaye, ii. 240, 241; Thornton, vi. 316-318.

to, and these officers repaired to the Afghan chief's head-quarters to arrange the terms, where they were detained by force, in defiance of their sacred character as pacific negotiators. Alarmed at the non-return of their leaders, Major Thain and Captain Skinner rode out in the direction they had gone, in quest of tidings; they were met by a body of Afghans, who fired a volley, by which the former was mortally wounded. Meanwhile Elphinstone and Shelton remained in Akbar Khan's hands; and Johnson, who understood Persian, overheard the party who surrounded them conversing in that language on the pleasure they would have in cutting the Feringhees' throats. The remaining body of the British, now reduced to twenty fighting men, resumed their march at nightfall, in the hopes of straggling on ahead of their pursuers, to Jellalabad. As day dawned they approached Gundamuck; but there their numerical weakness became visible, and they were again surrounded by a body of the enemy. Captain Souter tied the colors of his regiment round his waist, by which they were preserved, and the unconquerable band of heroes pursued their way on, though sorely weakened at every step. In a desperate struggle, on leaving Gundamuck, nearly every man in the British party was wounded. Twelve officers and a few cavalry, all bleeding, rode ahead of the troop, and six of them dropped down from their horses before reaching Futturabad. The remainder were treacherously assailed there, when taking food, by the natives, who had professed sympathy, and began by showing kindness; two were slain, the others reached their horses and escaped. All perished, however, EXCEPT ONE MAN, Dr. Brydon, before reaching Jellalabad. Worn-out and wounded, he had struggled on, borne by a jaded pony, till

the walls of the fortress appeared in sight. He was descried from the ramparts, and brought in by a party sent to succor him, being the SOLE SURVIVOR, not a captive, of the Afghanistan expedition.¹

While, however, the honor of the British name was thus tarnished at Cabul, 135. Conduct of Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, and Sale and Nott. General Nott at Candahar, nobly vindicated it, and gave a proof of what might have been done, with the much larger force than they had at their disposal, if similar capacity and resolution had been displayed at Cabul. Sale had been required, under the conditions of the treaty concluded by Macnaghten, to evacuate Jellalabad; but when summoned by Akbar Khan and the envoy to fulfill that stipulation, he answered, well knowing the treachery of the chiefs with whom he had to deal, that as he knew the chiefs in the neighborhood were inciting their followers to destroy the garrison of Jellalabad, he deemed it proper to await further orders before obeying the summons; and requested to know, before leaving the fortress, what security would be given for the safe-conduct of the troops to Peshawur. A similar answer was returned by Nott from Candahar, and when intelligence arrived of the massacre of the Cabul army in defiance of the convention, both these gallant officers held out and preserved

these important fortresses for the British forces. In them, under the gallant lead of Pollock, Monteith Douglas, Sale, and Nott, began the glorious operations which redeemed the honor of the British name, and led to triumphs so transcendent as to throw all the previous disasters into the shade.¹

But the return of prosperous days, however glorious to the nation, came too late to redeem the character or lighten the load of anxiety which oppressed the Government. The mournful intelligence from Cabul reached Lord Auckland in the end of January. The previous month had been one of intense anxiety, relieved only at distant intervals by gleams of hope arising from the heroic conduct of the garrison of Jellalabad, to be recounted in a future chapter; but no apprehensions could equal the terrible reality, when the dismal intelligence arrived that only one man had survived out of seventeen thousand souls who had set out on their homeward journey from Cabul. The blow was stunning to the Governor-general, and the more so that the termination of his government was drawing near, and he had no time to repair the errors of his administration. Such was the consternation which prevailed, that little or nothing except ordering up a few regiments to Peshawur was done to arrest the calamity. Lord Auckland now saw clearly the disastrous consequences of the policy which he had been persuaded to adopt in regard to Afghanistan; and he returned home, sad and dispirited, in the spring of 1842. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who had been selected as Governor-general by Sir Robert Peel on his accession to office in October, 1841, and arrived in Calcutta on 28th February.²

Overwhelming from its magnitude, heart-rending from its suffering, awful from its completeness, the Afghan-istan disaster is one of the most memorable events of modern times. Rivaling the first Crusade in the entire destruction with which it was attended, the Moscow campaign in the terrible features by which it was distinguished, it will long rivet the attention of man. Without doubt, it must be regarded, by those who contemplate national events as regulated by an overruling Providence, as a signal example of retributive justice—as the punishment of a nation for the glaring and unpardonable crimes of its rulers. The danger against which the expedition beyond the Indus was intended to guard, was neither remote nor imaginary; on the contrary, it was both real and pressing. Nothing could be more just or necessary than to take steps against the peril which the Russian subjugation of Persia, the attack on Herat, and the intrigues at Cabul, so clearly revealed. Policy, not less than the primary duty of self-defense, required that the British interest in Afghanistan should be strengthened, and a barrier opposed in its defiles against the oft-repeated northern invasion. But the British Government had no right, in the prosecution of this object, to overturn the reigning power in an independent kingdom—to force a hated dynasty on a reluctant people. The

134. Termination of the retreat, and arrival of one survivor at Jellalabad.

¹ Thornton, vi. 319-321; all the previous disasters into the shade.¹ Nott, i. 450.

136. Termination of Lord Auckland's administration, and Lord Ellenborough's appointment.

² Kaye, ii. 256, by Sir Robert Peel on his accession 287; Thornton, vi. 317, arrived in Calcutta on 28th February.² 325.

137. Reflections on the injustice of the Afghan-istan expedition.

object might have been accomplished without the violation of any right, at scarcely any expense, and without the incurring of any risk. Dost Mohammed, the ruler of the nation's choice, was not only willing, but anxious, to enter into the British alliance, and for a comparatively trifling sum shut the gates of India forever against the Muscovite battalions. When, therefore, instead of closing with his proposals, we resolved to dethrone him, and to force a hated king again upon the nation, in order that he might be a mere puppet in our hands, we committed as great a mistake in policy as a crime in morality.

But although every serious observer must discern in the fate of this memorable expedition an instance of the man-conception of ner in which signal national crimes even in this world work out their own punishment, yet, humanly speaking, it is not difficult to discern the causes to which it was immediately owing. Conceived in injustice, it was cradled in error, and executed by incapacity. In the original plan of the campaign every military principle was violated; in carrying it out, every rule of military experience was disregarded. Throwing an expedition forward a thousand miles from its base of operations, through a desert, mountainous, and difficult country, inhabited by fierce and barbarous tribes, the Indian government repeated the error which had proved fatal to Napoleon in the Moscow campaign; but it did not, like him, seek to repair the mistake by moving up strong bodies of men to keep up the communications with the rear. The force with which the expedition was undertaken—under ten thousand fighting men, including only four European regiments—was altogether inadequate to both conquering the country, and keeping up the communications. Fifty thousand men, including ten thousand Europeans, would not have been too many for such an undertaking; and there never was a third of that number at the disposal of the commanders in Afghanistan.

This deficiency of force, and its disproportion to the object in view, was the result mainly of the great and ruinous pacific reductions which had taken place during the years of political hallucination which followed the passing of the Reform Bill in England. True, the military forces were rapidly increased as the necessities of the campaign unfolded themselves, and before they were closed the forces were again restored to their old level, of whom above 40,000 were Europeans; but that only changed the quarter in which danger was to be apprehended—it did not remove it. The new recruits were very different from the old soldiers; and the infusion of a large body of these young and inexperienced men into the regiments, by the augmentation of the number of companies in each, weakened, in a most serious degree, the efficiency and steadiness of the whole. It was repeatedly observed during the Afghanistan campaign, that the troops, both native and European, failed at the decisive moment; and people asked, Are those the soldiers of Clive and Lake, of Wellington and Abercromby? In truth, they were not the soldiers of these men, though they wore the same dress,

and bore the same arms. You can not make a civilian a soldier in a few months, by merely putting arms into his hands and a uniform on his back. Years of military life, and acting together in circumstances of difficulty and danger, are indispensable to form that coolness in peril, and that thorough confidence between officers and men, which form the strength of real soldiers. The idea that you may, without risk, disband a veteran force on the return of peace, because you can raise a new one in a few months when war again breaks out, is one of the most fallacious that can possibly be entertained, and to which the disasters which have uniformly befallen the British nation, in the first years of every new war for a century and a half, are mainly to be ascribed.

Connected with this source of weakness and danger is another, which is peculiar to the Indian army, and that is the great number of officers who, during peace, were withdrawn from their regiments, and intrusted with diplomatic duties as political agents.

Economy, and a desire to run two services into one, was the mainspring of this system, and it is hard to say whether it proved most injurious to the civil or military service. To the former it brought an undue confidence in military knowledge, and induced a jealousy between the two services, by leading the young military political agent to assume the direction of the military movements, which he was often neither entitled nor qualified to do. To the latter it brought, without the abandonment of the military life, an entire ignorance of its details, and incapacity for its duties. The young political agent, accustomed to command, and to act as a sort of viceroy over some protected potentate, suddenly found himself, when hostilities broke out, recalled to his regiment, and immediately intrusted with the discharge of arduous and important military duties. He was then surrounded by soldiers to whom he was unknown, as much as they were to him. The first forenoon of real service in the field or in the trenches often revealed to the men under his command the incapacity of their new officer to direct them; and after that had been discovered, how was it possible that mutual confidence could be re-established, or either the officers lead or the men follow, in moments of difficulty or danger, as they ought? To this cause much of the errors in judgment, evinced in separate command by the officers, and of the timidity shown by the men in following their always gallant lead, is to be ascribed. The economists say that such a union of the two services is indispensable, in order to keep down the otherwise insupportable expenses with which the administration of affairs in India is attended; and possibly it is so. But that only shows that a system of government by one country at the distance of eight thousand miles from another is exposed to difficulty, and involves in itself the seeds of its own ruin, not that the system itself is not dangerous and big with future disaster.

Even with all these disadvantageous circumstances, although ultimate and entire success was hopeless, yet the extreme disaster which was sustained might have been avoided, had it not been for the obvious and almost inexplicable

139.
Disproportion
of the force to
the object in
view, and its
effects.

140.
Injudicious
conferring of
civil offices on
military officers.

cable errors committed in the military arrangements when the final catastrophe approached. The neglect to occur-
 141. Extreme error in the military arrangements at last. py and strengthen the Bala-Hissar as the centre of our military operations; the mistake in placing the troops in exposed and extensive cantonments ill-fortified; and, above all, the extraordinary fault of putting the whole magazines and commissariat stores in an undefended position, and in a manner at the mercy of the enemy, brought us into peril; and they are mainly to be ascribed to Sir W. Macnaghten, who did much to redeem these fatal errors by the courage he evinced when the danger came on, and the intrepid counsels which he in a manner forced upon the old and infirm commander-in-chief. With these immense mistakes General Elphinstone has no concern, for they were all committed, or in course of execution, when he assumed the command. But he is responsible for the want of decision and vigor evinced when the crisis arrived, and it had become evident that nothing but the utmost rapidity and resolution could avert the most terrible disasters. Had two thousand men and eight or ten guns been sent from the cantonments into the rebellious city when the insurrection first broke out, it would have been at once suppressed; had the troops and stores been at once moved into the Bala-Hissar when it was evident it had become serious, the army would have been in safety all winter, and might have calmly awaited its liberation by the arms of Pollock and Nott in the ensuing spring: whereas, by temporizing, and adopting no decided line, the only means of salvation yet remaining were thrown away, and disasters unheard of were induced.

Instead, however, of joining in the general chorus of abuse which has been
 142. Causes of this leveled at the heads of the brave but ill-fated and unhappy men, who have now expiated with their lives any errors they may have committed, it is more material, as well as just, to endeavor to trace out the faulty national dispositions which have led to such men being intrusted with the administration of affairs so momentous, that it may be said the Indian empire hung upon their decisions. Macnaghten induced the danger by being over-sanguine, and shutting his eyes to its approach when every one else saw it was coming on. Elphinstone precipitated the catastrophe by want of decision and vigor when it arrived. This is now sufficiently evident; but the material point is, how did it happen that men who proved themselves so unfit for these momentous duties were intrusted with their discharge, when so many others perfectly qualified to have discharged them were passed over? That is the really important question; for unless this cause is discovered and removed, the nation may with certainty look for a repetition of similar disasters upon every fresh breaking out of hostilities.

The popular party will exclaim that it is all to be ascribed to the aristocratic direction of military affairs in this country; that General Elphinstone was an old and infirm man, incapable of discharging the duties with which he was intrusted, and that that was the sole cause of the disaster. To this it seems sufficient to

observe, that the misfortunes occurred when the popular régime was fully established in every department of the State; that Elphinstone was appointed by a Whig Governor-general, with the concurrence of a Whig cabinet, and that the army he commanded had been formed and moulded for ten years previously on popular principles, and by popularly-appointed Governor-generals and agents. It is in vain to ascribe, therefore, to aristocratic influence at the head of affairs a disaster which occurred when that influence was more in abeyance than it had ever been in English history, and when the popular influences from which so much was expected had been for many years in full and unrestricted activity.

The truth is, the disasters in Afghanistan, so far as the military conduct of affairs

is concerned, were owing to a cause 144. Real causes of the disasters in a military point of view. unhappily of more general efficacy, and therefore more to be feared than the delinquencies of any party, either aristocratic, monarchical, or democratic. This is the tendency during peace of influential imbecility to acquire the direction of military affairs. In war this is in a great measure prevented by the immediate and obvious peril with which the faulty direction of armies is then attended, and the rapidity with which the penalty of the appointment of incompetent officers is followed to the peccant Government. But during peace it is possible to make the most unsuitable appointments without their consequences being immediately felt: many a general can make a tolerable figure at reviews, or in conducting the civil affairs of an army, who breaks down at once in presence of an enemy, or under the pressure of real danger. If a peace is very long, this peril is greatly increased, because in addition to the ordinary danger of improper pacific appointments, there is the risk of aged incompetence being thrust upon the public service. As this danger arises from the principles of human nature, it remains the same in whatever political party the government of the State is vested. By popularizing institutions, the danger, instead of being diminished, is materially increased. There are, in proportion to their numbers, as many imbeciles in the middle or lower ranks as in the higher, and therefore the only effect of augmenting the number of persons who are politically invested with the power of influencing Government, is to augment the number of incompetent persons who are forced by them to the head of affairs. There never was a country so ridden by incompetent generals as France was, from this cause, under the popular sway of the Directory, which caused it to lose the whole conquests of the Revolution, and the evil was never abated till the lead fell into the iron grasp of Napoleon.

The only way to obviate this most serious evil, which continually, on the termination of a long peace, threatens the very existence of the State, is to combating the 145. True way of turn the stream of influential fools evil.

into another direction, and make it for their own interest to permit that direction to be followed. This is to be done, and can only be secured, by the method which experience has suggested as alone effectual in public companies or offices—viz., by allotting adequate retired allowances to

induce men incapacitated by age or infirmity to withdraw from their public functions. Necessity has long ago established this in the case of judges and all important civil functionaries; and a sense of its expedience has caused the same system to be adopted very generally in banks, railway and insurance companies, and other establishments where particular officers are intrusted with important duties. Unfortunately, however, the general jealousy of the army, and of the aristocratic influence which is supposed to regulate its appointments, has not only prevented any similar system being established in the higher grades of that service, but has cut away the few which in former times in some degree supplied its place. Nearly all military sinecures or retired allowances and appointments have been cut off during the quarter of a century of popular government which has elapsed since the Peace. The half-pay of a general—seldom more than two per cent. on what he has paid for his commission—can not be regarded as any adequate allowance for an officer who has held, perhaps, a governorship worth £3000 or £4000 a year. Thus the superior officers, both of the army and navy, are compelled to *cling to active employment* as the only means of averting poverty and insignificance, and to bring into play the whole influence they can command to prevent their being deprived of it. This is the real cause of the number of influential but incapable men who, on the breaking out of a war after a long peace, are generally found to be at the head of affairs both in the army and navy.

Two dangers, of different kinds, but each most formidable in its way, thus beset every constitutional monarchy and their remedy. 146. on the occurrence of war after a long peace. Democratic economy starves down the establishment, both by land and sea, to the very lowest point, and cuts off the whole sinecures or offices which might serve as retreats to influential imbecility, while aristocratic cupidity or Parliamentary influence

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fastens with resistless grasp on the active employments, and forces numbers of old men, gallant and respectable, but past the possibility of useful service, upon the Government. The Afghanistan expedition afforded one memorable example of this, the Crimean will ere long afford a second. General Elphinstone was a gallant Waterloo veteran of high connection and most pleasing manners. Enconced in a quiet governorship of £1500 a year, he would have passed the close of his life in peaceful respectability, beloved by all who approached him. Placed at the head of the army in Afghanistan *because he was highly supported, and there was nowhere else to put him*, he lost an army, and all but lost an empire. Of all the sums expended by a nation, there is none so well bestowed as that which provides an easy and secure retreat for such men in the public service as are too influential to be overlooked, and yet too weakly by nature, or far advanced in years, to be able to discharge its duties with advantage. A hundred thousand a year would be well bestowed in providing these harbors of refuge for powerfully-supported incapacity. Of all the economies forced upon a popular government by the public voice, there is none so loudly applauded at the moment, and none so ruinous in the end, as that which cuts off all honorable and respectable retreats for veterans who have spent the best part of their lives in the service of their country, or younger men who are not equal to its duties. Such men will always be found in the public service; no initial examination or popularizing of institutions can keep them out. On the contrary, they only add to their number, because they induce a greater number to clamor for admission, and bring more numerous interests to support their claims. It is in vain to think of closing the door against them; some ruling power in the State—aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical—will always get them in. The only wisdom is to establish institutions which shall facilitate their timely retreat.

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